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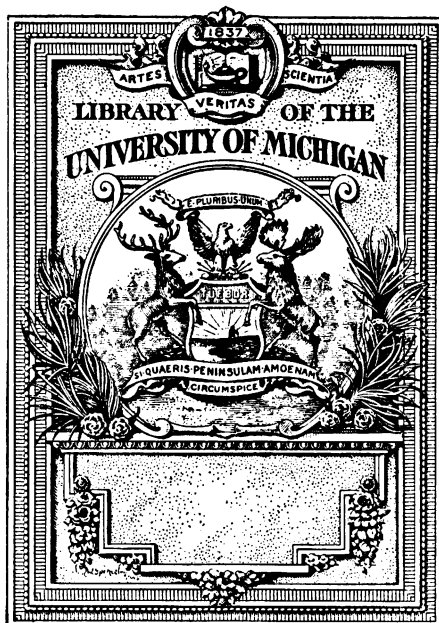
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H. A. Dalton

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FOR

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THE
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

NO IX. OCTOBER 1877.

ART. I.—DEAN MANSEL AS A CHRISTIAN
PHILOSOPHER.

1. *Prolegomena Logica: an Inquiry into the Psychological Character of Logical Processes.* By H. L. MANSEL, B.D.
2. *Metaphysics; or, The Philosophy of Consciousness, Phenomenal and Real.* By H. L. MANSEL, B.D., Waynflete Professor of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy.
3. *The Limits of Religious Thought.* Examined in Eight (Bampton) Lectures. By the same Author.
4. *The Philosophy of the Conditioned.* By the same Author.
5. *Letters, Lectures, and Reviews (including the 'Phrontisterion')* of the late Dean Mansel. Edited by Professor CHANDLER.
6. *The Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries.* With a Sketch of the late Dean Mansel's Work, Life, and Character by the Earl of CARNARVON. Edited by J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D.

NO ONE who keeps himself tolerably well acquainted with the currents of English thought can fail to have observed during the last few years a singular absence of eminent and generally admitted guidance in what may be called, for want of a better term, Christian Philosophy. We mean by Christian Philosophy *a systematic* treatment of the relations of man with the Unseen, such as will correspond with the psychological and logical facts of our human nature, and at the same time give its proper place and weight to the Christian Revelation.

An occasional sermon or article in a periodical strikes out
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a valuable thought, and well-meaning books are written which profess to treat these subjects; but in the presence of a vast, misty cloud of philosophical unbelief, which makes its mournful presence only too familiar to our gaze, it is not easy to find a scientific leader. 'Where shall we go,' say our younger students, 'for something which shall hold its own in the strife? You tell us to believe; and we know the blessing promised to childlike faith; but when we ask you for some repertory of weapons against those who assault the faith on Materialistic or Idealistic grounds, from the side of Hegel and the German Rationalists, or from the side of Comte and the English Positivists, you tell us that this champion and that is antiquated, and that we must wait for some new species of defence suited to modern needs.' This is of course only the question of inquiring minds. The world in general goes on as it always did, careless of such matters, but too surely influenced by the ebb and flow of thought and belief on the part of the thoughtful. It can admit of no manner of doubt that if we do not apply ourselves to grapple with these present forms of unbelief, if we do not look out for and identify our leaders, that world will full surely surprise us with a rude awakening. The society of to-day is the product of past victories of Christian Philosophy, which is, to a great extent, in a highly-cultivated society, the basis of Christian belief. The society of to-morrow will be a very different thing, if it is once understood that Christian Philosophy cannot find a leader. Like an army surprised in an untenable position, the very bravest and strongest are the first to be taken in flank, destroyed in detail, broken up into incoherent squadrons; the masses charge one another, desert their officers, slink off the field of battle, and leave the country naked to the invader.

Such a leader in the last century was Bishop Butler—so great, indeed, that up to the present moment his position has remained unrivalled, and the usefulness of his work for the purpose he intended is still generally acknowledged. But the progress of scientific statement demanded a more scientific form of Christian Philosophy. The long series of German and English philosophers had created a demand for new systems, new forms of expression which would adequately state and deal with the phenomena of man, and the world in which he finds himself. Philosophy proper did indeed at first generally ignore religion; as a rule it left on one side the problems of Revelation and the mode of its communication to man; but if it noticed these questions at all, it

set itself up as the final referee, and called upon the Christian apologist to accommodate himself to the lines dictated and marked out for him by so-called Reason. As time went on a change took place. The Rationalistic form of attack became the favourite mode of assailing Christianity, and its old triumphs in Germany, already a little antiquated, were beginning to be repeated in our own country, when the Scottish School of Philosophy, of which the heir and destined leader was Sir William Hamilton, at last bore fruit at Oxford, and the late Dean Mansel astonished the world with the skill, the courage, and we may say the success with which, in the character of a Christian philosopher, he addressed himself to the combat. The object of this paper is to show that not only was Dean Mansel the proper and sufficient leader in that combat, on the side from whence the attacks on Christianity proceeded twenty years ago, but that he has not been superseded for the times and under the circumstances in which we are now living.

But how, it may be said, can this position be claimed for Mansel, when he is already almost forgotten, and when his system has been repudiated by philosophers no less Christian than himself? It might be argued that he is not so much forgotten as is supposed, and that the attacks upon him are not worth much; but it will be granted that his fame is under an eclipse, and that his works are not received—at Oxford for example, where men once hung on his words—with the same trusting confidence as of old. Even friendly voices murmur that his day is passed, and that new defences are now required to meet new attacks. Non-Christian writers have pressed his candid admissions into their service, and exposed their contraband goods under the sanction of his flag. So much has this been the case that it will be absolutely necessary on the present occasion to set forth what his system really was; but we may preface that statement by the remark that there have been distinctly accidental causes, so to speak, operating against the fame of this great man, and so affording a suggestion that the eclipse will not be of long duration. These causes may be drawn up under the following heads.

In the first place Mansel stood up almost alone to confront the armies of philosophical unbelief which had gathered from all quarters. The Rationalists, the Positivists, the Sceptics, the Pantheists, the Atheists of the day found, to their surprise and disgust, a champion of the Christian faith who stood on the battlefield, the open ground of Philosophy, armed with learning, wit, and satire, ready for all comers, and shrinking from no encounter.

But the fact is—a very sad fact—that Mansel simply sank under the weight of the weapons levelled at him. Removed too soon from the sphere of his Oxford labours, and too soon, as we mortals deem it, from life, he had not time to form a great School. His supporters were but learners who could hardly teach; their voices could not reach far. Every sort of misrepresentation prevailed, and they have lain thick upon his memory. The judgment is passed from mouth to mouth that he has failed. He has destroyed, some say, but not constructed. Perhaps a more correct criticism may before long take the place of what we venture to think is not the product of mature consideration. In demanding a new Christian Philosophy it is far from impossible—nay, it is more than probable—that we may be in danger of falling back again into those quicksands from which Mansel had really delivered us. In attempting to confute the Materialism of modern thought by adopting new forms of Idealism, in constructing, as it were, a raft out of the broken fragments of former wrecks, and so attempting to cross the stormy waters of unbelief, we may in reality be only driving further from the shore, only throwing ourselves back for a whole generation. It may at least be well to reconsider the question whether we have not already got what we want in Mansel's works.

This isolation of which we have spoken was intensified by another peculiarity of Mansel's position. At the time when he wrote, the public press was almost entirely in the hands of his political opponents. He was himself a pronounced Conservative, and he had what people call the courage of his convictions. He dared to take a somewhat active part in politics at a moment when the whole life and progress of literature were claimed for the Liberals, and for them alone. To suppose that any good thing could come out of the reactionary body was simple heresy, and to make an impression from that side required the force of a giant. To a great extent this is so still. A writer who falls in with the prevailing sentiment becomes at once a member of the 'Mutual Laudation Society,' and, without a hundredth part of the real claim to attention which a man of original thought and independence of character may possess, finds himself the hero of newspapers and reviews.

But over and above these causes of eclipse it must honestly be admitted that Mansel had to thank himself for some portion of the neglect under which he fell. He was so penetrated with the thought and style of the Scottish School of Philosophy, and had so little sympathy with shallow simpli-

city in matters of this nature, that he went too far—we speak of his logical works—in the direction of depth and apparent obscurity. Like the well-known Cambridge tutor whose profound and excellent book on *Hydrostatics* provoked the remark that no one could learn the subject from so hard a manual, and who replied that he did not write his book for fools, Mansel made no effort to gild the philosophical pill. And in this respect he afforded a marked contrast to the rival against whom he was pitted both at Oxford and elsewhere—Mr. John Stuart Mill. That author may be said to have taken for his motto *virginibus puerisque canto*. His plain and plausible *Logic*, intelligible to the meanest capacity, not only from its pellucid style, but because it makes such a flattering appeal to the ‘experience’ of its readers without troubling them with the attempt to realise anything which they cannot see or hear, soon drove Mansel’s *Prolegomena Logica* out of the field, and became the text-book of philosophical students. The Schools of Oxford University, where philosophy receives more attention than elsewhere, have shown, if they are not very much misrepresented, or at any rate did for many years show, their favour in a marked manner to the seductive Mill.

Still further, Mansel had only himself to thank for giving his adversaries a gratuitous advantage in the controversies which occurred about his works. For want of a very simple change of phraseology in a crucial portion of his system, which he declined to make, and which would have deprived the objections taken to it of nine-tenths of their force, he weighted the scales against himself. This point will receive attention presently. Enough has been said to account for what we believe to be only the temporary neglect of a great leader, and to suggest that it may be worth while to place his position before the reader in an intelligible form. If it should appear that he has been unduly neglected, it may also follow that it is unsafe to depart from the lines which he has laid down, and that the best prospect for any success in building up a Christian Philosophy on points required by the special attacks of the present day will lie in strengthening and improving the foundations he has laid.

In the following sketch it must be premised that we wholly discard the idea of judging the philosopher by his *Bampton Lectures*, or by any one of his works taken separately. If we wish to form a just estimate of his position, we must take these works as a whole. His old pupil and friend, Lord Carnarvon, has lately afforded the world a great advantage in

this respect by the publication, with an excellent preface, of his Lectures from the Chair of Ecclesiastical History, which were chiefly philosophical; and Professor Chandler some years ago collected others of the more important additions to his original works. It may not be altogether out of place to mention that in the last of these will be found reprinted the famous *Phrontisterion*, the wittiest satire which the world has seen since the days of the Anti-Jacobin, and which, assaulting, as it did, and covering with contempt, the very Alpha and Omega of the Liberal reformers of the Universities in those days, drew down upon its author no little of the literary persecution which he had to endure, and which, indeed, he had fairly challenged.

Mansel's Christian Philosophy can scarcely be said to have been brought before the general public till he preached his famous *Bampton Lectures* of 1858, but it was built on that elaborate system of Psychology which he had inherited from Reid and Sir William Hamilton, and which he had shaped anew for the Oxford Schools during his remarkable career as a tutor of St. John's and Prælector of Moral Philosophy at Magdalen College. These *Bampton Lectures* were not only perfectly consistent with that earlier work, but they were a part of it, a necessary part; so that it was impossible to accept one without the other. He made it his business in these eight discourses, founding chiefly upon Bishop Butler during the process, to show how the Schools of the German Rationalists and English Materialists failed to deal with the questions they had undertaken to answer, replying to his numerous assailants on a uniform principle, working, in short, to the last on the same lines as those on which he had set out when he began to teach.

It is interesting to contrast the reception of the earlier work with that of the later. While he was laying his foundations, while he was solving the difficulties of innate and experimental ideas, while, in assigning the form and matter of which every fact or phenomenon of consciousness consists, he was reconciling the jarring statements of Locke and his successors, while, with consummate skill, he was laying bare the materials of that human veil of which—

‘Time and Space are the warp and woof,’

as long as he was following the same track as that on which Kant and Hamilton had set out, his efforts, as far as they were known, were regarded with admiration, or at least complacency. It was a grand foundation, and few but the ini-

tiated knew what was coming. But when the architect began to raise his fabric above the ground, when he proceeded to point its spires and battlements towards the skies, it was then that we witnessed a different scene. Then began to be heard the shouts of horror, and the fainter notes of praise, which on the publication of the *Bampton Lectures* issued in pitched battle. If that strife has now found rest, it seems rather to have ceased for want of combatants than because it has been fought out.

It was, as many of our readers will remember, by Mansel's departure from the system of Kant that he first excited hostile attention. In the series of works published between 1853 and 1858, culminating in the *Bampton Lectures*, he had been gradually developing the same views; but those previous works were little known, and the *Lectures* came upon the world too suddenly and abruptly. His lectures as Prælector at Magdalen were only known to a few, and many of them were never published at all. Had thoughtful and unprejudiced minds enjoyed the opportunity of exploring with the lecturer the intricate windings of the philosophical chart, if they had traced with him in detail the rocks and shallows of the previous systems which had promised so much and performed so little, perhaps the verdict in numerous cases would have been different, and certainly some from whom milder treatment might have been expected would have hesitated ere they struck.

In the lectures above mentioned Mansel devoted himself to the task of refuting Kant's famous position that Time and Space had merely a subjective existence:—'Kant thought he stood before the curtain which concealed the true object from his view; he never suspected that it might be a fixture.' It was in these that he annihilated Kant's distinction, which, under the patronage of Coleridge, had taken some root in England, between the reason and the understanding, between the ego thinking and the ego thought about, and in which he proved that we might justly hold the possibility of creation while we were forced to avow the impossibility of conceiving it. In 1856 he published the *Lecture on Kant*, which concluded the series, and sufficiently expounded his own method. In this little work he laid bare the mine which gaped under the feet of Kant, and was to overthrow the whole fabric of 'Speculative and Practical Reason,' 'the paradox that our thoughts might be regulated by that of which we do not think,'

'the old serpent of Metaphysics, whose ghost, the ghost of the

Unconditioned, still hovered about the spot where the body was lain, shortly to be once more united to it, and endowed with a vampire vitality, to suck blood and life, thought and sense, reverence and faith, from the victims it haunted.¹ Thus, from a philosophy which set out with the purpose of exhibiting the narrow limits of human reason, there sprang up in the end a gigantic scheme of intellectual Pantheism, the system of Schelling, the logic of Hegel, a philosophy of the Absolute and the Infinite, the most systematic and consistent (even in absurdity) that has ever been given to the world.²

It was necessary to attack these gigantic Rationalistic systems at their root. It was a masterful and trenchant attack. It has never been forgiven. It was necessary to prove that there could be no *demonstration* of any truth relating to things without the mind, that thought could not create its own object, nor the Finite measure the Infinite; that the function of thought is in all cases the same, viz. to represent reflectively what is presented intuitively; and, in short, that the supposed intuition of the Absolute and Infinite involves the annihilation of consciousness itself. Man was not a measure of all things, as certain of the Sophists had said of old, and many a modern Sophist was saying anew. It was not a question whether such and such systems were logical: Logic was incapable of dealing with the subject at all. The proof was very generally admitted. Like a mimic house built of cards, the fabrics which had been reared in defiance of these principles came down to the ground: the 'Philosophy of the Conditioned,' not indeed all at once, but gradually and surely, took their place. This work had indeed been performed in part by Hamilton, and even by his predecessors of the Scottish School; but it was completed by Mansel.

With these so-called intuitions of the Absolute and the Infinite, these thought-created abstractions, fell also the criticism of Revelation. It was no longer open to Rationalists to declare that their intuitive knowledge of God gave them a title to criticise the methods by which He had made Himself known to man, no longer open to them to accept this portion of Holy Scripture and reject that, to deal with miracles, with prophecy, with Divine commands, at the bidding of what they called their moral consciousness. Indeed, no sooner were these pretensions exposed by the hand of the master than a very marked change took place in English opinion. The destructive portion of Mansel's work has certainly had a considerable effect. So-called Rational Religion, at least in its technical sense, no longer takes a prominent place amongst us.

¹ *Letters, Lectures, and Reviews*, p. 175.

² *Ibid.* p. 182.

But no one knew better than Mansel that, after making all deductions for the limitations of the human intellect, it was more than ever necessary to account for the religious instincts of mankind, and to explain the capacity of man for receiving a Divine Revelation. If our powers of thought, conception, understanding, were relative, and not absolute, if we were forced to admit that we cannot know God as He is by any light derived from nature, what common ground was left upon which Natural and Revealed Religion might meet? The foundation of this inquiry lies in the doctrine of Personality and Freedom of the Will. The consciousness of our own Personality necessarily involves and carries with it the intuition of the Personality of God. Beyond this Reason cannot go. We must look elsewhere for, and patiently analyse, the other constituents of our nature, the feelings and innate convictions which no progress of science can eliminate, and which approve themselves by their universality. When we have found out what we cannot reach by Reason, and what we can, what is left behind after the most rigorous exclusion of the Unconditioned, and what is required for the state of life in which we find ourselves, we are in a position to examine the claims of Revelation, and to accept Christianity on the testimonial it produces that it is, as Butler showed, in language suited especially to his own times, not only a republication of Natural Religion, but an authoritative republication, such as we might expect to be attested by the supernatural evidences of which we have the historical account.

But this scheme of Christian Philosophy has been so much controverted that it is hardly fair to place it before the reader in any but the author's own words, and we shall make no apology for some rather copious extracts, premising that it is impossible from such disconnected passages to do more than indicate the general line of argument. The references will enable the reader to study the context:—

‘If, from an examination of the laws and limits of human consciousness, we can show that thought is not, and cannot be, the measure of existence, if it can be shown that the contradictions which arise in the attempt to conceive the Infinite have their origin, not in the nature of that which we would conceive, but in the constitution of the mind conceiving, that they are such as must necessarily accompany every form of religion and every renunciation of religion, we may thus prepare the way for a recognition of the separate provinces of Reason and Faith. So far is human reason from being able to construct a scientific theology, independent of and superior to Revelation, that it cannot even read the alphabet out of which that

theology must be framed.’¹ ‘Philosophy as well as Scripture, rightly employed, should teach a lesson of humility to its disciple, exhibiting, as it does, the spectacle of a creature of finite intuitions surrounded by partial indications of the Unlimited, of finite conceptions in the midst of partial manifestations of the Incomprehensible.’²

So far we are on ground which is not unfamiliar. The above statements are identical with the old scholastic distinction that there are things above, but not contrary to, human reason.

‘The reality of this distinction,’ said Dr. Pusey in his *Historical Inquiry*,³ written in 1828, ‘has been questioned by some moderns, as if what was above was contrary to reason; yet “not to belong to, not to be within the province of,” is no more equivalent to the “being opposed to” than “not to love” is “to hate.” In saying that a thing is contrary to reason we acknowledge that it lies within the cognisance of that faculty; in saying that a subject is above it, we ascribe to it a different order of things, for which reason has no criticism.’

But although Reason cannot construct a scientific theology, it at least assures us of our own Personality:—

‘Personality is presented to us as a relation between the conscious self and the various modes of his consciousness.’⁴ ‘It is from the intense consciousness of our own real existence as persons that the conception of Reality takes its rise in our minds; it is through that consciousness alone that we can raise ourselves to the faintest image of the supreme reality of God. . . . “I think, therefore I am.” The Source of All Being reveals Himself by His name “I am.”’⁵

It is our duty to think of God as personal, and it is our duty to believe that he is infinite; not to *think* that he is infinite, for that transcends human power. Our belief is from Faith; our thought of Him as a Person is from Reason as well as from Faith. We cannot reconcile these two representations with each other.

‘. . . . But it does not follow that this contradiction exists anywhere but in our own minds; it does not follow that it implies any impossibility in the absolute nature of God. The apparent contradiction only proves that there are limits to man’s power of thought, and it proves no more. . . . The philosophical difficulties which Rationalists profess to discover in Christian doctrines are in fact inherent in the laws of human thought, and must accompany every attempt at religious or irreligious speculation.’⁶ ‘The mystery of Revelation is also the mystery of Reason.’⁷

¹ *Bampton Lectures*, 1st edit. p. 61.

³ *Ibid.* p. 173.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 89, 90, 97.

² *Ibid.* p. 66.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 84.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 87.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 178.

Hamilton had already laid it down that 'no difficulty emerges in Theology which had not previously emerged in Philosophy.'¹

Reason, then, having given us the absolute certainty of our own Personality, and in so doing the intuition of the Personality of God, we are led on to examine what we mean by the Religious Consciousness. This is made up, says our author, of two states of mind, feelings or convictions, the Feeling of Dependence and the Consciousness of Moral Obligation :—

'To these two facts of the inner consciousness may be traced, as to their sources, the two great outward acts, Prayer and Expiation. With the first development of consciousness there grows up as a part of it the innate feeling that our life, natural and spiritual, is not in our power to sustain or prolong ; that there is One above us on whom we are dependent, whose existence we learn and whose presence we realise by the sure instinct of prayer.'²

Equally innate is the 'law written in the heart,' the 'consciousness bearing witness,' the conviction of sin, the standard of Right and Wrong as proved by its universality.³ The goodness of God comes to us as an instinct, just as the fear of God is inseparable from our nature. But in neither of these is there any immediate apprehension of the Absolute and the Infinite ; for the free agency of man is an integral part in both these states of mind. Still, though we cannot apprehend the Absolute and the Infinite, we have a conviction that it exists, we know not, indeed, how,—exists along with the Finite. 'The possibility or impossibility of conception is no test of the possibility or impossibility of existence. The very consciousness of our own limitations of thought bears witness to the existence of the Unlimited, who is beyond thought.' We are compelled to regard ourselves as Persons related to a Person.⁴

This, then, is

'regulative knowledge, sufficient to guide our practice, but not to satisfy our intellect ; which tells us not what God is, in Himself, but how He wills we should think of Him. In renouncing all knowledge of the Absolute, it renounces at the same time all attempts to construct *a priori* schemes of God's Providence as it ought to be, it confines itself to the actual course of that Providence as manifested in the world, and seeks no higher criterion of the truth of a religion than may be derived from its analogy to other parts of the Divine Government. Guided by this, the only true Philosophy of Religion, man is content to practise where he is unable to speculate. He acts as one who must give an account of his conduct : he prays, believing

¹ *Discussions*, p. 625.

² *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 108, 109.

³ *Bampton Lectures*, p. 112.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 124.

that his prayer will be answered. He does not seek to reconcile this belief with any theory of the Infinite, for he does not even know how the Infinite and the Finite can exist together.¹

Here, then, are the limits of religious thought. We are thrown back on Faith. Nor is it difficult to see why it should be so. Our whole consciousness is relative and limited. To know God as He is, man must himself be God. Thus we resign ourselves to ignorance on the insoluble questions of the co-existence of God's Foreknowledge and man's Free Will, perfect justice and perfect mercy, and many others.

'It is a duty enjoined by Reason itself to believe what we cannot comprehend. The failure to demonstrate the being and attributes of God should be a subject of joy to the believer. A demonstrated God is a creature of the human imagination. If there is one conclusion more than another which the united evidence of Logic and Psychology renders certain it is this:—that no matter of fact, no truth, relating to things without the mind, whether real or phenomenal, can ever be matter of demonstration.² Such demonstration is not indeed incompatible with the real existence of the Deity . . . but it adds not a tittle to the evidence of His existence; and it encumbers Theology with arguments too pretentious not to provoke criticism and too feeble to endure it. . . . Such attempts, says Waterland, serve only to make that become a question which before was unquestionable while standing only in a reasonable presumption or moral proof. The triumph over a weak defence of the truth is too often regarded as a triumph over the truth itself.'³

Again—

'If we are compelled to admit that the mind, in its contemplation of objects, is not the mere passive recipient of the things presented to it, but has an activity and a law of its own by virtue of which it reacts upon the materials existing without, and moulds them into that form in which consciousness is capable of apprehending them, . . . if thought has laws of its own and cannot by its own act go beyond them, and by its very recognition of that law, that restraint, finds implied the existence of a sphere of liberty beyond, if the mind necessarily regards objects of consciousness as something complex, something generated partly from without and partly from within, . . . all this is strictly in analogy with the method of God's Providence in giving us truths in religion which are designed to be regulative rather than speculative.⁴ "Action and not knowledge is man's destiny and duty in this life. . . . But it does not follow that our representations are untrue because they are imperfect. . . . As no human faculty can take cognizance of the Absolute, it follows that correspondence with the Absolute can never be

¹ *Bampton Lectures*, p. 127. ² *Letters, Lectures, and Reviews*, p. 146.

³ *Metaphysics*, 2nd edit. p. 279. ⁴ *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 141-143.

required as a test of truth. . . . We cannot say that we know God as God knows Himself. . . . The true conception of the Divine Nature, so far as we are able to receive it, is to be found in those regulative representations which exhibit God under limitations accommodated to the constitution of man, not in the unmeaning abstractions which, aiming at a higher knowledge, distort, rather than exhibit, the Absolute and the Infinite."¹

So much for the general statement of our philosopher's method. Within the limits of this article it is impossible to detail the proofs given in the Seventh and Eighth Bampton Lectures of man's incapacity to conceive the attributes of God, though he has a conviction that they exist, forced upon him by the same evidence as that on which he believes that God exists at all, nor the proof that the difficulties which meet us here are nothing more nor less than those which have puzzled mankind from the beginning as to the existence of evil.

It is enough to give his conclusion :—

'There can be no such thing as a positive science of Speculative Theology ; for such a science must be based on an apprehension of the Infinite ; and the Infinite, though we are compelled to believe in its existence, cannot possibly be apprehended in any mode of human consciousness ;'—

and to add his caution that we do not explain away what we are unable to comprehend, that we apply the principle of the Limits of Religious Thought to the whole human race, as men, as finite beings, and not merely to individuals,

'acknowledging the part such limitations have to perform in the probation of man, and looking to a future state for that clear vision which is wisely given us only in an enigma under our present condition. The lesson to be learnt from an examination of the Limits of Religious Thought is not that men's judgments are worthless in relation to Divine things, but that they are fallible ; and the probability of error in any particular case can never be fairly estimated without giving their full weight to all collateral considerations. We are indeed bound to believe that a revelation given by God can never be really unwise or unrighteous ; but we are not always capable of estimating exactly the wisdom or righteousness of particular doctrines or precepts. And we are bound to bear in mind that exactly in proportion to the strength of the remaining evidence for the Divine origin of a religion is the probability that we may be mistaken in supposing this or that portion of its contents to be unworthy of God.'²

We have selected the above passages to very little purpose

¹ *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 149, 150.

² *Ibid.* 4th edit. p. 156.

if the central position of the philosopher has not been very clearly unfolded from them, whether taken separately or together. This central position is, as we have said, laid in Psychology. It is the doctrine of Personality, as testified by the facts of our consciousness. This is the *sine quâ non* of a true philosophical system. There can be no Christian philosophy, nor any other true philosophy, without it. It is the crucial test. This Personality is part and parcel of the Freedom of the Will, which is a positive fact of our consciousness, a Freedom of the Will under the conditions imposed by the Divine Being.¹ Just as this is the fundamental position of Dean Mansel, so the foundation of Mr. Mill, Mr. Herbert Spencer, and most of those who have opposed or travestied our author, is Necessity. One is the watchword of Belief, the other of Scepticism and Materialism in all their Protean forms; indeed, the logical consequence of Necessity, say what these gentlemen will, is, as Sir William Hamilton has pointed out, nothing more nor less than Atheism. It is the virtual denial of the spiritual element as existing at all in man. It is the lowering of his level to that of the brute.

‘If,’ says Fichte, ‘any one adopting the doctrine of Necessity should remain virtuous, we must look for the cause of his purity elsewhere than in the innocuousness of the doctrine. Under the supposition of Free-will alone can duty, virtue, and morality have any existence.’

It is needless to quote authorities for what is self-evident, but we may remind our readers that this is also the key of Bishop Butler’s position, and few can forget his luminous disquisition on the subject. To those who have found themselves puzzled with or, perhaps to speak more truly, overwhelmed by the floods of so-called scientific doctrine of late years, whether under the name of Positivism, or Nescience, or First Principles, or simple statement of scientific facts in language which begs this question of all questions, it may be some consolation to observe that just as far as these writings postulate the doctrine of Necessity—and it is impossible to see how they can avoid it—just so far they may be treated with the neglect they deserve. The practical advantage of so simple a test must be evident; it is only wonderful that it is not more widely applied. And this consideration naturally suggests a passing reference to the act of smuggling or piracy men-

¹ For some good remarks on this subject see *Moral Causation*; or, *Notes on Mr. Mill’s Notes*, by Patrick Proctor Alexander, M.A. 2nd Edition. (Blackwood, 1875.)

tioned at the beginning of this article, as perpetrated by some who claim the support of Hamilton and Mansel for the very same Materialistic doctrines which these authors repudiate with heart and soul. Mr. Herbert Spencer has been the most notorious offender of this class. In his *First Principles*

‘he endeavours to press Sir W. Hamilton into the service of Pantheism and Positivism together, by adopting only the negative portion of his philosophy—in which, in common with many other writers [notably Mansel himself], he declares the Absolute to be inconceivable by the mere intellect—and rejecting the positive portions, in which he most emphatically maintains that the belief in a personal God is imperatively demanded by the facts of our moral and emotional consciousness.’¹

Of course anything can be proved in this way. The most remarkable thing is that such treatment should be suffered to prejudice the authority of its victim. A little more thought or a little more candour would easily detect the fallacious character of these audacious statements, which, as we are forced by the character of the authors to suppose them to be made in good faith, remind one of nothing so much as the hallucination under which Sheridan laboured when he was found tipsy in the gutter, and begged the watchmen—adjured them by all that is holy, to believe, that he was Mr. Wilberforce.

Perhaps Mansel, had he lived longer, would have supplied us with more, and more detailed, arguments against the use which has thus been made of his memory; it is certain that he would have applied with distinguished success that weapon which no one else seems strong enough to handle, the artillery of good-natured, scholarly wit, such as he displayed in the *Phrontisterion*; and in dealing with the portentous shallowness and lengthiness of the attacks we are now witnessing on religion from the side of so-called science, this is a most legitimate weapon. For want of something of this sort from his gifted hand let us insert a few words which an American who lately ‘interviewed’ Mr. Carlyle inserted in a newspaper of his own country, and which, perhaps, have not been enough published in ours to have reached more than a few of our readers. They require no evidence of their genuineness and authenticity beyond that conveyed in the words themselves:—

‘About thirty years ago,’ said Mr. Carlyle, ‘a book was published called *The Vestiges of Creation*. It ran quietly through five editions; men read it with bated breath, in silence, and marvelled at its audacity. It was like a pinch of snuff, and now whole waggon-loads

¹ *Philosophy of the Conditioned*, p. 39.

of it are thrown down in the public highways, and atheistic sneezing has become the fashion. So-called literary and scientific classes in England now proudly give themselves to protoplasm, origin of species, and the like, to prove that God did not build the universe. I have known three generations of the Darwins—grandfather, father, and son—atheists all. The brother of the present famous naturalist, a quiet man who lives not far from here, told me that among his grandfather's effects he found a seal engraved with this legend: "Omnia ex conchis" (Everything from a clam-shell). I saw the naturalist not many months ago, and told him I had read his *Origin of Species*, and other books; that he had by no means satisfied me that men were descended from monkeys, but had gone far towards persuading me that he and his so-called scientific brethren had brought the present generation of Englishmen very near to monkeys. A good sort of man is this Darwin, and well-meaning, but with very little intellect. Ah! it is a sad and terrible thing to see nigh a whole generation of men and women, professing to be cultivated, looking around in a purblind fashion and finding no God in this universe. I suppose it is a reaction from the reign of cant and hollow pretence, professing to believe what in fact they do not believe. And this is what we have got to: All things from frog-spawn; the gospel of dirt the order of the day. The older I grow—and I now stand upon the brink of eternity—the more comes back to me the sentence in the Catechism which I learned when a child, and the fuller and deeper its meaning becomes—"What is the great end of man? To glorify God and enjoy Him for ever." No gospel of dirt, teaching that men have descended from frogs through monkeys, can ever set that aside.'

The catechism of Mr. Carlyle is not our catechism, nor is his creed ours; but we can, at any rate, claim kindred with him here. Nor are we, as has already been said, disposed to place the danger that the men of this generation are encountering from the side of false prophets of science at any lower estimate than Mr. Carlyle. In order to meet them we must accustom ourselves to grapple with the psychological questions which underlie all others, and much greater efforts must be made to popularise Mental Science. At present, for one cultivated person, who has prepared himself for dealing with Natural Science by a course of Mental Science, a hundred rush into it with no such preparation. The consequences are disastrous. The fascinating and facile studies of the former class, presented by the hands of masters, and received without question, or with feeble and soon-overcome suspicion, by thousands of students, and in forms which enable them even to penetrate into strata of society which not long ago were wholly inaccessible, are rapidly exercising a decisive effect on our population. Perhaps, if not unchecked, the tendencies to unbelief which are thus fostered, accompanied by the conceit

of possessing vast tracts of knowledge which modern research has put into our possession, may be expected to reduce our people to the enfeebled and effeminate condition of the later Schools of Athens, or the *blasé* decrepitude of the Roman Empire. Mere culture, without a manly belief, which alone produces unselfishness and noble action, never did a people any good.

It is in the doctrines of Personality, or Conscious Existence, and Free-will, that the antidote is to be found to the poisonous formula of Positivism:—‘Being is a delusion; there exists nothing beyond phenomena.’ We beat the air in attempting to guard against this grovelling and false philosophy by pretending to possess faculties which are denied us, to describe intuitions which are beyond our consciousness. Nothing is more important than to measure out with the utmost care the ground of our defence. We do not sufficiently observe how minute a change in principle, like the least conceivable divergence of straight lines from the parallel, leads to infinite change in the result. It is this extreme caution which has preserved Bishop Butler’s works from decay. None knew this better than Mansel; no one has more rigorously followed in his footsteps, though he was well aware that some outworks of the mighty fortress set up by that great genius were in need of repair, and that the improved artillery of attack had brought with it a demand for a proportional strengthening of the defence. He believed himself, and, we think, truly believed himself, to be doing for his own generation what Butler did for the last century; and what we desire to protest against is the opinion that in the course of the last few years these restorations and expansions of the fortress have already become obsolete. On the contrary, they are exactly what our generation requires, and it is our own fault if we decline to use what is ready to our hands. If indeed we can still further develop his principles, so as to meet any special form of newest error, if we can popularise his psychological analysis, if we can give anything of the same charm, the same copious illustration of Mental Science that the persevering exponents of the shifting scientific theories of Nature are giving us month by month, what can we do better? But we are persuaded that the lines laid down by the great leader we have so lately lost are those upon which we must proceed.

Somewhat akin to the class of objections made to Mansel’s leadership by those who consider him obsolete, or exposed to the flank attack of the Materialists, is that of

writers like Dr. Birks,¹ who reject our author's limitation of human thought in relation to the Divine Being, and founding their objections on the use of the phrase 'knowledge of God,' obtained from Holy Scripture, complain that a philosophy which rejects the use of the phrase in a scientific sense is in opposition to, rather than confirmatory of, Revelation. This objection proceeds, we venture to think, from a misconception of the philosophical meaning of the terms employed, as well as of the scope and intention of Mansel's works : though indeed his psychological analysis is couched in the language of the philosophy which had been current for generations. The words 'to know God' in Holy Scripture are used in a different sense from this ; it is a popular, not a scientific phrase. Philosophically we only know when we can conceive, when we can explain and define, fully and completely. In no such sense can this be predicated of any single Scriptural expression of this nature. And, indeed, very many of these expressions imply exactly the same limitation as that taught by Philosophy. 'Such knowledge is too wonderful for me ; it is high ; I cannot attain unto it.'² 'Canst thou by searching find out God?'³ To 'know God' in the Bible is to hold spiritual communion with Him, to exercise living practical faith in Him ; it is not intellectual knowledge, the possession of which is denied us in nearly every page ; it is 'hid from the wise and prudent,' who, if they had had any real knowledge of God, would have detected the Divinity of our Lord : it was 'revealed unto babes.'⁴ To press a phrase of this sort into the technical service of Philosophy is not only to weaken the basis on which Religion must rest, but to play into the hands of the Rationalists, whose monstrous systems of unbelief have been

¹ *The Bible and Modern Thought*, 1862, pp. 452-6. We regret to observe that in Professor Birks's new book, *Modern Physical Fatalism and the Doctrine of Evolution*, 1876, he repeats his denunciation of Dean Mansel's philosophy without much pretence of any further argument beyond the repetition of Mr. Mill's criticism on the Dean ; and that in using this criticism he neglects to notice, what the Dean elaborately proved in his *Philosophy of the Conditioned*, that Mr. Mill had been guilty of the fallacy logicians call *ignoratio elenchi* throughout his whole treatment of the subject. Dean Mansel's fame, or rather his title to usefulness, has nothing to fear from a repetition of the logomachy of Maurice and Mill, or a condemnation which links Sir W. Hamilton and Mansel along with Mr. Herbert Spencer on grounds which fail to discriminate that an ocean rolls between the systems of the two former and the latter. We have admitted lower down that Mansel's phraseology might be improved. We are also bound to add that there are some valuable remarks on Darwinism in the latter part of this book.

² Psalm cxxxix. 6, Bible version.

⁴ S. Matthew xi. 25.

³ Job xi. 7.

reared on assumptions of an intellectual power which has never been granted to the human mind.

The object of a Christian Philosophy is to account for the whole condition of man in relation to the Unseen, to explore what he can and what he cannot do, and to perform all the necessary operations in this process in language which is quite independent of Revelation, but quite consistent with it. That the facts of our consciousness must in reality tell exactly the same story which we might gather about them from the Bible, rightly understood, we must believe; or else we must give up one or the other; but the whole value of the investigation rests upon its being an independent and self-supporting investigation. We cannot eke out the defects of one by using the materials of the other, except in the way of confirmation. Mental Science, like Physical Science, will be found, when we know enough of them, to be in perfect harmony with Revelation, but they are different books. Mansel

‘does not profess,’ said Canon Liddon in his funeral sermon on the late Dean, ‘to be furnishing direct proof of the truth of Christian Revelation; he is merely insisting that Reason, when cross-questioned, is bound in her own terms—ay, and in her own interest—to make room for Revelation. The constant effort of Reason, especially when engaged in making war more or less openly upon Revelation, is to claim to occupy the whole possible field of religious thought and faith, to have a word, whether of authoritative approval or disapproval, to utter upon every proposition which, upon whatever authority, can come before it. It is this claim which Dr. Mansel disputes.’

And of the real value of such bases of Religion, and therefore of Christianity, as the ‘feelings’ or ‘convictions’ which true Philosophy substitutes for ‘knowledge,’ we may well accept Canon Mozley’s testimony in his most valuable sermon on *Eternal Life*, an expansion, indeed, of Butler’s famous ‘Probability is the very guide of life,’ but an expansion exactly suited to our present needs, and of a sort which we may hope some of those who are bringing before us the insufficiency of past, and the want of fresh, efforts to support the truth, will make haste to imitate.

‘Those who will not recognise evidence apart from knowledge, who will not see reason as belief only, who reduce all that is not certainty to pure ignorance, and divide the realm of mind into demonstration and darkness, must have expunged from their understandings the obligation to attend to facts. There is something between certainty and nothing—what we call belief—which has more or less of the effect of knowledge, and yet is separated by a whole chasm from it. This intermediate state of mind may be a stumbling-

block to a philosopher who argues from the abstraction, or *word* knowledge, that there must be either wholly knowledge or wholly not knowledge ; and it may look like a contradiction to him to know or not to know at once ; but it is our reason in actual operation, in practice. The evidence of a future state is of this kind—that is to say, like all other probable evidence, it awaits verification ; but yet, prior to verification, it is evidence. It is like all other probable reasoning, an interpretation of facts, only facts of inward consciousness instead of facts of outward life. It would be absurd to say that the inward world of our minds, with all its remarkable contents, cannot be reasoned from because it is inward and not outward ; because it is not gained by the senses, but by reflection. We observe then, first, what the facts *are* about ourselves—viz., to begin with, that our bodies are not *we*, not our proper persons ; indeed, to say that they were would be to say that one thing was another thing ; next, that we have a moral nature ; and so on ; and then from these facts we draw the argument, we interpret them, we say in what direction they point, viz. to our immortality. Nor does it make any difference if you call these facts impressions. Impressions are facts.’¹

It ought not to have been necessary to give these extracts, but we know not how to remove otherwise the prejudices which have prevented a proper recourse to the weapons which Mansel has provided, as much against one class of errors as another. We only ask those Christian men who are responsible for the training of our more cultivated youth to inquire for themselves, and not to listen to mere ‘cries.’ It is no new device of the enemy to frighten off the defence by sowing dissensions in the opposing ranks. If we are really beset by limits both to our philosophical and religious thought, what is the use of beating ourselves to death against the bars of our human cage, still less of disguising our real position and pretending to what we have not ? If our intuitional knowledge of God is but a sight ‘through a glass darkly,’ through an enigma, a small, dim, and inadequate knowledge, it is best to face it—best to spend our efforts in the inquiry whether we could reasonably expect more, and whether, if we had it, it would not be much the worse for us. We may indeed learn a great deal from the quest, just as we have advanced Natural Science by the attempts to reach the Pole ; but it is not the less a gain that we have found out where we cannot go. The Poles may be, and probably are, unapproachable under the existing conditions of nature ; but we know, nevertheless, that the earth rotates around an axis of which they are the extremities ; and this is enough for the whole science of navigation, the whole practical field of commerce and com-

¹ *University Sermons*, p. 60.

munication. So we know all that is necessary for us to know of God, though He is 'past finding out.' In other words, we have, to use Mansel's phrase, 'regulative but not speculative knowledge.' No one at the Day of Judgment will be able to plead the excuse of ignorance; for he carried sufficient evidence in his own person of all he was required to know. Why should we, then, disparage the very conditions under which we 'live, move, and have our being,' by extending to them, to these conditions—for it comes to this—the opprobrious epithets of Nescience, or Nihilism, or Agnosticism, or Scepticism, which are simply absurd and out of place in such connexion?

But we have already hinted that our author would have found a far more general acceptance if he had not adopted, and then resolutely defended, a peculiar phraseology in the development of his philosophy, which was open to objection. The very best cause is sometimes injured by a very slight mistake made on a single point; so ungenerous are mankind in matters of controversy, political, literary, or theological, so careless of the duty of regarding the essence, the large whole of a matter, and of not allowing themselves to be carried off by an attack on a mere word or phrase. Mr. Maurice, Mr. Mill, Mr. Goldwin Smith, and even Mr. Chretien, unable to assail Mansel with success on the psychological and logical ground which he had selected, fastened with vehemence and tenacity on his assertions in the *Bampton Lectures* that our knowledge of God's goodness and wisdom is only by means of analogy to our own knowledge of those qualities amongst ourselves as human beings, and not identical with it. 'Human morality is not identical with, nor adequate to measure, Divine Morality.' To this it was replied by some that such a doctrine saps the whole foundation of Natural Religion and the argument from Final Causes, as well as one chief support for the doctrine of the Soul's Immortality. There were few who read these criticisms who do not remember with shame and pain the bitterness and intemperance with which they were too often urged, culminating, perhaps, in the indecent passage from Mill's *Examination of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy*, which ends with 'if such a being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go.'¹ It was evident that a weak point had been found, and that the Fatalists and Rationalists, supported by the cloudy Christian writers who resented a more definite philosophy than that to which they had been accustomed, were determined to ride in through the gap and bear the whole

¹ Mill's *Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy*, p. 103.

fabric down to the ground. Let us, then, examine the position.

Mansel was fond of telling us that though we have a consciousness of the Personality of God, this only amounts to an intuition of the *τὸ ὄν*, and does not involve any notion of the *τὸ πᾶν*, an intuition of the 'Real Essence, but not the Logical Essence, which can be expressed in a definition, and which is called by Locke the Nominal Essence. Finite things cannot indicate the nature of the Infinite God otherwise than by imperfect analogies;' ¹ or perhaps the following passage expresses his meaning more clearly still:—

'If we admit that our knowledge of God is not absolute but relative, if we found our philosophy on the saying of Bacon, "*Deus percutit intellectum propter medium inæquale, radio refracto*;" if, developing the same simile, we acknowledge that these various personal attributes, whose perfection is suggested to us by contrast to our own imperfections, are apprehended in various relations, as the separate colours of the refracted ray, not in a single intuition, but in a unity of representation, as the colourless light, where all are blended with one—under such an admission there is room in the midst of our apparent discrepancies and confusions for a belief in the existence of higher reality where all is clear and all in unison. Eternity and continuous duration, immutability and creation in time, perfect action, yet unexhausted power to act, everlasting purpose and accessibility to prayer, general law and special providence, complete foreknowledge co-existing with perfect freedom—we cannot combine these elements together into a consistent whole; yet we can believe that they are capable of combination. We cannot conceive how they co-exist, yet we can believe that in some manner unknown to us they do co-exist.

'They are but broken lights of Thee,
And Thou, O Lord, art more than these.'²

This is all that our philosopher really meant, as may be proved by many other passages. But there was no occasion to express this broken and imperfect knowledge, which only carries with it the conviction that we should, if we knew all, understand what seems to us imperfect, by terms which convey the notion of a morality, a wisdom, a goodness, different from what we know by those names. The quality is the same, but the manifestations of it, from the imperfections of our knowledge, may seem to us to be different. This will be seen by examining Mansel's own illustration, the goodness of a human father in itself, and as it appears to a son.

'The father says to the son, "Your duties are different from mine; your knowledge of my duties is imperfect; there may be

¹ *Letters, Lectures, and Reviews*, p. 314.

² *Ibid.* p. 359.

things which you cannot see now to be wise and good, but which you may hereafter discover to be so." The son replies, "I will not believe you are good in anything of which I do not plainly see the goodness." The illustration is defended by the well-known quotation from the Ethics of Aristotle :—"Ἡ ἀρετὴ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον τὸ οἰκεῖον. The goodness of any being whatever has relation to the nature and office of that being."¹

But it is not the goodness itself, in its essence, which varies. That remains the same, whatever it may be in relation with. The manifestation of it may vary. The son does not quarrel with the essential notion of goodness entertained by the father : he complains that the particular way of showing it is unsatisfactory to him. The very illustration requires that there should be a common notion between both parties. The son would be an idiot to reject the idea, the actual quality, of the goodness, about which he disagrees with his father. He is only impatient and childish in refusing to believe that the conduct of his father might appear to be good if he knew all, and it is this alone which the father impresses on him. He does not say, 'My son, what you and I call goodness are two different things ; it is of no use for you to try to understand anything about it. It is beyond your comprehension even if you were ever so well-informed as to the grounds of my conduct.'

As it does not appear that any portion of the ground held by Mansel would have been lost by a concession of this sort, we cannot but regret that it was not made. It is not easy to see how any encouragement to the Rationalistic position would have been given by admitting the identical nature of human and Divine morality in itself, so long as we also maintained that our faculties are unequal to the task of deciding whether any particular manifestation of the Divine government is good or not, on the ground that we cannot take in the whole purpose and counsel of the Almighty. If we knew all we should be able to see clearly that every particular act was good, the very best, though in our dealings with men it may not be what we should call good, the very best.

It is at least equally to be regretted that those who discerned the error of this phraseology should not have had the candour to confess that it was a mere quarrel of words, and that the system which they attacked remained uninjured, whatever might become of the mode of expression.

Nothing that has been here said will be taken to disparage

¹ *Philosophy of the Conditioned*, p. 169.

the proofs of religion which are derived from the external world as well as from Psychology, viz., the idea of Cause, and the proofs from Design ; these are no doubt susceptible of being worked out far more than they yet have been, so as to meet the wants of the day. But it may well be contended that as the false systems to which we have referred in these pages have been built up in defiance of Psychology, it is from that quarter alone that they can be effectually met. For this purpose we must resort to the Philosophy of the Conditioned, and of this philosophy, applied to Christianity on the model of Bishop Butler, Dean Mansel is the representative. It has been objected that this philosophy is an innovation on the methods of Christian Apology ; but since Mansel wrote his defence of his method, the *Philosophy of the Conditioned*, and instanced a catena of writers in all ages who were substantially agreed with him, less excuse remains for the objection. In that work¹ it will be remembered that he claimed the support of S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, the two Cyrils, John Damascene, Gregory Nazianzen, S. Augustine, and Tertullian—these among the Fathers ; of Thomas Aquinas in the Middle Ages ; and in modern times of Hooker, Leslie, Ussher, Beveridge, Pearson, Leighton, Norris, Leibnitz, and Bishop Browne. His position might be strengthened by reference to Dr. Pusey, where he asserts that the

‘impregnable bulwark of religion against all scientific objections has been philosophically justified, viz. that the foundation, the original seat, of religion is in the feelings, not in the understanding ;’²

and where he quotes Twisten with approval as summing up the more general recognition of this truth in Germany, after the successive waves of unbelief had spent their force :—

‘Mere Empiricism,’ says that author, ‘and Materialism have vanished from the Schools of Philosophy ; the religious ideas are indeed differently explained and interpreted, but are acknowledged everywhere ; the disposition to ascribe reality only to that which admits of demonstration has ceased ; the Understanding and the Will are no longer accounted the only modes in which the activity of the mental powers can exert itself ; the claims of the feeling, the peculiar organ of religion in man, remain no longer unregarded.’³

So also J. H. Newman, in his description of the arts by which Arianism for a time prevailed :—

‘Then, as now, the minds of speculative men were impatient of ignorance, and loth to confess that the laws of truth and falsehood,

¹ *Philosophy of the Conditioned*, pp. 26, 28, 42.

² *Historical Inquiry*, p. 51.

³ *Ibid.* p. 183.

which their experience of this world furnished, could not at once be applied to measure and determine the facts of another. . . . Canons founded on physics were made the basis of discussions upon possibilities and impossibilities in a spiritual substance as confidently and as fallaciously as those which in modern times have been derived from the same false analogies against the existence of moral self-action or free-will.¹

Not to multiply authorities, let us conclude with the testimony of one whose criticisms cannot but be respected by the readers of this paper. In the *Remains of Arthur West Haddan*, edited by his ardent admirer, Bishop Forbes, occur the following passages, which are so apt to our purpose that we shall make no apology for their length :—

‘Heresies have been almost proverbially the offspring of Logic applied to Scripture, with the tacit assumption of the capacity of the human mind to define and syllogise upon the acts and attributes of the Almighty. Prove the incapacity of Logic to deal with the subject at all, and the one answer cuts them all off by the roots. And that proof Mr. Mansel most ably elaborates. He has given us the most philosophical proof we ever remember to have read, that while human instincts require a belief in a Personal God, human reason itself proclaims both that God is, and that the reason of man cannot conceive of Him as He is. And if there is an objection to be made in the form of the argument, it is one which lies also against Bishop Butler, and which is inherent in all arguments upon such subjects. . . . In a word, we gladly recognise in Mr. Mansel’s work another chapter of Bishop Butler’s great argument ably worked out, a third part of the Bishop’s immortal work. We find there an analogy between the phenomena of philosophy and theology, applied with a masterly hand both to demolish philosophical objections to the latter, and to establish in both the true limits of the sphere of reason in dealing with them.’²

And in defending the author from the strictures of Mr. Chretien, he sums up what he calls his ‘unanswerable train of argument’ thus :—

‘Mr. Mansel maintains that all human knowledge must be not limited in range only, but constituted by human faculties ; that human faculties are in kind, and not in degree merely, incapable of knowing “things in themselves,” and necessarily know, not a part clearly, but all that they know at all, under the form which their own subjectivity imparts ; that such incapacity extends to moral as well as to purely intellectual ideas ; that Ontology, by consequence—and a science of Theology must needs fall under the head of Ontology—is not indeed a science which has no existence at all, but is a science of the Relative, not the Absolute, and of a negative, not a positive character ;

¹ *Arians*, p. 20.

² *Remains*, p. 458.

and finally, as the result of this, that neither our moral nor our religious conceptions correspond to the absolute truth; we neither know goodness nor God Himself save under modifications resulting from ourselves, and, as the practical conclusion from this, that we may not venture to judge of Revelation as though we were masters of its principles, although we have a sufficient knowledge of its matter to be able to guide our conduct.¹

To call this limited knowledge a 'false' knowledge is simply

'a rhetorical artifice . . . our eyes are not blind because we have not either a telescopic or a microscopic vision; and common sense bids us both act and reason upon what we see, although we know that sight is imperfect, and that we not only do not see all that is within the range of vision, but literally see nothing as it really is.'²

'The religious instinct which bids us trust God is the one prime premiss to *all* truth. Neither sense nor reason can warrant themselves. We believe them because we believe that God gave them, and that in giving them He must needs have given us truth—not all truth, not perfect truth, but that amount and kind of truth which He knew to be the best for our practical guidance; in a word, regulative and not speculative truth. And therefore we believe them—not to be infallible teachers of absolute truth, but to be trustworthy guides in practice—not to be what He knew we needed not, but to be what He knows we need—not to be revealers of truth as it is, which is to us unnecessary, but to be adequate exponents of truth relative to ourselves, which is enough to bring us through the world to heaven.'³

Authorities may be produced for and against everything, and we are far from desiring that Mansel's system should be accepted on the evidence of others. We only claim that he has been unfairly attacked, and only slightly defended; that his lifelong labours, the labours of one of the most conscientious of men, of 'a mind—almost the only mind in England—to which all the depths of the most recent speculation respecting the highest truth that can be grasped by the human understanding were perfectly familiar' and matters of continuous and anxious thought,⁴ can hardly be allowed to go for nothing at a moment when every aid from every quarter is so urgently needed in the battle of Faith and Unbelief. If any one can be found to provide a safer and sounder reconciliation of Reason and Faith, more capable of being defended against all comers, more profoundly based on scientific analysis, such as to satisfy

¹ *Remains*, p. 462.

² *Ibid.* p. 463.

³ *Ibid.* p. 470.

⁴ Canon Liddon's *Sermon on Mansel*, p. 16.

the needs of real students of mental science, let us at least know where to turn for this assistance. It is high time that we emerged from the hazy position of refusing to accept a firm foundation already laid, without providing anything better.

If we can suggest to doubters any way out of difficulties, which are really insoluble in this life, by means of truths which we obtain from Revelation, it is a perfectly legitimate effort; but there is a serious danger of exposing ourselves to the scornful refutation of those who have no patience with confusion of thought. The lines of argument must be kept distinct. After all, Reason can only be an auxiliary to Faith; it can never, and was never intended to, supply its place. We repeat, 'Probability is the very guide of life;' so let us accumulate every species of argument of that nature which may produce and strengthen moral conviction as to the points on which it is absolutely necessary that we should make up our minds, the points on which there must be no mistake. It is far worse, far more dangerous, to build up the student-mind in intellectual beliefs which subsequent inquiry leads it to reject, and in consequence of which a man's whole faith may be shaken, his whole practice corrupted, his whole life ruined, than to pursue a course which may perhaps excite a temporary impatience at the want of intellectual certainty, while, nevertheless, at the same time is laid a basis for that deep, wide, and ever-increasing conviction which the battle of life only makes more and more real, until it becomes a part of a man's own inner self, and passes him on from a steady course of duty, prayer, and faith to his future inheritance with the Absolute and the Infinite, the All-wise and the Perfect Good.

At any rate the late Dean Mansel found it so. 'While as an intellectual giant he could wrestle on terms of more than equality with the strongest forms of unbelief, and without risk of dizziness at any turn of the encounter, he knelt with a child's simple faith at the feet of the Crucified, that he might be washed in the blood which has redeemed the world.'¹ It was our Lord who said:—'Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein.'²

¹ Canon Liddon's *Sermon on Mansel*, p. 18.

² S. Mark x. 15.

ART. II.—THE COLONIAL CHURCH.

1. *The Past and Prospective Extension of the Gospel by Missions to the Heathen.* By ANTHONY GRANT, D.C.L. Bampton Lectures, 1843. (London: Rivingtons, 1844.)
2. *Colonial Constitutions.* By ARTHUR MILLS, Esq. (London: John Murray, 1856.)
3. *History of the Colonial Church.* By J. S. M. ANDERSON. 3 vols. (London: Rivingtons, 1845.)
4. *Church Organisation.* The Constitution of the Church in the United States of America, in Canada, and in New Zealand. With an Introduction by the Rev. W. SHERLOCK, B.A., Curate of Bray. (Dublin: Hodges, Foster, and Co., 1870.)
5. *The Colonial Church Chronicle, 1847—1870.* 24 vols. (London: Rivingtons.)
6. *History of the American Church.* By SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, D.D. (London: James Burns, 1846.)

THE Colonial Empire of Great Britain has grown up very much as our Home Empire has done: it has increased slowly but surely, and has been consolidated gradually and under the influence of a variety of conditions and forces. Considerations, political, commercial, religious—the chances of war, the subtle agency of diplomacy, the bold spirit of individual adventure, each and all of these have contributed to that ‘aggregation of territorial atoms’ which an American statesman described, if with hyperbole yet with genuine enthusiasm and admiration, as ‘a power to which Rome in the height of her glory was not to be compared, which has dotted over the whole surface of the globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum-beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth daily with one continuous and unbroken strain of martial music.’ Of our fifty colonies some have been conceded by treaty; others, having been first taken in the name of the British Sovereign, have been allowed, under royal charter, to be farmed by Companies of the Adventurers who originally discovered or seized them, while the larger number have been acquired by force of arms.

It is just three centuries ago that England made her first attempts at colonisation, when Queen Elizabeth authorised

Humphry Gilbert, the Knight of Compton in Devonshire, to 'take possession of all remote and barbarous lands unoccupied by any Christian prince or people.' The earlier voyages of discovery by the Cabots and others, although favoured by royalty, are not to be included in the list of our efforts at colonisation, and from the grant of this charter in 1578 nothing resulted, but it must nevertheless be regarded as the first of that series of events under which the Colonial Empire of Great Britain has developed until it occupies more than a seventh part of the globe. Further attempts, equally abortive, were made by Sir Humphry Gilbert and his kinsman Raleigh to occupy, first, Newfoundland, and subsequently Virginia. They were failures, but just such failures as are inevitable at the commencement of a great and abiding work; they bore witness to the presence of that colonising spirit which seems to be an instinct of the Anglo-Saxon race. It needed but the opportunity to achieve success, and the favourable time came when, with the accession of the Stuarts to the throne, peace abroad and religious intolerance at home thrust forth the bravest and the noblest spirits from their native shores, and first Barbados in 1605, and Virginia and New England in the following year, became British territory.

It will be observed that we draw at the outset a distinction very marked between colonisation and emigration. The latter is, so to speak, an accident. There always has been and must have been a leakage, more or less constant and premeditated, from every nation, and from one portion of the same country to another; the love of travel and of adventure has never been wholly suppressed by the difficulties which confronted it, even when the world was least civilised and the means of locomotion most scanty. These emigrations led often to the permanent occupation of other lands. Thus it was probably that the Papuan race from its cradle in the Hawaiian Islands 'occupied the clustering islands known as Polynesia proper, and penetrated even to New Zealand,'¹ and, it may be added, to Madagascar. Thus, too, it may have been that the Aryan races covered the plains of Hindustan, subduing and often extirpating the aboriginal tribes. But these capricious swarmings from the parent stock are not colonisation; something much more solemn is conveyed by that word. From the very first it seems to have been realised how great is the responsibility of sowing the field of the world with the seed of man; and even to the heathen it seemed essential that

¹ Hardwick's *Christ and other Masters*.

where the arts of life and the order of civil government were carried, these should be consecrated by such charities and sanctities of religion as were possessed by the mother country.¹ Thus it was, to limit our consideration to times that are at least within the scope of history, that the Grecian colonies, eminently inartistic and unsystematic as they were in regard to civil government, were bound by the sympathies and associations of the common creed to the mother country, the οἰκιστὴς taking with him the sacred fire from the Prytaneium, a visible and abiding token of the fact that, howsoever widely they were severed, the worship of those who stayed at home and of those who went forth to cultivate strange soil was still the same. The remembrance of a common origin becomes weaker and weaker as one generation succeeds to another; the common language after a time ceases to be common as the speech of the emigrant assimilates new expressions and strange words, and in time becomes a dialect and almost another tongue; and it would seem as though the Greeks had learned that neither identity of commercial interest nor identity of danger from a common enemy compelling to a common cause of self-defence was enough to bind colony to parent, and that only in the clanship of the temple and the altar could the abiding links be found.

Roman colonisation was essentially military, and when the Empire fell its dependencies fell with it, leaving no history behind them.

Of the seven European States which have made serious attempts at colonisation, Great Britain alone retains her dominions. As to the cause of this opinions will be found to vary. Some, we know, will be bold enough to say that it is because, along with wise laws and sound government, she gave the faith and organisation of the National Church, that England has been rewarded with the retention for a period so unprecedented of her remote dependencies. But can we assert that our Colonial Churches grew up *pari passu* with the Colonies themselves, and that their growth was a matter of Imperial concern? We fear that it will be our duty to show, before we lay down our pen, that this national obligation has been imperfectly remembered and

¹ It will be sufficient to point to the description of Nausithoos and his settlement in Scheria :—

ἀμφὶ δὲ τείχος ἔλασσε πόλει, καὶ ἐδείματο οἴκους,
καὶ νηοὺς ποίησε θεῶν, καὶ ἐδάσσατ' ἀρούρας.

Od. vi. 9, 10.

But Homer will yield other instances.

inadequately fulfilled ; that where the civil power has done anything for the perpetuation and extension of the Christian faith, its efforts have been of so narrow and unecclesiastical a type that blunders and failures have conspicuously been the result ; that our Colonial Churches are the outcome, under God, of private effort and munificence only recently called into action ; and that the labours of the comparatively few persons who have had this cause at heart, and have pursued it patiently and faithfully, have often been opposed and ridiculed by the majority.

True it is, that in the beginning of our attempts at colonisation, when each new possession on the other side of the Atlantic was regarded as an addition to the royal demesnes, and was annexed to the Manor of Windsor or Greenwich, the royal care was not lacking, and the propagation of the Gospel among the heathen was specified as one of the foremost objects to be promoted. This was insisted on in the charter given by James I. to the Virginia Company. Nor was this pious care limited to the Monarchy and Church. In 1648, 'the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, having received intelligence that the heathens in New England are beginning to call upon the name of the Lord, feel bound to assist in the work.' Such was the preamble of the charter given to the New England Company, which still exists and dispenses the interest of its endowments. Charles II., soon after the Restoration, established a 'Council of Foreign Plantations,' who sat in the Star Chamber at Westminster, and among their instructions are the following :—'To take care to propagate the Gospel ; to send strict orders and instructions for regulating and reforming the debaucheries of planters and servants ; to consider how the natives, or such as have been purchased from other parts to be servants or slaves, may be best invited to the Christian faith.' In 1726 a further manifestation of the royal care for the spiritual welfare of the colonies was evidenced in an Order in Council, by which the Bishop of London was empowered 'to exercise spiritual jurisdiction in the Plantations ;' in other words, the Colonial Empire, which even then embraced the States, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, the Leeward and Windward Islands, and the Bermudas, was presented with the shadow of Episcopacy, and the Bishop of London was saddled with the duty, which he could never fulfil, of overseeing the growing churches of these remote and scattered regions. It is not a solitary instance of the State assuming a nominal responsibility, and by so doing prevent-

ing the Church from making her own and more adequate arrangements.

For ourselves we are tempted to ascribe the friendly relations which exist between England and her colonies to more mundane and less creditable causes, which we prefer to give in words which are not our own. In an article in the *Nineteenth Century* for March 1877, on 'The Imperial Policy of Great Britain,' Sir John Lubbock writes as follows:—

'The Athenians exacted a considerable annual contribution from their allied States, and this formed indeed a very important portion of their revenue.¹ With the Romans it was the first principle of taxation that the provinces were to defray the expenses of the Empire. When they conquered Sicily, for instance, they exacted one-tenth of the field produce and five per cent. of the value of all exports and imports. Coming down to more recent times, other countries—as, for instance, Spain, Portugal, and Holland—have derived considerable revenues from their colonial possessions. Very different has been the conduct of England. So far from deriving any revenue from her colonies, she has spent enormous sums of money for their benefit.'

It is no pessimist view of human nature which ascribes the cohesion of the home and foreign portions of our Empire to self-interest and personal advantage. The colonies contribute nothing to the mother country, but derive immense advantages from the union. Once and once only the attempt was made to tax a colony, and the result was the immediate loss of the thirteen States of America, and we confess that there seems to us to be something irreverent and pharisaic in the self-complacent theory that attributes our permanent hold on our colonies to our zeal for their spiritual good.

That in our earliest colonisation the religious element should have been present, if it were not the very origin of the colonisation itself, is only what we should expect to find in that particular epoch; it was an age of controversy, a period in which the religious sentiment, which often turned faith into faction, pervaded the whole people, however widely severed they may have been by doctrinal shibboleths. There is this gain in an age of controversy, especially where the strife is not between Christianity and Atheism, but between different doctrines each professing to be Christian, that a philosophic contempt of all truth is impossible; men are compelled to range themselves on the side where their convictions are, and divisions, however much to be deprecated, are preferable to sheer apathy. In this respect the seventeenth century compares

¹ Thucydides, bk. I. c. 19; II. c. 13.

favourably with the eighteenth, sunk as it was in the depth of Hanoverian torpor, and the colonisation of the two centuries does but reproduce an accurate reflection of the religious life which prevailed in the mother country in each period. Indeed, the factions which, rooted in religious prejudices, distracted and well nigh destroyed the whole fabric of society at home, stamped upon our earlier colonies the impression of zeal for God which made indifference to religious matters impossible. The merely reckless and irreligious lives which adventurers are wont to lead in a new and uncivilised country were counteracted and shamed into something like decency by the example and presence of those who, whichever side they had embraced, had crossed the seas and forsaken house and lands for their religious convictions. Thus it was when the Royalists, seeing the cause of their Sovereign daily becoming weaker, looked to other lands for safety and peaceful homes, 'the calamities of England,' in the words of an old chronicler, 'served to people Barbados.' Says Clarendon—'It was principally inhabited by men who had retired hither only to be quiet and to be free from the noise and oppressions in England, and without any ill thoughts towards the King, many of them having served him with fidelity and courage during the war, and, that being ended, having made that island their refuge from further persecutions.' According to their light they provided for the maintenance of the truth, and for the discouragement, if not the suppression, of error. Between 1641 and 1650, when at home the Church and Monarchy were making a sore struggle for existence, the Barbados authorities were dividing the island into parishes, building a church in each parish, and laying a tax of a pound of tobacco on each acre for the support of the clergyman. 'Divers opinionated and self-conceited persons, who have declared an absolute dislike to the government of the Church of England' (so runs the act of that date), were made to conform. Masters and overseers of families were commanded to read prayers daily, morning and evening; attendance at church 'on the Sabbath' was compulsory, morning and evening, on all who lived within two miles of their parish church, and once a month was the minimum of attendance demanded from those who lived at a greater distance. Ten pounds of cotton was the fine levied for each offence. To this island Cromwell banished his captives, Irish and English, and thus the religious fervour of the people was sustained. The good settlers had not learned that the duties of religion can never be enforced by fines and imprisonment, or

that the civil power can never assume the functions of the spiritual without signal failure.

The earlier attempts at colonisation on the American continent were marked by careful concern for the heathen aborigines as well as for the religious life of the adventurers. To Frobisher's third expedition, which was despatched by the Government in 1578, there was added by Her Majesty's Council 'one Master Wollfall to be their minister and preacher.' His position at home was one of distinction and remuneration; but he went forth 'caring only to save soules and to reform those infidels, if it were possible, to Christianity.' On reaching the American shore he 'celebrated a communion on land, at the partaking whereof was the captaine and many other gentlemen and souldiers, mariners and miners, with him. The celebration of the divine mystery was the first sign, seale, and confirmation of Christ's name, death, and passion ever knowen in these quarters.'¹ In the adventures of Gilbert and Raleigh the proclamation of the faith of Christ is constantly set forth as their main object: the charter for the colonisation of Virginia distinctly provided, as has been already mentioned, for the sustenance of religion. Whitaker and Sandys were not the men to live long among heathen and make no effort for their enlightenment, and the story of Pocahontas will ever continue to witness to their zeal.

The conformity enforced at home during the reign of Elizabeth and James I. was destined to work a terrible Nemesis across the Atlantic. Sufferers for conscience' sake, the Puritans of the first years of the seventeenth century were bold to give up all for freedom of worship. They found what England denied to them in Holland, but the poverty which befell them in that country, where the shrewd and industrious natives forestalled them, made them turn their thoughts to the New World. Sandys, who differed from them on every point, was willing to befriend them and to secure for them the liberty which they coveted if they settled in Virginia, but the pedant James I. would give them no charter, and without a charter there was in those days no security; so in 1620 the Puritan pilgrims set out on their perilous voyage, and at last laid the foundations of New Plymouth, and in a few years covered the colony of New England. Thus again was colonisation distinctly based upon religious convictions; but, alas! Puritanism carried with it the seeds of infinite division and subdivision: the authorities watched with alarm and dismay the multiplying sects, which were the logical results of their

¹ Hackluyt.

principles. Their own sufferings had taught them no lessons of toleration ; not merely were Churchmen proscribed, but it was made penal to give food or lodging to ' Quakers, Adamites, or other heretics.' They, or their fathers, had left England in bitterness of soul, without a sigh or regret, to escape the harsh laws which compelled them to attend their parish church ;—no sooner were they the majority, than they ' discovered that to say that men ought to have liberty of conscience is impious ignorance !' To these bitter Independents the Indians seemed no part of the family of Adam, but ' pernicious creatures of whom the woods must be cleared to make room for a better growth : ' and this clearing process they did not fail to expedite, until John Eliot rose up among them, whose labours for the remnant of these poor people gained for him the title of the apostle of the Red Indians.

So with the foundation of the other States in the seventeenth century, the first consideration was given to religion. It will be seen that in the following century religion was the last thing thought of. When Maryland was given to Lord Baltimore in 1633 and settled by that nobleman with 200 English families, who brought with them their dependants and clients, and reproduced on a strange soil all the associations and habits of English rural life, it probably presented the most perfect type that we can discover of what colonisation should be. Lord Baltimore and his friends were Romanists, but that circumstance does but confirm our statement that all our American colonies had a religious origin. In Maryland, although, as was natural, Popery was dominant, all Christian bodies had full toleration. So with Pennsylvania, which was purchased by William Penn of the Duke of York, in order that his friends and co-religionists might have an asylum, it is religious conviction that establishes the settlement ; even in Carolina, which the frivolous Charles II. gave to Lord Berkeley, the constitution, which made all sects equal, insisted on every person enrolling himself a member of some one of the many that abounded in a land of multiplied divisions. Before the close of the seventeenth century the colonies had increased rapidly. The East India Company had established their first settlement in Hindustan in 1611 ; a few years passed, and they possessed themselves of Madras ; in 1662 the island of Bombay passed as the dowry of the queen of Charles II. from the Portuguese to the British crown ; Cromwell added Jamaica to the West Indian colonies in 1655 ; the Hudson's Bay Company commenced in 1670 the monopoly of Rupert's Land which they were des-

tioned to possess for 190 years; New Amsterdam was taken from the Dutch in 1664 and renamed New York; St. Helena had been seized by the East India Company from the Dutch; the act was condoned by Charles II., who gave them a charter by which so valuable a halting-place on the voyage to India was secured to them; and many of the families who had been ruined by the great fire of London sought to recover their shattered fortunes by emigrating to this small speck amid the Atlantic waste of waters. But this quasi-religious colonisation hardly survived the seventeenth century, and, being such as it was, it sowed a crop of heresies which speedily counteracted the good which it contained. Specially the American colonies, as being the oldest, and, as they were contiguous to each other, the largest in one area, and the most populated, gave the greatest concern to thoughtful people at home. Amid the frivolities and extravagance of the Restoration period there were not a few pious souls who looked with dismay at the state of those growing regions, in which all the divisions of the mother country had been transplanted, and were increasing with the rapidity of noxious weeds, and for which the Church had done but little. Sir Leoline Jenkins at this time founded the Missionary Fellowships at Jesus College, Oxford, which are now held in strict compliance with the directions of their founder. Robert Boyle, foiled in his scheme of heading a 'missionary company for the propagation of the Gospel among the heathen natives of New England,' founded the lectures which bear his name as an annual appeal to the Church at home, compelling it to missionary effort.

Doubtless it was owing to the influence of such Churchmen as these that even in the reign of Charles II. the design of consecrating a bishop for Virginia was seriously entertained and nearly accomplished. The letters patent—those august documents for which Churchmen have paid so many thousands of pounds, the refusal of which has so much retarded the progress of the Church, and whose value is now declared by the authorities who have been wont to grant them to be less than that of the parchments on which they are written—these mysterious and potent instruments were prepared in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and Virginia lost her bishop only because the scheme of providing the endowment out of the customs did not commend itself to the authorities. Then commenced the vicious system to which in various forms we have ever since been driven by the opposition of all governments to an adequate increase of the episcopate. The Bishop of London could only appoint commissaries, who

of course could exercise jurisdiction, but, being only priests, could not convey the spiritual gifts, for the conferring of which the episcopate exists. Such an entire misapprehension of the inherent powers of the episcopate still lives; there are persons who can only associate government and jurisdiction with the functions of a bishop, and such jurisdiction is too often made to depend on letters patent or (worse still) on the power of the purse. Accordingly, in some missions, where, as in India, the episcopate is on far too small a scale, the 'jurisdiction' is that of a secretary, or a senior missionary, or a local committee, each and all dependent on another and irresponsible committee in London, who provide the funds. In the case of the American States the commissaries—Dr. Blair and Dr. Bray,—who were sent to Virginia and Maryland respectively by the Bishop of London in 1683 and 1695, were excellent men, chiefly in this respect, that, while doing all that was within their competence, they energetically proclaimed the insufficiency of their powers. Their representations led, it is hardly necessary to state, to the formation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1698, and out of this was constituted, three years later, more formally and with the concurrence of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

The more missionaries were sent out to America, the more the need of bishops was felt. The earnest, even passionate appeals made by American Churchmen nearly 200 years ago, exhibit an amount of zeal for Apostolic order which we are not wont to associate with an era so apathetic in religious matters. A far-seeing missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1703 urged his appeal by the consideration that 'a learned and good man would go further and do the Church more service with 100*l.* per annum now than with a coach and six one hundred years hence.' It is a pity that the name of one so far in advance of his age is not given to us in the record from which we quote; we believe he was called Talbot. Bishop Gibson, who had succeeded Compton in the See of London, declined the responsibility of the colonies: he could find no authority for his assuming it. He looked in vain for the Order in Council (*temp.* Charles I.) under which to this day the Bishop of London claims jurisdiction over all British subjects, from Calais to Fiji, who are not within the limits of other Anglican dioceses; but on receiving a commission from the King he followed the example of his predecessor and appointed his commissaries! In the reign of Queen Anne four bishoprics

were likely to be founded, two for the West Indies and two for the continent of America ; but with the death of that sovereign the hopes of Churchmen died also ; the dread of strengthening the Church at home by sending bishops to the colonies raised a powerful opposition, and the West Indies had to wait nearly a century before the boon was obtained, while the States cut the knot by declaring their civil independence, and then their spiritual liberty followed as a matter of course. So earnest was the demand for the gifts of the episcopate that two missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were consecrated by some of the nonjuring bishops, and on their return to America they administered confirmation and probably ordination, but with the utmost secrecy. Loyalty and Churchmanship had been up to this time convertible terms ; but now, being brought into conflict, devotion to the throne predominated with some, while others cared first for the Church. The struggles of William White about 1780-1787 remind us of the outspoken claims which Bishop Gray was wont, with equal boldness and with not less reward, to put forth some seventy years later.

In 1784 Dr. Seabury was consecrated at Aberdeen, the English bishops fearing to incur unknown perils by laying hands on an alien without letters patent or royal mandate. The 'Jerusalem Bishopric Act' is the creation almost of our own generation. By means of its provisions a clumsy way has been devised for consecrating in this country some three or four bishops for foreign countries not within the dominions of the Crown of England ; but it is, after all, an evasive method of shirking a difficulty, and its advantages have never compensated for the unhappy scheme, for whose accomplishment it was in an evil day placed on the Statute Book.

With the independence of the United States and the consecration of Seabury at Aberdeen in 1784 and of Dr. White and Dr. Provoost at Lambeth in 1787, under the provisions of a special Act of Parliament, this portion of our quondam Colonial Church and Empire claims our notice no more. We have traced its struggles and fortunes at some length. They have their importance, inasmuch as they are repeated in their main features from time to time in other parts of the world ; from them we may learn to avoid the blunders of the last century, and no one can know anything of the present state of the Church of the United States with her fifty-seven bishops and her missions covering the whole of the western portions of the continent, her true mission field, and extending to Western Africa and to Japan, without being encouraged

in his efforts for planting the Church in other regions in the integrity of her organisation and with fullest spiritual liberty.

At last fear gave what unfaithfulness had for nearly two centuries refused. With the United States already slipped from our grasp, politicians began to fear what next would be lost, and straightway arrangements were made for conferring on what remained to us of the Western continent, the long-refused episcopate. In 1787 the see of Nova Scotia was founded; many of the clergy, who had been Royalists, found their way from the States to Canada, and one of them, Charles Inglis,¹ was the first of our Colonial bishops. His see was the whole of British North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific, until in 1793 the diocese of Quebec was formed. The State, which had hitherto thwarted the Church, now demoralised her by excessive liberality, the price or the reward of her loyalty; the bishops and the clergy drew their incomes from Imperial funds; the cathedral at Quebec was built by George III. 'out of his Royal Bounty,' on the representation of the bishop; King's College at Windsor in Nova Scotia was subsidised by the British Government for many years to the extent of 1,000*l.* per annum, and in 1791 the lands known as the 'Clergy Reserves' were set apart by Act of Parliament for the maintenance and support of 'a Protestant clergy.' In time these grants were withdrawn, and the Clergy Reserves were applied to other purposes, the interests of the existing clergy being liberally commuted, and the sums paid for commutation were applied to the permanent endowment of the disestablished Canadian Churches. This system of State aid has been tried in other colonies, of which we shall write by-and-by; we may say once for all that we know not a single case in which it has not been dearly purchased at the price of suppressing zeal and discouraging all attempts at self-help.

More than thirty years ago, the then Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer,² a devout Churchman himself, at a public meeting held in the interests of the Colonial Church, drew a true and thoughtful picture of the evils of such aid. He said:

'It often happens that the attempt to force upon those who are unwilling contributions for religious objects, goes far to neutralise the benefits which had been anticipated from such contributions. It

¹ He had been a confessor in the cause of loyalty, when in his church in New York he had persisted in praying for the King, though he had been threatened with terrible things if he dared do so, and the church was filled with armed soldiers prepared to execute their threats.

² Mr. Goulburn.

frequently engenders a spirit of hostility and resistance which is destructive of religious peace, and presents but an ill example to those who are desirous to call others into our fold, upon the ground that we are brethren and act as such. And for my part I freely confess that contributions on the part of the State lose half their value, as compared with those liberal voluntary contributions of individuals which, proceeding from a sense of duty, are rendered by them with a consciousness of the duty which they fulfil. In the case of the legislature, it is unnecessary to say that the majority dispose of that to which they themselves contribute but a small part. It is given with no charitable feeling. It requires no immediate sacrifice. It may be levied by them upon individuals, whose mite can carry with it no consciousness of satisfaction in the payment, or who may not, perhaps, have any idea of the object for which that sum is to be applied. But when you call for individual contributions—when each man comes forward, either from his wealth or from his poverty, to lend his aid—the act is calculated to benefit himself individually at the same time that it confers the greatest benefit upon the country. The man so called upon to contribute feels that he is a responsible agent discharging a sacred duty committed to him, and the gift blesses not only the receiver, but in a double proportion it blesses the man that gives. And it is for this reason that I prefer voluntary assistance to any contribution, however liberal, that may be made on behalf of the public.’

These words were uttered in 1840, and two years later the principle contained in them was acted upon by Bishop Selwyn, who, when laying the foundations of the New Zealand Church, said :

‘I have thought it my duty to decline accepting assistance from the State here upon the principle of its Church Act, which is a copy of the New South Wales Act, and which professes only to give its assistance to the Church as one of the many denominations of Christians ; at the same time hampering the Churches so assisted with a board of trustees and other unecclesiastical machinery, which has already proved injurious to the Church in Sydney. I have therefore felt obliged to assume a position of entire independence, offering to buy whatever land might be required for the Church rather than submit to restrictions of which I cannot approve.’

To return from this digression. It will have been observed that in the first three quarters of the eighteenth century scarcely any addition was made to our Colonial Empire ; probably the disturbed condition both of the Continent and of our own country supplied sufficient occupation for all the chivalry and adventure of the period. Canada, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward’s Island became portions of the British Empire between 1713 and 1771 ; but these, which have since become important colonies,

were ceded by treaty, and were not so much British colonies, occupied by enterprising emigrants from the mother country, as settlements transferred from one rule to another.

But the defection of the American States was destined to work out results little anticipated by those who brought it about. They were contending about matters of taxation and finance; they little knew that, while fighting for liberty and autonomy on these matters, they were indirectly hastening on events which would result in the rise of countries larger in area, richer in resources, and destined perhaps to play a more important part in the world's drama than themselves.

There is a problem which from time to time gives great trouble to the Secretary of State for the Home Department; it confronts and puzzles that high official even now when model prisons and penitentiaries of colossal size have been built. It greatly puzzled the Home Secretary about the year 1780. The problem was, and is, What is to be done with our criminals? Crime cannot be consumed at home like smoke; it may be reformed, but the process is a spiritual one, and therefore beyond the power of a governmental department. While America was British territory, English crime was transplanted to those States, and felons, out of sight, were out of mind; not only murderers and pick-pockets were received by our colonies, but many also of our best and noblest, whose loyalty to the memory of the Stuarts was their chief offence. But the independence of America closed this outlet, and our overcrowded gaols were reeking with pestilence, moral and physical. It was proposed to build huge penitentiaries, as, indeed, has been done now that our colonies everywhere decline to retard the growth of their independence and prosperity by receiving an annual accession of felons to their population. Not so in the last century; for if America was closed to them, Captain Cook at the antipodes had taken possession of New Holland, a vast and arid region inhabited by a nomadic and degraded race of savages sure to disappear before the advance of the white men—a region so remote as to preclude return, and from which there was no escape, except into the unknown and sterile desert beyond.

Here was the spot to which our home-grown crime should be deported; and so in 1787, the year which saw the foundation of our first Colonial See, the first batch of convicts was sent forth to Botany Bay, from whence they were moved to Sydney Cove. The ceremonies which accompanied this important event form a painful contrast to those of the colonists of America in the preceding century. *They* had

inaugurated their first occupation of the new soil by Eucharists and prayers; but when on January 28, 1788, the foundation was laid of the city of Sydney, we read that 'the flag of England was hoisted and salutes fired, between which the healths of King George III. and the Royal Family were cordially drunk,' but of religion there was not the barest recognition. On this basis of crime was raised the superstructure of our Australasian colonies, which now rank as one of the great divisions of the world, with a future which it is absurd to conjecture; for who can say what will be the condition of the Australian Empire, or Republic, or group of sister kingdoms, even at the close of the present century? But we must refrain from speculation and keep to the humbler and saddened origin of these colonies which fills such a humiliating page in our national history.

Carefully and elaborately did the Parliament of 1787 plan the first colonisation of New Holland. 1,030 persons were sent out in 1787 in ten ships, and of these four-fifths were convicts. The voyage lasted ten months, but it was not that they were for this length of time cooped up on board their floating prisons, corrupting and corrupt, without any of the restraining influences of religion, but that at the end of their voyage and for the rest of their lives they would be equally deprived of all spiritual aids. If the Parliament of that day had been composed exclusively of atheists they could have devised nothing which could have shown a more entire oblivion of the dictates of religion. At the last moment a clergyman who volunteered to accompany them was allowed to do so, but year after year passed and saw the convict population largely increased, and no church was built, save a small wooden house, which the good man erected at his own charges and largely with his own hands, and which was burnt down as a token of scorn for religion and of derision for the priest who continued his thankless toil. In 1794, Samuel Marsden, destined twenty years later to carry the Gospel to the savages of New Zealand, less degraded than many of his flock in Australia, joined the first chaplain, but their labours were unable to stem the torrent; punishments the most severe had no terrors for men who welcomed death as a release from the miseries of their existence. So the eighteenth century closed on our Colonial Empire, which, with the exception of the two dioceses of Nova Scotia and Quebec, was supposed to be part of the diocese of London.

A schoolboy's acquaintance with the history of the first twenty years of the present century would at once prepare one

for the statement that there was little extension of the Church in that period, so stormy both at home and abroad. From time to time the question of the promotion of Christianity in Hindustan had been by its supporters brought into prominence and as often crushed by its opponents; but the renewal of the old Company's charter gave to the Archbishop of Canterbury an opportunity of reopening the question, and the reports of the labours of Buchanan, of Schwartz, and of the Serampore brethren, together with the representations of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, had attracted public attention in a way that could not be safely disregarded. So, under the importunate pleadings of Wilberforce, the Company and the Government had to yield, and in 1814 Bishop Middleton was sent to Calcutta with a stipend of 5,000*l.*, and was supplied with three archdeacons each with 2,000*l.* per annum; but the very sermon that was preached at his consecration was suppressed, so strong was the opposition to the establishment of the episcopate in India, so great was the fear of offending the Hindu mind. The poor bishop, spite of his vast qualifications for his high position, hardly did more than demonstrate the necessity for an episcopate far more extensive and much less fettered by considerations of State policy and by the demands of Acts of Parliament which never contemplated such a position as he was called upon to occupy. He said that he was 'working in fetters;' he was unable to ordain natives who were not British subjects, because they could not take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and he discovered, when too late, that he had no jurisdiction which could empower him to censure peccant priests. With this notice of the first concession of the episcopate to Hindustan we pass on, for we have lately treated of the Indian Church, and it hardly forms a part of the Colonial Church with which we are dealing.

In 1820 the Hudson's Bay Company sent a solitary clergyman to that region, which has within the last year or two declared itself a separate ecclesiastical province, and which has four bishops within its limits. The Scotch adventurers who formed the Hudson's Bay Company had held the country since 1669, but they had satisfied their consciences by enjoining on the chief factor in charge of each post 'to read the Church service to their servants and people every Sabbath.' The Rev. J. West, the pioneer of Christianity to Rupert's Land, was equal to his position, and in thirty years' time the country was conceived to be deserving of a bishop

of its own. In 1824 the Government founded the Bishoprics of Jamaica and Barbados with a stipend from public funds of 4,000*l.* per annum to each see; four archdeaconries were founded at the same time with stipends of 2,000*l.* per annum to each. For 200 years, as has been already mentioned, Barbados had been divided into parishes, each with its own clergyman supported by public taxation. To anticipate events somewhat, it may be added that in 1840, after the slave population had become wholly free, the number of the clergy in Barbados was doubled and their stipends increased. It is equally matter of history, which we may here record, that the Church in these islands, so aided by public funds, showed herself a stranger to the principle and the duty of self-help, and, when the State aid was withdrawn, was so helpless that her very existence was threatened. It was on the establishment of this see that Mr. Keble received the only offer of preferment, with the exception of the vicarage of Hursley, which was ever made to him; Bishop Coleridge wishing him to become the first archdeacon of Barbados. We subjoin his estimate of a Church so founded and so maintained in his own language, in a letter to his friend Dyson:—

‘Talking of archdeacons, what say you to my going out archdeacon to Barbados under W. Coleridge? Would you advise me to go out or not? . . . Thinks I to myself, one cannot surely think of a West Indian archdeaconry with 2,000*l.* a year, &c., &c., as a sort of primitive mission to which everything must give way. In short, thinks I to myself, ’tis a mere political thing, and I’m sure Dyson would say the same.’¹

Elsewhere also State aid had been largely given. In Nova Scotia the Government had made several bargains with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which was the only representative of the Church, and for the first quarter of the nineteenth century expended some 11,000*l.* annually in the support of clergy and the erection of churches. In Australia, which was regarded as a prison, just as India was looked on as a military garrison, aid was given to all denominations in proportion to their numbers as shown by the Census returns; but these doles were unsatisfactory in their nature, and have either entirely ceased or continue in diminished amounts during the lives of those to whom they were assigned. The apathy of the Churches, to whom they were a perilous possession, may reconcile us to their loss, and to the certainty that no such experiment will be re-

¹ *Memoir*, p. 115.

peated. In 1835 and 1837 respectively, the sees of Madras and Bombay were formed, and the revenues of the bishops provided from the taxes of the country. In 1836 Archdeacon Broughton, no common man, became Bishop of Australia, his income being also provided by public funds. In 1839 the diocese of Newfoundland was founded, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel providing 500*l.* per annum, and public funds adding 700*l.* more, which ceased on the death of the Apostolic Bishop Feild last year.

It was reserved for Bishop Blomfield to eclipse all his great services to the Church, and to surpass even his scheme for providing the population of London with adequate church accommodation, by calling attention to the fact that in our rapidly extending colonies we were either spreading an unavowed but most real Presbyterianism, or giving over those rising countries to actual infidelity. At the time of his great appeal the whole foreign dominions of the British Empire had only nine bishops of the Anglican succession, of whom seven were dependent wholly or partially on the precarious grants of public money for their maintenance ; that number has now become sixty-two, and nearly all existing sees have within themselves the promise of permanency. But it is not only for its remarkable results that Bishop Blomfield's appeal is famous ; it commands our admiration for the boldness with which it condemned past policy even more than for its wisdom as regards the future, for the plans of the good men of 1841 contained many blunders which it will be our duty to point out before we have done. How the Church had failed in her duty to keep pace with the growth of our Empire, Archdeacon Grant set forth from the University pulpit at Oxford in 1843, in words which we cannot forbear from quoting, exploding, as they do, the self-complacent theory already mentioned, which ascribes to National piety the retention of our colonies :—

‘This Empire has not been the growth of a day ; for two hundred years savages and pagans have been brought within the ranges of its enterprise and influence. And we must with shame at once confess that the whole of that period exhibits nearly a blank page of indolence or indifference. For above a hundred years the utmost that was done was to maintain something like an establishment of Christianity by a few priests in our American colonies ; again, chaplains were thinly scattered with our garrisons and factories along the coasts of the vast Indian continent, and lined the border of the dark masses of heathenism without an effort, without the means, to invade and enlighten them. A few heathen, a small remnant, or rather a first-fruits, brought immediately under the control of European

masters, were gathered in, and these should have been thankfully hailed as the first large drops that portend a coming shower to fertilise the whole ground; but nothing beyond this seems to have been aimed at. It was left to other and smaller States to make a first essay on paganism. Denmark, among Reformed nations, established the first mission in Hindustan, and it must again be acknowledged with shame that whatever more cheering conquests have been gained in subsequent times in India have been effected by German missionaries aided with British money. In vain do we look for one name in the annals of our Church shining with the lustrous title of 'Apostle to the heathen;' and sects that have seceded from the Church have combined in associations and have multiplied means and societies, till throughout the vast continents of the East and West and the multitudinous isles of the South their emissaries are scattering the Word of God and instructing savages in the truths of the Gospel.'

Although Bishop Blomfield had to combat in the mass those objections with which the promoters of each new see have been confronted in detail, he was permitted almost immediately to see the partial accomplishment of his scheme; it was only on Whitsun-Tuesday, 1841, that the Archbishops and Bishops sent forth from Lambeth the famous declaration, which launched the Colonial Bishopricks Fund, and before the year ended Bishop Selwyn was on his way to New Zealand. In 1842, on the resignation of Bishop Coleridge, the see of Barbados was divided, and Antigua and Guiana were added to the colonial dioceses which were wholly maintained by public funds. The three West Indian bishops were consecrated in Westminster Abbey, together with the Bishops of Gibraltar and Tasmania, whose sees were founded by the Colonial Bishopricks Fund; it was an event wholly without precedent, and the sight of five bishops sent forth in one day, four of them to new sees, gave hope and courage to many hearts. The Churchmen of thirty-five years ago had not learned how precarious is the tenure of what they in their simplicity called endowments, which were grants of money dependent on the will of the legislature.

In 1845 the See of Colombo was founded, thereby relieving the Bishop of Madras of that island; its income was provided from colonial funds, which the local legislature proposed, but the other day, to disallow to the present bishop even without giving notice of such stoppage of his whole official income; and when the same question was subsequently proposed to the House of Commons 121 members were found to say 'Aye' to it. In the same year the Colonial Bishopricks Fund established on a surer basis the see of Fredericton, and

Bishop Medley took spiritual charge of New Brunswick, hitherto a part of the diocese of Nova Scotia. In 1846 the abnormal conception of the Jerusalem Bishopric shocked the feelings of Eastern and Western Christendom : and if it has not been as actively disastrous as was anticipated, the deliverance is only to be explained by its being a conspicuous failure. It is said that Prince Bismarck has determined to appropriate the income on the next vacancy of the office, and, if so, we shall not be among those who will grieve at the step.

Bishop Broughton's ten years' labours in Australia were now beginning to tell. He had travelled incessantly, often through several adjacent counties which had never had a clergyman within their borders even for a passing visit. The efforts of the S.P.G. had been for some years concentrated on Australia, as previously they had been on America, and gradually some skeleton system of ecclesiastical organisation appeared. The bishop was a far-seeing man, and he foretold the importance of the hamlet on the Yarra-yarra, where, in 1838, he expressed his satisfaction that the 'prayers and a sermon were read every Sunday by a most respectable layman,' and the people, on Easter Day of that year, received at his hands the Holy Communion, 'then for the first time celebrated in that remote region.' This hamlet has now grown into the city of Melbourne. In like manner the good prelate endeavoured to keep pace with, and even to anticipate, the influx of population attracted by the climate, the rich pasturage, and the mineral wealth of South Australia ; but the more he travelled, the more the immense work which unfolded itself to him showed the necessity of the division of his see. He applied for aid to the Government, who already gave him 2,000*l.* per annum for his own income, and was told that if he wanted more bishops he must pay for them. He offered to surrender half of his income, and did ultimately give up 500*l.* per annum ; and on St. Peter's Day, 1847, four new sees received each its own bishop. Three of these were on the Australian continent ; they were Newcastle, Melbourne, and Adelaide ; the fourth was Capetown.

With the foundation of the sees of Sierra Leone and Victoria (Hongkong) in 1851, the *Colonial* Episcopate may be said to have been completed. It was largely deficient in numbers, but at last it had overtaken the Colonial Empire, the whole of which was, nominally at least, taken from the still more nominal charge of the Bishop of London, and attached to some diocese nearer to it than England. It needed but the setting up of the episcopate thus in outline

to show how essential it was to divide and to subdivide unmanageable sees. In 1849 Rupert's Land, itself nearly as large as Europe, had become a separate see, extending from E. to W. some 3,500 miles. In the following year Bishop Fulford became first Bishop of Montreal, and during an episcopate of less than twenty years founded and developed a system of ecclesiastical polity which is a model to all dioceses and provinces. In 1853 Grahamstown and Natal were taken out of Capetown, and the bungling of the legal advisers of the Crown at that epoch sowed the seed of many subsequent law-suits. In 1854 Mauritius was taken from Colombo and constituted a separate diocese; here the bishop has been largely dependent on public funds for his income—funds which were given grudgingly and of which the withdrawal was perpetually threatened. The Anglican Church in this island has been little more than a somewhat feeble section, in the presence of prevailing Romanism and heathenism; she has never adequately asserted her spiritual rights, but has clung to the fiction of letters patent and political supremacy, and when, with the death of the last bishop, all State aid and recognition vanished, she was found to be without any organisation or cohesion; there was no body to elect a bishop, and, but for special and probably unprecedented arrangements that were made in England, the Anglican Church in Mauritius would have been effaced at once. In 1855 Bishop M'Dougall was consecrated at Calcutta Bishop of Labuan, it having been found impossible to allow the Archbishop of Canterbury to send a bishop to Borneo, even at the request of the Rajah, without assigning a title and a diocese, happily provided by a tiny adjacent island which was British territory,—a piece of pedantry at which we are at last beginning to be able to laugh.

All subsequently formed dioceses have been either subdivisions of older ones or missionary dioceses thrust out from old centres. In 1856 the see of Christchurch, New Zealand, was formed, and two years later Bishop Selwyn found himself the Primate of a province with four suffragans, Wellington, Nelson, and Waiapu having been made separate dioceses. In 1857 Adelaide, then ten years old, cut off Western Australia, and the see of Perth was founded. In the same year the old diocese of Toronto took a very important step. In founding the diocese of Huron, it established the precedent of electing its own bishop by the free suffrages of the clergy and laity. Hitherto the nomination had come from the Crown, but even now it was necessary that the nominated bishop should come to England and be conse-

crated by the Archbishop of Canterbury under letters patent ; but the precedent of free election was established which was a great advance. In 1859 the diocese of Brisbane was formed out of Newcastle, St. Helena was taken from Capetown, and, almost simultaneously with the foundation of the colony, which had hitherto been leased to the Hudson's Bay Company, the diocese of Columbia was formed.

The year 1861 was an important one. It was then that the Anglican Church in three widely severed portions of the globe asserted her inherent spiritual right to send her missions under episcopal rule into the regions beyond, and thus vindicated her position as a branch of the Catholic Church in a manner unknown to our forefathers. Not without much opposition was the victory gained. For years the question of 'missionary bishops' had been discussed, and by those who could not see beyond the limits of the 'United Church of England and Ireland' the idea was scouted. To the perseverance of Bishop Gray and Bishop Wilberforce we owe it that the knot was at length severed. The former bishop had determined to occupy the country opened by Livingstone's discoveries, and had equally determined that a bishop should head the mission. He consulted his brethren in England, who doubted whether they had legal power to send bishops beyond the Queen's dominions ; he likewise consulted the Lord Chancellor, who took eight months to consider his reply, having meanwhile communicated with the Governor at the Cape as to the political effects on the colony of a bishop being sent to the Zambesi ! Finally the great bishop was informed by the Colonial Secretary that he would infringe no prerogative of Church or State if he consecrated a bishop for Central Africa in the Cathedral of Capetown.

But Convocation was not so easily won to the same view, and for a whole year the Canterbury Convocation had the question before them. The Lower House indeed presented a report recommending that missionary bishops should be sent—

'I. Where a large staff of missionaries is necessary, or

'II. Where a large and imposing organisation of heathenism has to be confronted, especially in regions lying remote from any diocese of our Church.'

But in the Upper House there was more division of opinion. The Bishop of London (Tait) opposed the scheme as introducing 'a very serious change in what had hitherto been the universal practice of the Church of England—viz. that the Queen shall, in virtue of her supremacy, nominate all bishops of the Church of England, either in the colonies or at

home.' However, after a year's deliberation, the Upper House practically agreed with the Lower, and expressed a 'hope that the Bishop of Capetown with his comprovincials may be able to see fit to admit the head of the mission into the episcopal order before he be sent forth to the heathen.' This was agreed to on June 8, 1860, and on the first day of 1861 Bishop Mackenzie was consecrated, and his brief but glorious episcopate was the best answer to those who doubted the wisdom of sending missionary bishops to the heathen. In the following month the Rev. J. C. Patteson was consecrated in New Zealand missionary bishop for Melanesia, and before the year ended the Mother Church sent forth a missionary bishop to the Hawaiian Islands.

It was a memorable year in which from Canterbury, from Capetown, and from Auckland, three missions were sent forth to carry the organisation of the Church in its integrity to heathen lands; but the movement did not end here. The Metropolitan of Capetown, having sent one missionary bishop to the Zambesi, determined now to send another to the Orange Free State, and again consulted the English Convocations. The eminent lawyers to whom Archbishop Sumner had applied for a solution of the suggested legal difficulty agreed in admitting that none existed; but they added that bishops thus consecrated 'must not assume the status, style, or dignity of bishops while within Her Majesty's dominions,' and yet again they added *more suo* the perfectly gratuitous expression of their individual opinions that 'novel proceedings of this nature, which have no precedent in our constitutional usage, are much to be deprecated and discouraged.' So thought, A.D. 1861, 'J. D. Harding, R. Bethell, W. Atherton.' No doubt all repentance and amendment of life have to incur the inconveniences of innovation; but never was there so quaintly solemn a lamentation over departing stagnation as that of these distinguished lawyers! Their *obiter dicta*, however, found at least one sympathiser in the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury. As we read the chronicles of the Southern Convocation we are amazed at the ill-disguised aversion of some of the bishops from the proposed extension of the Church. The Bishop of Gloucester (Thomson), with that suspicion of Bishop Gray's motives which he never tried to conceal, intimated that that great prelate, having in the consecration of Bishop Mackenzie done something wrong, wished to shelter himself under the name of Convocation by seeking advice concerning the consecration of a bishop for the Orange Free State. The Bishop of Oxford observed

that 'when they were taking into consideration so important a matter, to treat it with contumely, or to try to induce others to do so, was not the conduct which a brother, who had joined in prayer to God for His guidance to them in their deliberations, should pursue,' and the Bishop of Gloucester's resolutions and amendments were negatived without discussion, one after another, and, as everybody knows, the diocese of Bloemfontein now exists, a conspicuous instance of devotion, of zeal, and of wise organisation.

The problem of a Missionary Episcopate solved, the Canadian Church took another and important step towards independence. A further subdivision of the old diocese of Toronto was required, and in 1862 the see of Ontario was founded. Here, as in the case of Huron, the bishop was elected by the Church, and, letters patent having meanwhile been discredited, Bishop Lewis was consecrated, under royal mandate, in Canada, the first instance of a bishop being consecrated in British North America. In the same year the see of Nassau, whose faithful bishop (Venables) has lately been removed hence, was founded, the income being provided by public funds, now no longer available; so that the only endowment, when Bishop Venables died, was 68*l.* per annum.

The following year saw the sees of Bloemfontein in Africa, and of Goulburn in New South Wales, established. In 1864 the Rev. S. Crowther was consecrated bishop for the Niger country. In 1866 the see of Dunedin was inaugurated with an unhappy blunder on the part of some one, which has given rise to much misunderstanding on each side of the globe. The diocese of Newcastle was still further reduced in 1867 by the foundation of the see of Grafton and Armidale; and in this year the Canadian Church took a third step, which achieved for her entire independence, and also set a precedent by which other Churches could gain equal liberty. Canada had already acquired both freedom of election, and liberty to consecrate on her own soil under royal mandate. On Bishop Bethune's election as coadjutor to the aged Bishop of Toronto, Lord Carnarvon, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, declared that 'it was not the part of the Crown to interfere in the creation of a new bishop or bishopric, and not consistent with the dignity of the Crown that he should advise Her Majesty to issue a mandate which would not be worth the paper on which it was written, and which, having been sent out to Canada, might be disregarded in the most complete manner.' The consecration of Bishop

Bethune, therefore, was a matter that began and ended with the ecclesiastical authorities.

In 1869, Bathurst was separated from Sydney. By the efforts of one persevering lady, the late Anne Mackenzie, the missionary see of Zululand was endowed in 1870, and in the same year a bishop was consecrated for English congregations in South America, with the remote Falkland Islands for his title. In 1872, the Church Missionary Society was allowed to provide an income for, and practically to nominate, bishops for Moose Country in Rupert's Land, and for Ningpo, the latter bishop claiming to occupy Northern China. In the same year the Island of Trinidad, which, under the old *régime*, had been part of the diocese of Barbados, determined to have a bishop of its own, and was fortunate to get such a man as Bishop Rawle. The following year saw two missionary dioceses founded—Algoma, in Canada, where the bishop has the Indian congregations for a portion of his charge, and Kaffraria, or St. John's as it is now called, to which the Scottish Church consecrated, and sent out, Bishop Callaway. In 1874, Rupert's Land was again divided, and the dioceses of Athabasca and Saskatchewan were established; and in the same year, after a humiliating and persistent struggle of ten years, the first bishop was sent to Madagascar, in spite of the opposition of Dissenters and Low Churchmen, whose influence with the government prevailed to the extent of refusing to the Primate the royal licence for the consecration, which was performed, as in the case of Seabury nearly a century before, in Scotland. In 1875, the comparatively old and undoubtedly overgrown diocese of Melbourne was at length divided, and Ballarat founded, and at the same time, in North America, the diocese of Niagara was created. Thus our colonial and missionary dioceses now number 62, and, adding those of the daughter Church of the United States, now 57 in number, we have a total of 119 dioceses which have sprung into existence since 1784.

We have already stated that the good men who gave the great impetus to the colonial episcopate thirty-six years ago made many mistakes, but they were most of them errors which, except by the spirit of prophecy, there was little chance of their avoiding. It was a great step to secure bishops at all, and naturally they seem to have never looked beyond the immediate object of placing bishops—if maintained by public funds so much the better—in as many localities as possible. All the speeches on the subject in 1841 heap blame on the successive governments for not having provided the colonies

with an adequate episcopate. Their ideal would have been a reproduction of what people used then to call 'our admirable Constitution in Church and State' in all parts of the Queen's dominions. An annual income provided from public funds they called an endowment, never doubting that it was permanent. Even in cases where the sees were wholly endowed by private munificence, they were quite content that the Colonial Secretary should have the patronage and select the bishops. Until 1856, when Eton College, being a rich corporation, could afford to contest the point, which it did successfully, the right of the Crown to appoint to livings vacated by colonial bishops was unchallenged. What was to follow the bishop's occupation of his see was outside their range; the very idea of synodal action was yet far below their horizon; the subordination of bishops to any metropolitan save the Archbishop of Canterbury was unthought of; and unconsciously they were bringing about a system of Anglican centralisation which threatened to reproduce at Lambeth not a few of the evils of the Roman Curia. With all their sense of the necessity of the episcopate, under the stress of which they made many efforts and endured many sacrifices, the chief duties of a bishop were, in their eyes, the ordination and government of clergy, the consecration of churches, and the confirmation of the young; that other aspect of a bishop, as the first missionary of the Gospel in a new country, taking the lead in all things, and consolidating and governing as he went on, with which subsequent years have familiarised us, had not been presented to them.

An accidental circumstance will illustrate what we have written. The Church of Rome sent bishops and archbishops to our colonies, where the members of that Church are very numerous, as will be evident to all who know in what volume the tide of emigration has flowed from Ireland. The action of the Papal authorities was perfectly natural, but the presence of these dignitaries was resented by the Anglican clergy as both an act of schism and of disrespect to the Queen. Bishop Broughton, not a man given to hasty judgment or action, especially protested solemnly, in the cathedral church of Sydney, against such intrusion. In 1847, Lord Grey, who was then Colonial Secretary, gave instructions that Roman Catholic archbishops should take precedence next after Protestant archbishops, and Roman Catholic bishops after Protestant bishops; and as, in fact, there were no Protestant archbishops in the colonies, Roman ecclesiastics possessing that title took precedence of

all Anglican prelates. This led to the appearance, in the *Colonial Church Chronicle* of 1848, of a remarkable letter, signed by the well-known and honoured initials 'J. K.,' which suggested, *not* the formation of provincial and diocesan synodal action on the lines of sound ecclesiastical precedent, but 'constituting our colonial dependencies into a certain number of archbishoprics, say these six—Sydney, Auckland, Calcutta, Jamaica, Capetown, and Quebec.' Why? '*In order to prevent Roman archbishops from taking rank before the acknowledged bishops!*'

This step was ultimately taken, whether with a view to checkmate our rivals we know not. In due course certain bishops were constituted metropolitans by letters patent, which in a very few years were declared invalid, to the utter confusion of arrangements which had been made on the faith of the supreme power doing no wrong. The most important and lasting result of these discussions was that, as the Colonial Churches learned by severe experience that they had none of the advantages of an Established Church, when they saw, as in Canada, their lands confiscated, and, as in New Zealand, Australia, and the West Indies, their subsidies from public funds withdrawn, they were thrown back on ecclesiastical precedent, and driven to assert their inherent spiritual rights, to the great advancement of their own organic life. The pioneer in the synodal movement, as in so many other noble works, was Bishop Selwyn. He came to New Zealand, where the Church of England was represented solely by the agents of the Church Missionary Society, to whose labours and their value his lordship to this day bears witness; but he found that these good men, for lack of guidance probably, were already mixed up in the crucial question of holding land obtained on terms which the Maoris failed to understand, and which twenty years later ended in a war between colonists and natives, which was accompanied by the apostasy of a large number of the people. Eleven missionaries of this Society were found to be possessed of 96,399 acres of land, and their wealth caused the name and work of a missionary to be a byword, especially when the Roman missionaries never acquired a foot of land, and did not fail to make the most of the circumstance. The New Zealand Church was, in 1842, a typical example of a Church governed by a committee 10,000 miles away. Bishop Selwyn grappled with the difficulty, as he has grappled with many others since. He refused all State aid, as already stated, and in 1844 he summoned a diocesan synod 'to frame rules for the better manage-

ment of the mission and the general government of the Church.'

The opposition was great, as it has been in every colony since. He was told that he was separating from the Mother Church, and forming a new sect of Selwynites. In tracing the growth and history of synodal action in all the branches of our communion, we find the British colonist, who is not generally profoundly versed in theology or ecclesiastical history, dead against all such organisation, on two grounds: first, that synods tend to exalt the priesthood (although practically the lay element is present in numbers, and with an influence that has in some places proved very mischievous); next, that, by establishing self-government, a Colonial Church ceases to be the Church of England, and deprives herself of that which to the uncultured layman appears to be the palladium of his liberty, the paternal action of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and the royal supremacy. It is in vain to tell such people that the Church of England cannot exist *eo nomine* in Australia, or in Africa, or in Canada, without flagrant injustice to the meaning of words; that if a missionary Church carries her original name into the countries which she occupies, there is no such a body as the Church of England, inasmuch as Christianity was imported into this island, and was not an autochthonous product. It has taken more than a quarter of a century to instil this fact into the minds of our colonial fellow-subjects, and the lesson is not thoroughly learned by them even now.

As Bishop Selwyn was the first bishop who organised a diocesan synod, so to the joint efforts of himself and Bishop Broughton are we indebted for the first effort in the direction of provincial synods. In 1849 Mr. Gladstone, with keen foresight of events that have since happened, had urged the Colonial Churches to organise themselves on that basis of voluntary consensual compact which is the basis on which all Colonial Churches are now content to rest, and was, as Mr. Gladstone remarked, 'the basis on which the Church of Christ rested from the first.' Following this counsel, in October 1850, the metropolitan and five bishops of the Province of Australasia met in Sydney. In their first manifesto they alluded to the existence of doubts 'how far we are inhibited by the Queen's supremacy from exercising the powers of an ecclesiastical synod,' and resolved 'not to exercise such powers on the present occasion;' but they laid down the principles on which future synods and conventions, diocesan and provincial, should be held. They provided for the subdivision of

dioceses and consecration of bishops ; they defined modes of exercising discipline over the laity as well as the clergy ; they published a statement of their belief concerning the doctrine of Holy Baptism for the comfort of those who had been perplexed by the recent judgment in the Gorham case ; they made provision for the work of religious education, and established a Board of Missions charged with the evangelisation of the native blacks of Australia (for whom very little had been done by Churchmen), and for the heathen races in all the islands of the Western Pacific, the scene of the labours of Bishop Selwyn, of Bishop Patteson, and their companions.

The example set in 1850 in Australia was followed in 1851 in North America. The Bishops of Quebec, Toronto, Newfoundland, Fredericton, and Montreal assembled in Quebec, and addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as their metropolitan, a statement of certain hindrances to the work of the Church, for which they sought a remedy. Their foremost want they declared to be diocesan synods and a council under a provincial metropolitan. They were met by the contempt of the press both in America and in England ; they were denounced as ultra-sacerdotalists and the like, and were accused of attempting to trample on the rights of the laity. In time a new patent was issued to the Bishop of Montreal, by which he was constituted metropolitan. The patent has long since been known to be invalid, but it introduced one serious evil by which the office of metropolitan was tied to the see of Montreal. This caused many difficulties when the see was last vacant, and provision has now been made by which their recurrence is rendered impossible.

It must be remembered that at the time when the colonial bishops were thus working their way towards synodal action, the Mother Church had not even the limited measure of privilege which she now enjoys in the active functions of Convocation ; a fact which adds very much to the credit due to those courageous men. In the same year (1851), the diocese of Melbourne endeavoured to construct a Synod. A diocesan conference was held, chiefly, it would seem, with a view to getting an enabling bill through the local legislature. The attempt failed ; it was repeated in 1854, and then the Victorian Legislature passed an Act 'enabling the bishop, clergy, and laity to provide for the affairs of the said Church.' This Act received the royal assent in 1856. It maintained the right of appeal to the Metropolitan, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the Privy Council ; and we may dismiss the history of this

diocese by saying that its spiritual progress seems to us to have been hindered by a failure on the part of its members to believe heartily in the Church's spiritual powers, and by a persistent attempt to rule it by merely human legislation, like any secular corporation. The large grants from public funds do not seem to have helped it. The supply of these grants was supposed to be unfailing. While they lasted, private munificence and personal self-sacrifice found no scope, and when they ended, these virtues, for lack of exercise, seemed to have perished. According to *The Times'* Victorian correspondent during the present year, this diocese, which has for so many years had about 12,000*l.* per annum of public moneys placed at its disposal for church-building, besides an equal sum for clerical stipends, has only a miserable shanty for its cathedral, in strange contrast with other dioceses that have been thrown more on their own resources, while it has been known in England as a mendicant at the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and other Societies. Bishop Moorhouse has declared that this shall cease. He has challenged the Melbourne folks to raise 100,000*l.* for a suitable cathedral, and it seems as though he would speedily see his wishes realised.

But to return. In 1857 Bishop Gray held his first diocesan synod. Every parish, chapelry, or congregation sent one lay delegate; but it answered the purpose of agitators, both in Africa and in England, to declare that the movement was made in the interests of the clergy, and that opposition to it was 'a struggle for civil and religious liberty;' and one of the two great suits which dragged its weary length through some years of that troublous episcopate had its origin in the opposition of a certain clergyman, who pleaded that the bishop's letters patent were worthless, and who, poor man, could find, on the failure of these documents, no other ground of obedience to his bishop, who bade him give notice of the intended synod.

Gradually and tardily, as it seemed at the time, but rapidly, as it seems to us who look back on these important movements, colony after colony saw the Anglican Church framing for herself the means of self-government. In some dioceses, where the wisest bishops (perhaps in proportion to their wisdom) saw most clearly the urgent necessity of such legislation, it was found impossible, so great was the prejudice of the laity, at once to introduce it. Fredericton, for example, waited until 1866, and Newfoundland was still later in establishing its synod. In 1865 Bishop Claughton summoned all the clergy of the diocese of Colombo and the elected lay

delegates to meet him in synod ; but the spirit which has since made itself more manifestly hostile to the present bishop was even then at work. The clergy who were maintained by the Church Missionary Society did not feel themselves at liberty to obey their bishop's summons without the consent, asked and obtained, of their 'superiors' in Salisbury Square ; and the permission, when asked, was refused.

Thus, however, in the course of some fifteen years the Colonial Churches worked out for themselves such a measure of autocracy and autonomy as synods can give, with some few exceptions to be mentioned presently. We call these assemblies synods, because their founders and members call them so ; they are hardly worthy of so venerable a title, and for their fitting designation we prefer the word 'Convention,' as used by the Church of the United States. The presence of the laity, in numbers so large and with powers so extensive, has no doubt added to the immediate stability, not to say popularity, of the Church, struggling for pre-eminence in a new condition of society amid the jostling of numerous sects ; but it has not been without its serious evils. It is not to be expected that the pushing colonists have much time for the study of theology, and it is generally found that in proportion to a man's ignorance is his readiness to dogmatise (always, as he thinks, in an undogmatic spirit) on theological matters. Questions which to the learned, whatever their own views, seem to be compassed about with mystery, and to be approached with trembling and discussed with modesty, are to the thriving colonists mere figments of unpractical enthusiasts to be pooh-poohed by sensible men. Give the colonist his head, and he will soon run away with creeds and formulæ. 'Hang theology !' is his motto, and under a voluntary system, unless guarded and checked by the restraints adopted in the best-organised dioceses, he will go hard to carry the clerical votes with him. His tendency is to regard the bishop with jealousy and to keep him down, and make him put his office in commission ; in the diocese of Brisbane this has gone so far that the bishop is now pledged to be bound *'by all the rules and regulations which may from time to time be made by the synod,'* and he undertakes *'immediately to resign his see if sentence requiring such resignation should at any time be passed upon him.'* We are not surprised to read in recent Queensland papers that the Church is utterly bankrupt ; that no funds are forthcoming ; that spiritual work is starved, and the bishop declares that his occupation is at an end if the laity decline to help him. Moreover, the lay colonist carries

with him into council the remembrance of his personal interests and the interests of his class; these conflict with the interests of the aborigines, whom we are prone to call 'inferior races,' who dwindle away before what with equal presumption we call our civilisation, too often represented by the opium drug, the whisky keg, and the rifle. It is the colonist's interest that the natives should disappear as soon as possible; with their disappearance all claims about land and the titles on which it is held also disappear, and we attribute to the lay influence in these assemblies two facts:

1. That moneys given by missionary societies in England for the conversion of the heathen need careful watching lest they should be diverted from their original purpose to the support of services and schools among the colonists, and thereby to the saving of the pockets of those colonists.

2. That in all dioceses, where synods exist, the local Church has done far less than was her duty, and in some has done nothing whatever, for the conversion of the aborigines, but has left that work to English Societies, to the Romanists, to the Moravians, the Congregationalists, and the Wesleyans.

Synods again have not had fair play at the hands of lawyers; they have been founded on the faith of documents which have been declared by their authors to be valueless, and thereby much perplexity has been generated. In 1861, both in Australia and Africa, the validity of letters patent was disproved, and on the strength of this blunder it was attempted to throw everything into confusion; those who had most faith in the Divine organisation of the Church were the least moved by this change; indeed they saw in it the readiest mode for placing the relations of the various orders of clergy and of the laity on the only sure basis, that of consensual compact. We cannot forbear quoting the conduct of two bishops in different parts of the world, famous in their generation, men who are a glory to their Church and generation. The Bishop of Newcastle (the one bishop who has never been home since his consecration in 1847) thus addressed his diocesan synod in 1869:—

'I lay on the table a summons I have just received from the metropolitan to attend the provincial synod. Shall I obey the summons? Yes. Do I acknowledge the Bishop of Sydney as my metropolitan? Yes. Do I then acknowledge the authority of the letters patent which profess to appoint the Bishop of Sydney as my metropolitan? No; in this respect I consider them utterly void in law. How then has the Bishop of Sydney become my metropolitan? I answer, by mutual consent. Every adult male of our Church has

been invited to vote at the election of a person to represent his parish or district in the synod of this diocese; the members of each diocesan synod, both clerical and lay, elected persons of their own order to represent their dioceses and diocesan synods in the general conference held at Sydney three years ago; and thus all the members of our Church gave their implied consent to the constitutions which were agreed to at that general conference. In these constitutions the Bishop of Sydney is recognised as metropolitan bishop, and I am recognised as one of the suffragan bishops of our Church in this colony. This is now, therefore, our relative position by *mutual consent and compact*, and on this account I hope to obey his summons to the provincial synod.'

Our other instance is the late Bishop Feild, of Newfoundland. To his clergy he said in 1866:—

'On first arriving in Newfoundland I was owned and accepted by the clergy as their bishop; they submitting to me their licences and letters of orders, and renewing the promise of canonical obedience. This of itself was, and is, sufficient. I wanted, and want, no other authority. It would be very grievous to me to think that I am now addressing you as any officer of State, or that you receive my admonitions and advice only in that light and on that ground, or that we require or desire any other bond of union than that of our spiritual relationship.'

But while Lord Westbury trampled on letters patent a subsequent judgment of Lord Romilly's so interpreted the supremacy of the Crown as to give to some persons a loophole of escape from the constitutional liberty which seemed to them a perilous possession. This has especially been evident in Australia and in the action of the Bishop of Sydney, and as an additional means of repressing the freedom which becomes yearly more necessary as Colonial Churches increase in number and power, it has been attempted to make every colonial bishop on his consecration take an oath of 'due reverence and obedience' to the Archbishop of Canterbury. This plan has found much favour of late at Lambeth, but its result is of course to supersede the oath of canonical obedience to the metropolitan of each colonial province, and thereby either to make provincial organisation an impossibility or almost a cheat, which will be exposed the first time its power is tested, or else by a more than papal system of centralisation to establish at Lambeth an authority over all daughter Churches and provinces of the Anglican communion. Before us lies a printed letter by the Bishop of Adelaide containing remarks on the general synod of Australia

recently held, and we make the following extract on this subject :—

‘It is contrary,’ writes Bishop Short, ‘to primitive usage. This is evident from the independent jurisdictions of York, Armagh, Dublin, and Moray, the primates of which provinces owe no “obedience” to the Metropolitan See of Canterbury. The latter Archbishop, the Primate of All England, is only *primus inter pares*; nor does the senior bishop of the Episcopal Church of America, or the Primus of Scotland, bind himself to obey his counsel or admonitions. Why, then, should Colonial Metropolitans be more strictly bound? Perhaps the oath itself comes under the category of “needless” oaths, and lies within the scope of the injunction—“Swear not at all.” It is plainly a snare for the conscience, for who has defined or can define what is “*due obedience*,” and who is to be the judge in the last resort? It should be observed, also, that this practice of requiring the oath of obedience to the see of Canterbury has been resorted to *only of late* and by Archbishop Tait. His predecessors, Sumner and Longley, consecrated no less than eight bishops for the African dioceses,¹ all of whom correctly took the oath of “due reverence and obedience” to the Metropolitan of Capetown. The creation of such metropolitan provinces by letters patent in the colonies has since been pronounced *ultra vires*; but it does not appear by what *law*, and why, without the assent or approval of the colonial dioceses and provinces, the Archbishop has assumed to himself this power.’

The arrangements for determining metropolitan sees are at present in a state of transition, and many difficulties will probably make themselves felt before the system works quite smoothly. In imitation of the institutions of the Mother Church the office of metropolitan was tied to a particular see in Canada, in Africa, and in Australia (we do not include India in our present notice, as has already been mentioned). This was innocuous enough when all colonial bishops were appointed by the Crown, and the people were content to have it so; as it is, the people in Quebec or Fredericton will not consent that the election of a Bishop of Montreal shall in future give to every Canadian diocese a metropolitan. The difficulty has been frankly acknowledged in Australia. Probably there is rivalry between adjacent colonies on the same continent, as there is rivalry between two towns in the same county in England, and we seem to detect signs of such rivalry between New South Wales and Victoria, which will make it a hard matter for the people at Sydney to elect their

¹ The Bishop is slightly in error here. The eight bishops were not all for Africa; one at least was for Australia, the Bishop of Brisbane, consecrated 1859, who took the oaths to Sydney. Vide *Life of Bishop Gray*, vol. i. p. 443.

own bishop, and thereby give a metropolitan to Melbourne and Ballarat. Already the two last-named dioceses have propounded the idea of forming themselves into a separate province. Adelaide, 500 miles from Melbourne, will soon make arrangements for herself; now that the northern shores of Australia, within the limits of the see of Adelaide, are attracting colonists, there will be a necessity for a subdivision of a see now thirty years old; and Perth again, out in the cold, or, to speak more exactly, in the burning heat reflected by its arid sands, 1,000 miles from Adelaide, will form a distant suffragan of the diocese from which it was severed in 1857. In another part of the world, Rupert's Land, which, only yesterday as it were, was known to us as one huge and sparsely peopled diocese, will have nothing to do with Canada, and has now declared itself a separate province with four dioceses—a step which seems to us to have been taken prematurely, seeing that two of the four dioceses are dependent on the will of the committee of the Church Missionary Society for the support of the bishops. It was impossible, while the memory of Bishop Gray was fresh, that any other diocese than Capetown should be the Metropolitan See of South Africa; but the day may come when in Africa and in Australia it will be found well to follow the wise precedent of New Zealand and the United States, already copied in Canada, and to separate the election of the Primate from the election to the vacant see.

The growing condition of the Universities Mission to Central Africa suggests that at no distant day Bishop Steere may find himself one of two or three bishops in those regions. The missionary diocese of Madagascar, which ought even now to have two bishops, naturally groups with the Zambesi missions, and these bishops might fitly find their metropolitan in Mauritius, if the Church in that island did not seem to threaten speedily to disappear from simple lack of vigour when the remnants of State support which it still possesses shall be withdrawn.

The notable exception to the adoption of self-government, which we mentioned just now, is the Church of the West Indies. These dioceses have from the first been maintained by public funds; the parishes in some of the islands were, as has been already stated, formed centuries ago, and a tax laid on the crops for the maintenance of the clergy; public moneys kept their churches in repair and built new ones; when the episcopate was given to them, the stipends of the bishops and of their archdeacons were provided on a scale of

much sumptuousness from the same source. The Churches so helped were tempted by a perilous temptation. They felt secure of the assistance which they had had so long, and as no urgent claims forced them to the exercise of self-denial, they did not seek for objects on which to bestow their aid ; so when at last disendowment came upon them, they were utterly unprepared for it. On the death of Bishop Spencer of Jamaica, in 1872, his income was not continued to his successor ; indeed, but for Archdeacon Courtenay having been coadjutor Bishop of Kingston, there probably would not have been another Bishop in Jamaica ; certainly there could not have been another without much delay, for the Church was only a congeries of atoms, without cohesion or organisation, and there was no official body to take action for filling the vacant chair. Similarly placed was the diocese of Barbados on the death of Bishop Parry in 1870 ; but there, after a long interval, the island authorities determined to establish a Church of their own, and provided a small income from public funds for a bishop whom they requested the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate. Some sort of cohesion has now been given to these West Indian dioceses ; in October 1873 the several bishops met in Demerara under the presidency of Bishop Austin, whose labours as Bishop of Guiana commenced in 1842 and, be it remembered, are still continued, and a constitution was agreed upon which will bind these Churches together and enable them to act in concert in times of crisis.

The widely differing conditions of our Colonial Churches, some perfectly organised and possessing a system of self-government recognised by the civil legislature, which leaves nothing in this respect to be desired, others struggling towards the same end but paying the penalty of past mistakes, and in some instances, laying the seeds of future complications by failing to accept the position in which they find themselves ; others, and these happily very few, looking still to secular aid and to English charities as essential to their very continuance—these surely are the strongest proofs of the wisdom which called together the Lambeth Conference of 1867, and at the same time of the still greater importance of the second gathering of Anglican bishops which is to be held next year. It seems to us impossible to over-estimate the importance of that assembly or to be too anxious lest by any timidity of dealing with burning questions its full usefulness should be lessened. It is notorious that in an unfortunate moment the excellent Archbishop Longley was induced to

consent to exclude certain questions from the programme in 1867; and the mistake has never been forgotten, especially by the bishops of the American Church. We hear that not a few have made it a condition of their attending the Conference next year that there shall be no limit fixed beforehand by arbitrary authority in this country either to the range of subjects discussed or to the length of the session of the Conference. If only the Assembly is allowed full freedom, it cannot be doubted that its influence will be felt for good throughout the whole world. The counsels which will emanate with authority from such an august and representative gathering will both bring the action of Missionary Societies at home into that subordination to the authorities which one of the two great Societies has always aimed at, and from which the other is likely to hold aloof, and at the same time will supply the very thing which the Colonial Churches need. Their prime necessity is cohesion, secured not by law, but by voluntary spiritual compact; and while they need much elasticity in managing the affairs of each diocese, they need also a system of reciprocal obligation and understanding, which a body of Pan-Anglican canons or concordats alone can give. The prime necessity of the Colonial Churches is not money; of this they have in many instances had too much. The growing sympathy of Churchmen with Evangelistic work among the heathen leads us to think that this error will not be repeated. But for seeming invidious, we could mention parishes which have been assisted by English funds for more than a hundred years, and not only do not now support themselves (which may not be possible), but are not supported by the diocese of which they are a part. After a few years every pound given by England demoralises a Colonial Church. It was one of the many noble features in the episcopate of the late Bishop Feild that he did not hesitate to urge his people, poor as his diocese was, to be above taking the pence and sixpences of the labourers and artisans of England, and to maintain their Church for themselves. The great want of the Colonial Churches is to be left to themselves at the earliest possible date, and so to be driven to develop their own resources, to extend their borders, to divide and to subdivide their dioceses, as has been done already, and always in greater measure as more liberty has been given and they have realised their spiritual position more truly. The example of the Church of the United States in this matter leaves nothing to be desired, and is a most valuable precedent.

It is impossible to look at the Colonial Churches of our communion, with all their imperfections, without learning many lessons and without grateful recognition of the Divine favour which has rewarded faithful labour. Specially are we taught by the logic of figures that if a Church is to have a healthy growth, it must be planted in its integrity. The astounding increase of these Churches, since Bishop Blomfield first exposed the Presbyterianism in which they were languishing, is a splendid justification of that great prelate's action. From these our daughter Churches we shall gain experience for the organisation of synods, of which we have already specimens, more or less satisfactory, in some of our English dioceses, but which must be found in all, unless we are to live in a state of perpetual conflict. They have demonstrated the possibility of an episcopate, vigorous and accepted, when separated from the pomp and wealth which fitly accompany it in a country like England, and the necessity of an episcopate in numbers so great as to make it impossible to secure for it pomp or wealth. When, in 1854, Bishop Selwyn astonished people by reminding them that the Seven Churches of Asia, each of which had its own Angel or bishop, were in an area not larger than Yorkshire, and that if the Church had 500,000*l.* per annum, she could not spend it better than by sending out five hundred bishops each with 500*l.* per annum, he was supposed to be speaking extravagantly; but he lived to show the practical possibility of his counsel when in the two islands of New Zealand there were six bishops besides himself, living in apostolic simplicity, but making their influence everywhere to be felt in the one way in which such men would most wish that it should be felt.

The older Colonial Churches are aware that neither clergy nor money can continue to be supplied to them from England; some of them are training their future clergy from their own sons, and in Canada the supply seems equal to the demand. Other Churches are following in the same direction. They find their difficulties increased by the demand which some congregations make for initials after the names of their clergymen; it will be remembered that Mr. Squeers, when advertising for an usher with a salary of 5*l.* per annum, added 'N.B. An M.A. preferred,' and the flocks, who subsidise their clergy on the Squeers' scale of munificence, are generally the most exacting in regard to the Degrees of their clergy, and least particular about the source from which such Degrees are derived. Accustomed as we are in this country to endowments, we are apt to associate with

the voluntary system all the evils which are patent in the working of that system among English Dissenters; our colonial brethren, by a wise system of finance in combination with moderate endowments, have done much to show how many of the evils of the voluntary system may be avoided while retaining its lessons of self-help.

Moreover, let it not be forgotten that to our Colonial Churches we owe it that many of the noblest of the sons of the Church of England have found fields in which to make proof of their spiritual manhood. The bishops who went forth thirty-five years ago to the arduous task of founding or of building up new churches of our communion under circumstances wholly different from those to which they had been accustomed, have probably never been surpassed, either in spiritual or intellectual gifts, by the leaders of any enterprise whatever; and their conduct and their example, acting on the Church which they left, has raised, almost at a bound, the level of ministerial obligation. We mention none by name. Some 'are gone into the land of light,' others still continue at their posts; and if in later years the standard has been in some cases lowered, and in the ranks of those who are coarsely grouped as 'returned colonials' we see not only the broken-down, who have left their work for the work's sake, in order that it might be taken up by stronger hands, but others who, by accepting important spheres of work at home, prove themselves destitute of the only justification (impaired health) of their desertion of their high callings, we can only say, 'These are our failures,' and ask confidently, Is the percentage of such failures large?

For ourselves we distinctly hold that the growth of the Colonial Churches during the last forty years is one of the most cheering and convincing signs that God has not forsaken us. Their progress has not been unimpeded—on the contrary, it has been a matter of persistent struggle against opposition and difficulties of all kinds; yet spite of all these we have before us the magnificent array of 119 dioceses that owe their birth to the Church of this land. It was a favourite sneer of Macaulay's that the Church of England was as purely a local institution as the Court of Common Pleas. The inveterate inability to realise a spiritual corporation on earth, which characterised, not the clever essayist alone, but the whole school of Whig politicians to which he belonged, is not yet extinct, and the idea to which he thus gave expression may still float in the atmosphere of our Houses of Parliament, in spite of the many illustrious examples to the

contrary. Some fourteen years ago a Professor at Oxford described the magnificent movement whose history we have been tracing as an 'over-laying the religion of the colonies with a feeble Anglicanism.' The stock of contemptuous phrases with which to depreciate this the greatest work of the Church of our generation is doubtless not yet exhausted, and is not likely to be as long as there are politicians left who are jealous of a power which they can neither understand nor control; or dainty-handed men of culture, who hate the energetic self-devotion which shames their inertia. So it has ever been, and so it will ever be.

But is there no voice nor any to answer?—

'Now to the revolving sphere.
We point, and say, "No desert here,
No waste, so dark and lone,
But to the hour of sacrifice
Comes daily in its turn, and lies
In light before the Throne."'

ART. III.—REVISION OF THE CANONS OF 1603.

1. *The Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical of the Church of England referred to their Original Sources, and illustrated with Explanatory Notes.* By MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D. F.S.A. (Oxford and London, 1874.)
2. *A Collection of the Laws and Canons of the Church of England . . . to the Reign of King Henry VIII.* By JOHN JOHNSON, M.A. (London, 1720.)
3. *A Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons, Orders, Ordinances, and Canons Ecclesiastical, with other Publick Records of the Church of England, chiefly in the Times of King Edward VI., Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles I.* By ANTHONY SPARROW, Lord Bishop of Exeter. (London, 1675.)
4. *Repertorium Canonicum; or, An Abridgment of the Ecclesiastical Laws of the Realm consistent with the Temporal.* By JOHN GODOLPHIN, LL.D. (London, 1678.)
5. *Parergon Juris Canonici Anglicani; or, A Commentary by way of Supplement to the Canons and Constitutions of the Church of England.* By JOHN AYLIFFE, LL.D. (London, 1726.)
6. *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum.* (London, 1571.)
7. *A Code of Canons, for the Use of the Church of England, agreed upon by the two Committees of the Provincial Convocations of Canterbury and York.* (London, 1874.)
8. *Digest of the Canons for the Government of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, together with the Constitutions.* (Hartford, 1872.)
9. *Suggestions for a Code of Canons for a Province deriving its Origin from the Church of England.* By JAMES GREEN, M.A., Dean of Maritzburg. (London, 1868.)
10. *Canons of the Sacred Synod of the Diocese of Bloemfontein.* (Thaba Nchu, 1874.)
11. *Canons of the Church of Ireland.* (Dublin, 1876.)

IN one of Bishop Wilberforce's early Charges—we almost think it was in one of those delivered as Archdeacon of Surrey—he uses the striking expression that 'a Church without

discipline would be a new and fearful experiment.' Every hour of our experience leads us to feel the truth of the latter of his two epithets, and the wholly disorganised state of the discipline of the Church of England is at this moment its greatest practical difficulty, as well as the most abundant source of objection to it, whether from the Roman Catholic or the Nonconformist controversialist.

Its latest body of Canons is that compiled in 1603; for the Canons of 1640, whatever may be their measure of ecclesiastical sanction, have for several reasons never been acknowledged as binding. If the principle recognised at the Reformation, and affirmed since that time by many distinguished canonists and lawyers, that all the pre-Reformation Canons and Constitutions of the Church of England which have not been specifically repealed, or which do not conflict either with the royal supremacy or with subsequent civil statutes, are still valid and of binding force, were recognised and acted on, this difficulty would be diminished in a very important degree. But the ignorance of nearly the whole legal Bench as well as the Bar of the present day as to the domain of ecclesiastical law, and the intensely hostile jealousy which they entertain of its operation, makes it certain, even if recent decisions of the Privy Council had not established the fact, that small regard would be paid to the most explicit provisions of the Church, if pleaded before the civil courts on behalf of any measure or question in the slightest degree opposed, not necessarily to statute law, but to popular prejudice. As a matter of constitutional theory, the great bulk of the enactments contained in Lyndwode and in Johnson's collection are still part of the ecclesiastical law of England; but as a matter of practical fact it is much more than questionable whether any existing tribunal would be intelligent or impartial enough to admit this truth, or indeed to allow the binding force of any documents earlier than Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions of 1559. It is from this date, therefore, that the current system of ecclesiastical law virtually begins, and by far the most important as well as the bulkiest collection of enactments lying between that date and the present year is the Code of 1603, consisting of 141 Canons.

It must, however, be remembered that the period at which these Canons were enacted was precisely that when the Church of England had reached its lowest doctrinal and ecclesiastical level. Things *looked* worse, no doubt, in 1553, when the Zwinglian party, which had just issued the Second

Prayer-Book of Edward VI., was preparing, with the aid of the Protector Somerset, and by the hands of Cranmer and Ridley, to sweep away all that remained of the earlier Church organisation, and to substitute the new code of the *Reformatio Legum*, wholly revolutionary in its character, for the ancient discipline of the Church. But although, externally, matters were then undoubtedly worse, yet the inward decay of the Church had by no means proceeded so far. The Zwinglian faction, strong in the support of the executive government, and in the co-operation of many of the highest prelates, commanded neither the respect nor the sympathy of the great majority of the nation. They had enjoyed a few years of rule, and the way in which they had exercised it had destroyed the prestige which their professed zeal for religious reform had earned for them at the outset. And the readiness with which their yoke was thrown off at the accession of Queen Mary makes it in the highest degree probable that, had not the flames of Smithfield kindled also a counter-reaction, the school would have made no lasting mark on the Anglican Communion. Thus it is evident that the doctrinal teaching which found favour with the extreme Reformers at the close of Edward VI.'s reign rested only on the precarious basis of physical force, and did not in the least represent the general body of feeling. But at the beginning of James I.'s reign the state of things had very seriously altered for the worse, since, although the Puritan party, headed by the returned Marian exiles, constituted during the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign an infinitesimal minority—'*noster grex pusillus*' are the words of Horn, Bishop of Winchester, one of their leaders—and although the Queen herself was personally hostile to them, yet the powerful Court influence—chiefly that of Walsingham and Leicester—which they enjoyed, and the consequent elevation of many of their chiefs—far from high in personal character and extreme in sectarian doctrine—to the episcopate, such as Parkhurst, Pilkington, Aylmer, Middleton, and Bullingham, all of them with strong Calvinistic leanings, which prevailed even amongst some who were officially hostile to Puritanism; such as the Primate Whitgift himself, developed the strength of this school to such an extraordinary degree that at the accession of James I. few remains of Catholicity were to be found in the Church of England save the organisation of the hierarchy and the structure of the Liturgy. And it was not till two years after the Canons of 1603 had been enacted that the first token of the swiftly coming reaction was

visible in the consecration of Lancelot Andrewes to the bishopric of Chichester. For this reason the Canons of 1603 must be regarded as a half-despairing effort to stem the advancing tide of Puritanism, rather by putting checks in the way of its more extreme practices than by venturing to lay down in express terms such rules of polity, discipline, and worship, as would plainly declare the mind of the Church of England in upholding the usages of primitive Christendom. Accordingly, the twelve first Canons, dealing with the Church of England in general, are directed against impugners of the Royal supremacy, of the Prayer-Book and Articles, and of episcopal government, as well as against the authors of schisms, the maintainers of conventicles and of constitutions or canons made in such conventicles without the King's authority, but venture on no positive definitions whatever. The second group of Canons—from XIII. to XXX., dealing with Divine Service and the administration of the sacraments—marks very clearly the lowered tone of clerical and public feeling upon these subjects which had grown up during the forty previous years; for no attempt at dignity or splendour is made, save in the case of cathedral or collegiate churches, while as regards the parish churches, except as to the observance of Holy-days and of Wednesdays and Fridays, the effort seems to have been abandoned in despair, and, provided the Book of Common Prayer were used, and, the officiant were vested in a surplice, any amount of slovenliness and irregularity, which did not trench on these two particulars, was virtually condoned.

The third group—from XXXI. to LXXVI., dealing with ministers—also exhibits a very unsatisfactory condition of things, and is chiefly noteworthy for the contrast it draws between the preaching and the unpreaching members of the clerical body, and for the further circumstance that, while the duty of endeavouring to convert Roman Catholic recusants is strictly enjoined, there is not even a suggestion that a similar policy should be adopted towards the Protestant Nonconformists, albeit included in the censures of the first group of Canons as impugners of the established system.

The fourth group, which deals with schoolmasters, is extremely brief, consisting of no more than three Canons, upon which follows the section of things appertaining to churches, embracing Canons LXXX. to LXXXVIII. inclusive. The extreme meagreness of these provisions, when contrasted not merely with the lavish supply of church ornaments usual in pre-Reformation times, but with what would be thought

necessary even in our own day when providing the accessories for public worship in any new church, testifies more clearly than anything else to the spoliation and irreverence which had become the general rule. It is sufficient to say that nothing is specified over and above the keeping of the church in weather-tight repair, save a Bible, Common Prayer and Book of Homilies, a stone font, a decent Communion table with a carpet of silk or stuff and a fair linen cloth, a seat for the minister, a pulpit and alms-chest, and the Ten Commandments, with other chosen sentences of Scripture, set up somewhere on the walls. Three more Canons deal with the churchwardens, sidesmen, and parish clerks; and then follows a section treating of the ecclesiastical courts (Canons XCII. to CXXXVIII. inclusive), several of which are concerned with matrimonial causes. The three Canons which conclude the enactments briefly discuss the authority of synods. Even after due allowance has been made for the Prayer-Book and the Thirty-nine Articles as supplementary of this Code, by reason of their doctrinal and liturgical regulations, it will be observed that not only is there a great deal omitted which any adequate code might fairly be expected to contain, but that the omissions themselves touch a great variety of particulars which must necessarily have been as present to the minds of the clergy at that time as they are now, and have needed, in the general ignorance of Canon Law which had sprung up in the course of half a century, express legislation in order to clear up any possible ambiguities, and to prevent very grave practical evils.

If, then, the Canons of 1603 were wholly inadequate to meet the wants of the Church of England under James I., it cannot be for a moment contended that they are sufficient for the needs of the present day, especially when it is remembered that the entirely altered position of Nonconformists before the law, the assumption by the State of all probate and testamentary business, and the radical alterations made by the civil power in matters of ecclesiastical procedure, have practically abolished considerably more than half the Code, while a large portion of the remaining fragment has become obsolete from the mere efflux of time and change of manners. There can be no question, therefore, in the mind of any intelligent thinker, who sees that the present anomalous relations of Church and State must ere long be adjusted, and that the pressure of modern needs will compel the Church of England to fresh legislation, that, even if the Canons of 1603 can be taken as a basis at all, they will need very sweeping

revision and modification before they can assume the character of a working Code.

It would, no doubt, be a great practical evil if any such Code were put out at the present time as binding. Disciplinary Canons, to have any value at all, must, from the very nature of things, be restrictive rather than permissive, and a time of unwonted life and activity is most inopportune for any such action. It will hardly be disputed that a new body of Canons, drawn up at any time from the Revolution to the present day, would have done enormously more harm than good, owing to the entirely unforeseen character of the important changes which have taken place within the Church of England during that period. The pace has been so accelerated within the last quarter of a century that men are perforce compelled to act provisionally in scores of ecclesiastical matters, to meet urgent needs, when they have but very imperfectly realised the principles involved, and have certainly never thought them fully out. In all such matters as these, ecclesiastical and public opinion are only in slow course of formation; and consequently, even if no other difficulty existed, it is certain that this alone would ensure much crudeness and unsuitability in many of the fresh enactments, and make them obsolete before their first gloss had worn off. An illustration, all the more telling because having no controversial character, lies ready to hand in the question of cathedral reform. A fundamental change has passed over public opinion since the Cathedral Acts—passed less than forty years ago—treated the minsters of England as little better than nuisances to be abated. To reduce their funds and their staffs to a condition of decent inefficiency, and to treat their revenues as a treasure to be drawn on solely for the benefit of the poorer parochial clergy, was the ideal of that day, and one which, it must be confessed, found too much justification in the conduct of the capitular bodies; but now, when every colonial diocese has either constituted, or is endeavouring to constitute, its cathedral, and a strong tide of revived interest has set in towards the ancient minsters, it is evident that any enactments which might be passed at the present day would be far more likely to aim at their aggrandisement than at their further depletion.

A fresh source of difficulty, however, exists, which is scarcely less serious. It is the unfitness of the existing Convocations, alike from their constitution and their personal equation, to handle with success so difficult a matter as the preparation of a new Code. Apart from the large pre-

ponderance of ex-officio members, placemen or the nominees of placemen, which inevitably lessens the weight of those assemblies in the Church, there is the even more serious drawback of all but universal unfamiliarity with the principles of Canon Law; an unfamiliarity which has of late years spread equally to the legal profession, in consequence of the many encroachments of the State on the spiritual domain, whereby the study and practice of the ecclesiastical law have been actively discouraged, so that at this moment there are perhaps not ten lawyers in England who have more than the most superficial acquaintance with its primer.

A third difficulty, yet more formidable, remains to be stated. This difficulty arises from the extreme jealousy normal to Parliament of any disciplinary action, however moderate or reasonable, on the part of the Church;—a jealousy which makes it entirely impracticable for the existing Convocations to draw up a Code which would be worth the disturbance and anxiety its promulgation would involve; since, on the one hand, the Church Synods would most probably be afraid to formulate such proposals as might, by reason of their very efficiency, be looked on with disfavour on the part of the civil power; or, in the extremely improbable event of bolder counsels prevailing, and a really effective body of constitutions being propounded, nothing is more certain than that it would be promptly rejected or fundamentally transformed by Parliament.

This is not a mere hypothetical statement of what might possibly occur, but a practical commentary on the proposed Code of Canons jointly agreed on in 1874 by committees appointed for that purpose in the Convocations of Canterbury and York. The only thing to be said in favour of this tentative Code is that it is not very revolutionary, for its aim has clearly been throughout to work on the lines of 1603, and to vary from them as rarely and as little as possible. But, on the one hand, even such restrictions and penalties as were retained in the earlier Code disappear in the new one, which thus starts on what we regard as the mistaken basis of being merely suggestive, abandoning coercion as unattainable; and, in the next place, wherever the laws of the State at present interfere with, if they do not contradict, the law of the Church, the new Canons either avoid touching such points at all, or touch them in such fashion as to recognise the State encroachments, give them a fresh lease of existence, and make them—what they have never yet been—binding on the consciences of Churchmen.

Of the eighty-nine Canons whereof this proposed Code consists, only seventeen are more than mere re-wordings and variants of those enacted in 1603; and even of this small number no more than five are of practical value, and those five are usually acted on amongst us without any legislation at all; so that the double objection of most imperfect provision for the needs of the Church, and of extreme timidity in making any new suggestions whatever, vitiates this Code, and makes it practically insufficient even as a tentative draft for discussion, since it assumes the permanence of the present highly precarious situation, and does not so much as contemplate the possibility of change even in those particulars wherein change is not merely imminent, but actually existing—as, for example, the status of suffragan bishops and the constitution of diocesan synods, two subjects which might have been blamelessly omitted twenty years ago as merely theoretical, but which are actual facts to-day, needing regulation somehow.

On all these grounds, therefore, this proposed Code may be passed by as lacking practical value. And here it ought to be borne in mind that the temper of mind in which we are justified in approaching such a code as the Canons of 1603 is entirely different from that which should prevail in any revision of the Book of Common Prayer. The Prayer-Book, being in daily use, in every one's hands, bound up with countless ties and associations, and enshrining many devotions which descend from the earliest ages of Christendom, must be dealt with very tenderly if at all; and though such treatment may be contemptuously styled "tinkering," the fear of hard words will not prompt any wise reformer to rash action in so delicate a matter. But the Canons of 1603, though preserving here and there a few traces of earlier discipline, have no such claim on our respect and forbearance. Instead of being, like the Prayer-Book, a popular document and in full vigour of use, they are three-parts obsolete and almost unknown save to a few students and legal functionaries. They err largely both by defect and excess; they were drawn up at an inopportune time by a very slenderly qualified body; and they are for all practical purposes wholly inapplicable to the present condition of the Church of England. There are, no doubt, several provisions amongst them which would naturally be continued with merely verbal changes in any Code which might be drafted; but the point which we desire to urge here is that in their collective character they will not serve

even as a groundwork ; that tinkering in their case is worse than useless ; and that nothing short of an entirely new Code of Canons will really meet the needs of the present day—new, that is, in the sense of their codified character, but not necessarily in the several enactments of which they are made up, some of which may, and ought to, be drawn from the earliest collections extant.

The broad general principle which any committee, undertaking to draft such a Code, must have before it, is that no body of ecclesiastical laws which does not involve the abrogation of several existing disabilities of the Church of England, and the facilitation of sundry desirable matters, either in themselves now illegal or incapable of being enforced, is of the smallest value. After having once firmly grasped this principle, the next action of the committee should be to go carefully through the Canons of the early Church previous to the division of East and West, the Canons of the Church of England anterior to the Reformation, and the Canons which have been framed in post-Reformation times by various local Churches, noting carefully what subjects they deal with that need to be provided for at the present day, and which amongst the various Canons themselves merit adoption wholly or in substance, or may at any rate suggest the form which new enactments may most wisely take.

Having thus stored their minds with a knowledge of what has been done in the past, their next duty will be to survey the actual condition of the Church of England, not merely in its insular character, but in that of the chief of a great confederation of Churches spread over Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia ; and, having so done, to consider what relations have to be defined, what jurisdictions have to be mapped out, what excesses need to be restrained, and what defects have to be made good. Then, and not till then, is there any prospect of the task being executed with utility and permanence.

It is desirable to repeat again what has already been said, that Canons which profess to be no more than recommendations to those supposed to be bound by them, can have but little practical value ; for, as the entire disciplinary usefulness of such enactments is to secure the doing of things which there is a tendency to neglect, and to prevent the doing of things which there is a like tendency to practise, and as they are thus aimed at the spirit of disobedience, whether on the side of defect or excess, it is clear that, for such an end, a mere expression of opinion, however

sufficient as a guide for those of loyal and dutiful temper, would be quite inadequate to control the unruly and disaffected. Penalties therefore there must be for any infringement of the Canons, and the only question which really arises is how to make these penalties appropriate and adequate, neither conniving at fresh breaches of discipline by undue laxity, nor enlisting sympathy on the side of the offender by overstrained severity. And it may just be said in this connexion that the liberal distribution of excommunications which marks the English Canons of 1603, and of anathemas which equally characterises the Roman decrees of Trent, is not adapted to the temper of the present day, nor likely to prove a salutary discipline. A graduated scale of penalties, ascending from public admonition to permanent degradation from the ministry without the possibility of reinstatement, would meet every conceivable case, and if properly apportioned, would not fail to have its reasonableness and justice acknowledged. Nevertheless, a Code of this penal character should not be over minute and inquisitorial. It will be observed by those who study the ancient Canon Law that the very superabundance and minuteness of its provisions not only made it painfully burdensome, but, by almost compelling incessant dispensations, gradually brought the law itself into disuse and contempt, and fostered a condition of things far worse than could have grown up in the absence of any Code at all. There will be no need, then, of compiling any such bulky volume as the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, and there will be great wisdom in making the several provisions of the new Code so brief in form and so simple in language as to minimise the chances of mistake or misinterpretation. One broad general rule more may fitly guide these preliminary considerations—namely, that the Canons ought as a rule to embody some definite principle, of which each of them is the practical expression, and in whose reasonableness their own truest sanction will necessarily lie; while subordinate details in matters non-essential and comparatively unimportant may wisely be left to the discretion of individuals, and thus foster that wholesome variety in unity which ought to be found in every Church which is a living organism and not an automatic machine.

Of course, if ever Church and State were to be severed, all the civil statutes, good or bad, which at present condition the ecclesiastical system, and provide sanctions for the enforcement of certain provisions, would have to be scrupulously overhauled. None of these statutes that have been

enacted between the suppression of Convocation in 1717 and its revival as a consultative body in 1852, fulfil the theoretical conditions of Church Law, although they may be acquiesced in, and can of course be civilly enforced. But several of them, however irregular in origin and character, are either directly salutary, like the Pluralities Act, or at any rate contain, amidst many mistakes, the germs of wholesome measures. It would be a very wise policy to survey these Acts as well as the ancient Canons, and to cast their most useful provisions into the form of new Canons, which would thus acquire ecclesiastical force, and aid in staving off the evil day of Disestablishment, which would not otherwise fail to prove an epoch not only of spoliation but of anarchy and unreason also.

A wise impartiality should mark all the items of the new Code. Its framers should frankly recognise the co-existence of various schools within the Church of England, and not strive to insure the supremacy of any one by the introduction of measures intended to depress its competitors. Doubtless this would be only approximately possible, for any restrictive Code which recognises and maintains a distinction, whether in doctrine or discipline, between the body that has enacted it and other religious societies, must inevitably prove distasteful to those who are unwilling to admit that any such distinction, at least in essential matters, exists at all, and who therefore desire to have their liberty of action in respect to such external societies unfettered. But as it is exactly this class of persons against whose licence Canons have needed to be enacted from the very first, and whose eccentricities form the subject-matter of at least three-fourths of all ancient ecclesiastical law, this consideration cannot avail to permit the evisceration of the Code, though it may very justly induce a wise leniency in matters where laxity would not necessarily be hurtful.

Finally, one most grave and fatal defect in all modern Church discipline needs to be made good—that of providing effectual restraints on lay offenders. A Code which is stringent in its control of the clergy, but which leaves the laity altogether at liberty, cannot do its work as it should, especially at a time when demands on behalf of the laity for a share in the administration of Church matters, incomparably larger than was ever conceded or so much as contemplated by ancient Christendom, are being very generally advanced, and have in many places been even acknowledged and ratified.

From these general considerations it ought not to be difficult to lay down, in general terms, the heads or groups of

subjects which should find a place in such a Code as that which the Church of England will be compelled to enact before many years have elapsed ; and, in view of the approaching Pan-Anglican Synod, it is most desirable that some kind of clear understanding as to at least the outlines of such a body of ecclesiastical laws should have been arrived at before the personages summoned to that assembly actually meet. To some extent, as we have already observed, the Thirty-Nine Articles occupy for the moment the position of doctrinal canons, and the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer those of liturgical ones. It may, therefore, be considered not so immediately necessary to prepare for legislation in these two directions as in remaining items of discipline, although it would be probably somewhat hasty to predict finality for either of those formularies.

The order of the Canons of 1603 may be judiciously followed so far as to make the group of Canons dealing with the Church of England in general the earliest in the Code ; but, instead of consisting, as in that case, of censures only, it would be wiser that it should be made up mainly of definitions. It is far more to the purpose that Churchmen who desire to obtain some trustworthy information as to the body of which they are constituent members, and inquirers belonging to external societies who wish to learn the real character and status of a communion to which they feel disposed to attach themselves, may have, instead of comminations, ready access to all the essential facts as to what the Church of England is, put forth by collective and official authority, and not representing merely the opinion of this or that partisan as to what the Church of England ought to be. This definition should not content itself with laying down the tests by which the officers of the society may be known, but should also define the qualifications of lay membership, and that in two different degrees—first, the amount of qualification entitling any person to be accounted a Church member at all, and to full participation in all the rites and sacraments of the Church ; and, next, what additional qualifications should be required to empower him to act in any official capacity, or to have a share in the management of any Church business of whatever kind. The need of some such definition as this is perhaps more felt in England than anywhere else in the world, by reason of the legal fiction which treats every English citizen as in some sense a member of the Established Church, entitled to its ministrations and to a voice in the conduct of its affairs. It is quite clear that there are

many acts, not subject to civil penalties, which would justifiably suspend a Church member from his rights, or even deprive him of them, and notably such participation in the religious proceedings of external bodies as would virtually amount to rejection of the Church's standards; and, even without contemplating cases precisely of this sort, the experience of the American Church teaches us that it is highly inexpedient to confer the full ecclesiastical franchise on new proselytes, without subjecting them to any term of probation, or even giving them time to assimilate the teaching and discipline of a hitherto unfamiliar system. It is obviously quite one thing to rule that a man may claim to be received as a communicant, and another to urge that upon that ground he should be eligible to the office of churchwarden, synodsmen, or voter for any elective Church office. The legitimate outcome of such a provision as this would be that a layman might be called upon to produce his letters of membership, precisely as a clergyman may now be called upon to produce his letters of Orders; and revolutionary as such a measure may appear to those who have been accustomed to take for granted that every one is a member of the Church of England who has not been distinctly proved to belong to some alien society, yet it will be found that some measure of the kind might be necessitated by a change of circumstances, and that its beneficial results in ascertaining who can really be relied on as real rather than nominal Church members, and in holding out inducements to those whose churchmanship is as yet only titular, to convert it into a fact, must far outweigh the disturbance which the first enforcement of such an unaccustomed rule can hardly fail to occasion.

Another subject which will need very explicit details is the constitution and powers of Church Synods in their ascending scale, from the mere parochial council to a Convention representing the whole Anglican communion—a category for which some valuable hints may be borrowed from the Presbyterian system of courts, ascending from the kirk-session to the General Assembly. It would be necessary to lay down very clearly what persons have an absolute right to seats and votes in such assemblies, and how far the decisions of each assembly are binding. And here, so far as any action or consent of the clergy is contemplated, we must call attention to a principle which is too commonly lost sight of, namely, that no delegated person or body has a right to share, transfer, or sub-delegate any commission, unless specifically empowered so to do by the original grantor. We fail to discover in the

New Testament any trace of administrative functions being exercised by the laity; hence the admission of laymen into synods, so far as it is a question of right, lies clearly beyond the power of the clergy to concede, because their own charter nowhere empowers them to concede it, while, as regards the question of expediency, nothing is less obvious than the advantage of admitting untrained minds to adjudicate on nice points of a most difficult branch of special knowledge; added to which, experience teaches that the narrowness and intolerance on the part of laymen, when they once take up ecclesiastical matters, is often far greater than that of the clergy, who may be credited with the belief, however dimly discerned, that there is more than one side to every question—a state of things which the debates and divisions in the Irish Synod serve to illustrate in a very unmistakable fashion. Whatever provision may be made for ascertaining the current of lay opinion—using the term ‘layman’ in its strict and only true sense of a *bonâ fide* member of the Church, acknowledging its rights and fulfilling his own duties—and however ancient precedent may be followed by admitting such laymen as complainants, or as experts and assessors without vote—precisely as Parliament may allow complainants to plead at its bar, or summon witnesses to give evidence before its committees, without recognising either as integral members of its own body—at any rate this principle must be kept in the foreground as fixed and immutable, that doctrine may not be authoritatively handled by any other than those who have received the commission to do so. And another cognate maxim needs to be very explicitly embodied—that it is altogether beyond the powers of any diocesan, provincial, or national Synod to lay down any rules of doctrine, discipline, or worship which contravene, or imply the permissibility of contravening, the accredited teaching and practice of the undivided Church, the general common law of ancient Christendom. Such a provision as this would have defended us from many a Canon enacted by the Irish Church Synod in its recent sessions, and have made the issue of such extraordinary documents as the Preface to its Prayer-Book as impossible as it is scandalous.

The mode of forming new provinces, dioceses, and parishes as need requires should be distinctly laid down. Some clear and simple rules deciding what number of rural deaneries or parishes which desire subdivision of a diocese shall be enough to claim that the proposal be formally entertained, and what amount of provision for consequent expense shall be

required as a minimum ; and similarly what amount of area, population, and endowment should form the legal ground for erecting a new parish—ought to be enacted.

In the important matter of diocesan organisation, the constitution and powers of the Chapter ought to be very clearly defined, and in particular the exact measure of its control over the acts of the Ordinary. In theory a Bishop is absolute within his own diocese, being subject only to his comprovincials in synod and his Metropolitan, and can enact or abrogate at his pleasure any diocesan constitutions which do not conflict with the enactments of a wider authority. Yet such powers as these are not matters of Divine right, but of ecclesiastical arrangement, and it is clearly more for the advantage of the Church that her prelates should be constitutional rulers, aided by official and responsible advisers, than autocrats governing at their pleasure through the agency of private chaplains and hangers-on. In the American Church this whole question is in such an unsettled state that episcopal authority has a different meaning in almost every diocese, while provincial organisation does not exist even in germ, so that in some cases the Ordinary is no more than an itinerant minister for holding Confirmations and Ordinations, who has not even the power of refusing to sanction votes of his own Diocesan Convention passed in direct defiance of himself. The mean between such extremes as those indicated, severally making the Bishop irresponsible or impotent, is precisely what a wisely drafted Code will endeavour to define. The qualifications for membership of the Chapter, and the special offices which should be intrusted to its principal members, ought likewise to form subject-matter for legislation, and it is abundantly clear that in any profitable reconstruction of the capitular system such questions as the following must be carefully considered. (1) How far should those dignitaries whose position may be explained by that of Canons Residentiary under our existing system have diocesan functions necessarily attached to their stalls, such as the inspectorship of religious education; the precentorship, involving the visitation of the parochial choirs of the diocese; the treasurership of all diocesan funds for local or general purposes; the archidiaconate; and so forth. We doubt the wisdom of making the principle absolute, however wise in a vast number of cases. (2) Whether, in addition, the Greater Chapter should include all the Rural Deans of the diocese, and whether those functionaries should be, as in the diocese of Exeter, freely elected by the clergy, or how far the Bishop should have any power in their choice;

and also whether membership of the Greater Chapter should attach to the heads of all ecclesiastical corporations and institutions in the diocese.

Another group of Canons might well be devoted to a subject which is unaccountably passed over in almost total silence by the Canons of 1603, as to the qualifications of candidates for Holy Orders. It will be observed that the three Canons which do profess to deal with the subject in that Code confine themselves to the following points:—(1) The title upon which a candidate may be ordained; (2) the minimum limit of age; (3) the degree of education; (4) testimonials of respectability of character; (5) a previous examination by the Bishop and at least three priests of the diocese. But it is very obvious that these provisions are quite inadequate for their purpose, and one proof of it is that the document known as the *Si Quis* is exacted as an additional condition before ordination, though unknown to the Canons. Now, at the time when this fresh check was introduced, no better means of publicity was known than the reading of the document in the candidate's parish church during the time of Divine Service, and the certificate of the officiating minister and one churchwarden that no objection was alleged. But the altered circumstances of the present day at once make such a provision as this very inadequate, and the means of publication far more accessible and effective. For example, we give it as an illustration, by no means binding ourselves to it as a definite proposal, a Canon obliging every candidate for Holy Orders to advertise the fact of his candidature in the principal newspapers in circulation at the place where he was educated, in his present place of residence, and in all places where he has resided for any continuous time during the three years previous, would be very much more likely to elicit the truth as to his antecedents, and prevent his clandestine admission to Holy Orders, than the simple process of reading the *Si Quis* in some place and at some time when no likelihood of the fact being known exists. There is another provision, acted on to some extent both in the Roman Catholic and Eastern Churches, whereon our own has unadvisedly failed to lay down any rules:—We mean the practical application of the principle based on Leviticus xxi. 17-23; that persons maimed or deformed should not be admitted to the ministry.

Another subject which the Canons of 1603 do not touch is as to the manner of admitting the minister of another religious society, whether the pastor of a Protestant sect or a clergyman of one of the historical Churches, into the ministry.

This subject is one with which the American Canons deal at some length, and two points in its regulations are worthy of attention. In the first place, the candidate is bound to produce a certificate from at least two presbyters of the American Church that, upon investigation of the case, they are satisfied that his reason for leaving his former denomination is not due to anything unfavourable to his religious or moral character; and, next, his examination for Holy Orders must include all those tenets or usages wherein the customs of his former denomination differ from the received standards of the Church, in order that his knowledge of the nature of his new obligations and his sincere acceptance of them may be tested.

The Canon on the examination of candidates also needs very important modifications to make it truly effective. There will always be found Bishops who will set real or simulated agreement with their own religious opinions above every other qualification in the approval of candidates, and will be extremely likely to condone serious mental or educational imperfections on account of what, in their minds, are the counterbalancing advantages of zeal and piety. But when the truth is once grasped that the Christian minister belongs to a teaching body, and is not a mere instrument for the mechanical performance of certain external rites, the untenability of this theory will be manifest, and therefore some common standard of educational proficiency should be required as a minimum in every diocese, precisely as with certificated schoolmasters, before any Bishop should be entitled to ordain the candidate; and a Canon might very well enact that no candidate ordained in violation of this rule should either be licensed to preach or be capable of holding a benefice until he had satisfied the prescribed conditions, and that some penalty sufficient to act as a deterrent should be imposed on the Bishop who ordained him. The American Canons prescribe that the examination of a candidate shall extend to his knowledge of the English language and literature, and at least the first principles and general outlines of logic, rhetoric, mental and moral philosophy, physics and history, and the Latin and Greek languages. And although in certain exceptional cases examination in the dead languages may be dispensed with, the other requirements may in no case be diminished; and, further, in the case of deacons an important part of their examination consists in testing their knowledge of the duties of their office, and their power of performing Divine service in an edifying fashion. It is to be added that the candi-

date who asks for a dispensation in the matter of languages is obliged to produce a strongly worded certificate attesting, not his piety, nor yet his zeal, but his possession of exceptional strength of understanding, a peculiar aptitude for teaching, and a large measure of practical good sense and prudence—restrictions which would have made wild work with most of the literates ordained during the last twenty years in the northern province of this Church. The unfortunate experience of parishes mismanaged by mere boy-incumbents, promoted through private interest almost at the close of their diaconate, and also by worn-out college dons, who, with no previous pastoral experience, have accepted livings at an age when it is impossible for them to adapt themselves to the totally altered conditions of their lives, suggests the expediency of a Canon requiring a certain term of pastoral work as a pre-requisite for the cure of souls; and, considering the responsibilities which rest upon a parish priest, it would not be too much to exact a competent acquaintance with Church law, so far at least as his own duties and those of his churchwardens are concerned, before granting him institution; a hint which might be acted upon without any Canon by our Theological Colleges, and which is, we believe, in one instance already. Yet again, some broad and practical scheme of patronage needs to be devised, which, while making the present scandalous traffic in livings impossible for the future, shall yet retain that most valuable system of private lay nomination which so healthily promotes variety and freedom in the Church of England. No plan is so bad for filling up vacant cures as popular election, which is nearly certain always to secure the worst candidate, and to lower the average tone of all candidates. Neither can we extend our approval to the new Irish scheme of diocesan and parochial nominators, deriving their own authority from an irresponsible body of elected vestrymen, who need not be really members of the Church, nor contribute a penny to its funds, but who are sure to include representatives of the lowest current type of popular religionism, and practically to exclude from preferment every clergyman who is too learned, too able, or too honest for conformity to their opinions. Nor is experience in favour of largely extending the sphere of episcopal patronage, since, even when nepotism cannot be alleged, as it too often may be, a system which gives the Bishop the power of putting strong indirect pressure on the clergy of his diocese to acquiesce in his views, does not promote manly independence of cha-

racter. On all grounds, private patronage should be encouraged, and might very readily be guarded from abuse by certain restrictions on the choice of a nominee, and by requiring a declaration from the patron, rather than from the clerk, that he will derive no pecuniary advantage whatever from the exercise of his right; and, above all, by ruling, not only that the sale of next presentations shall be void, but that the next presentation to livings should never vest in the possessor of an advowson who has acquired it otherwise than in one of these three ways—endowment, inheritance from the preceding owner, or *bonâ fide* purchase, for permanent ownership, of any manor to which an advowson attaches. This would effectually prevent corrupt purchase, especially by clergymen intending to present themselves, and by putting the appointment to all other newly acquired next presentations in the hands of some persons above suspicion, such as the reformed diocesan chapter, collusion would be made impossible.

Another salutary provision might also be profitably borrowed from the American Church, in the discipline it exercises over clergymen unattached. With us the ecclesiastic who is neither beneficed nor licensed, neither Fellow nor schoolmaster, is under no kind of control whatever, except that in the case of conspicuous laxity of conduct he might find it difficult to obtain the necessary testimonials, should he desire fresh clerical employment. Nevertheless, it is obvious that, if not checked by this consideration, his conduct may very readily be such as to give rise to scandal which will affect the collective character of the body to which he at least technically belongs. The American Church requires every clergyman who desires to continue on the roll of the ministry to report himself at certain intervals to his Bishop; and if he should be charged with discontinuing all exercise of the ministerial office without lawful cause, or should absent himself for five years from the diocese to which he belongs, without giving satisfactory explanation to the Bishop, he is liable to admonition, suspension, or degradation, according to the measure of his offence.

Clergymen ordained by Bishops of the Anglican Communion, but not of the local Church of England, require a Canon fixing their status and prescribing the conditions under which they may officiate in this country. There are some regulations practically acted on, it is true, but they are parliamentary and not synodical. There are few more curious facts regarding the Canons of 1603 than that not a

single one of them deals chiefly and principally with the Episcopate. In a few instances, such as those already mentioned, touching candidates for Holy Orders, the Bishop is enjoined to do, or to refrain from doing, certain things; but of a general survey of his duties, powers, and privileges there is no trace visible, far less any rules laid down to secure his canonical election, confirmation, consecration, and enthronement; while absolutely no provision whatever exists for calling him to account and securing his trial in the not impossible event of his offending against the laws of the Church—a particular on which the American Canons go into much detail. Such measures of injunction as require the Bishop to hold his visitation at stated intervals, and in a certain manner, and to convene his Chapter for the consideration of all grave matters affecting his diocese; such restrictions as forbidding him to interfere in the diocese of another Bishop, or to reside outside his own diocese; such privileges as his right of presiding over all synods held within his jurisdiction, and of session and vote in those of the province; such questions as the extent and mode of his exercise of patronage and mission, and his relations to his Metropolitan—all need to be, as they are not now, canonically defined. The administration of vacant dioceses, and the putting metropolitan functions into commission during the vacancy of an Archiepiscopal See, are also matters which need synodical handling. There are of course customary usages here in these matters, taken for granted by the Code of 1603 as still valid and in use—a proof, by-the-by, of the legal principle laid down at the beginning of this paper—and familiar enough to ecclesiastical lawyers, but they are not so explicitly laid down as to be free from ambiguity, or to be readily accessible to an ordinary inquirer who wishes to ascertain the facts.

The whole question of criminous bishops and clerks, whether their fault be a civil or an ecclesiastical offence, needs consideration. As regards the former kind of misdemeanor, it would perhaps be enough to enact a Canon prescribing that conviction in a temporal court of any criminal or disgraceful act should make it incumbent on the ecclesiastical authority within whose jurisdiction the offender might be to issue at once, in due form, a sentence of suspension or deprivation, according to the gravity of the offence—the Bishop proceeding thus against any priest or deacon in his diocese, the Metropolitan against his Suffragan,

and the comprovincial Bishops in synod against the Metropolitan, should he be the offender; in each and all of these cases a reasonable space of time being conceded for showing cause against the issue of such sentence, on the ground that the finding of the temporal court had been against the evidence.

No great difficulty, of course, would arise in respect of offences against the doctrine and discipline of the Church committed by persons holding its commission, while beyond the jurisdiction of their own Ordinaries. But several recent examples have shown that a clergyman may commit with impunity very serious breaches of ecclesiastical law when he is outside the jurisdiction of the authorities of his own Church. The ministrations of English clergymen in the so-called English Episcopal chapels in Scotland, and a yet more indefensible act of schismatic communion committed in succession by the successive incumbents of a very high dignity, in the first case at Berlin, and in the second at New York, and the most inexcusable conduct of all, Archbishop Thomson's participation in Scotch Presbyterian services, point very clearly to a serious gap which needs to be made good, and may further suggest an additional provision by which a clergyman, sojourning for any time out of his own diocese, might be required to bring testimonials of character, and, if possible, a certificate from the Bishop of the diocese where he has last or longest sojourned, before being permitted to resume his former position and functions within the jurisdiction of his own Ordinary. Two other points, falling under this category, require definition and adjustment. On the one hand, for the protection of the laity, some plan is needed for dealing with unsatisfactory incumbents, midway between the too ready means of extrusion which the American vestry system provides, and the practical indefeasibility of tenure which exists in England. On the other, there should be canonical limitations set to the now almost unrestricted episcopal powers of revocation of curates' licences and inhibition of extra-diocesan clerics. A Canon obliging the Bishop to do these acts in open court or in full Chapter, and to assign adequate reasons for his conduct, would prevent much probable injustice.

A wider question, perhaps, than almost any that has yet been handled in this paper still remains for consideration, and must inevitably come up whenever the time arrives for enacting a new code of Canons. This is as to the constitution of

ecclesiastical Courts of Judicature. The qualifications and powers of those who preside in them ; the nature of the causes which may be heard there ; the qualifications of such as are entitled to be plaintiffs in such courts, so as to insure that no person who is not himself clear of all ecclesiastical offence may stir up vexatious litigation ; the method of procedure ; the nature of sentences ; and the circumstances of appeals, would all need precise regulation ; while, as regards the relation of such courts to the temporal power, provision should be made that only temporal accidents affected by ecclesiastical sentences could be brought before the cognisance of the civil authorities : so that, for example, no plaintiff or defendant in an ecclesiastical suit should be permitted, under pain of forfeiture of Church privileges, to bring an action in the civil courts for anything said or done in the ecclesiastical courts, save only for false witness ; and, further, that the temporal authorities themselves should have their interference carefully regulated : for instance, that they might be appealed to in the event of a person condemned in an ecclesiastical court being able to show reasonable grounds for belief that such condemnation had been unjustly or illegally compassed (as in the case of the packed tribunal which Archbishop Sumner employed to condemn Archdeacon Denison at Bath in 1856), when the State, invoked by *appel comme d'abus*, should be empowered to compel the re-hearing of the cause in such public fashion, and before a court so unimpeachably constituted, that no reasonable suspicion could lie against its finding ; and, should even this fail to secure substantial justice, that the civil courts should then have the power of awarding pecuniary damages to the extent of the temporal loss sustained, the question of reinstating the accused clerk in any benefice, ministerial office, or parsonage, from which he had been ejected by the sentence of the ecclesiastical court, having to be separately considered.

It may be well to add that recent experiences have shown that a system which grew up almost inevitably in the Church of England during the abeyance of its synodical and diocesan action—that of intrusting great ecclesiastical functions to Societies organised on the basis of money subscriptions only, with which at the present moment rests nearly the whole management of home and foreign missionary work, of Church schools, and of religious literature—has peculiar dangers of its own, making it liable to become the instrument of sectarian partisanship, inimical to the true spiritual interests of the Church at large. So long as such

an *imperium in imperio* exists, it will be impossible for the Church's own organisation and method to be equably and harmoniously developed, just as the police of a settled and civilised city could not do its work properly if hampered by the co-ordinate action of volunteer Vigilance Committees, such as prove necessary enough in the wild border States of the far West of America. A return to the simple homogeneous method of finance which prevailed in the early Church, and the management of all funds raised by each diocese, beyond such as are required for distribution within its own limits, by a central Board, acting as a sub-committee of the provincial or national Synod,—like the American Board of Missions—would at once prevent the misuse of funds collected ostensibly for Church objects, but practically applied to securing the dominance of this or that school within the sphere of their expenditure.

In conclusion, it will be, as already said, absolutely necessary to lay down rules by which a reasonable measure of discipline, free from meddlesomeness and austerity, but still effective within moderate limits, shall be enforced as regards the laity. Such provisions are, that the mere fact of conviction for certain civil offences should be held, as in the case of the clergy, to suspend or take away the enjoyment of Church privileges; that the performance of acts permitted by the State, but forbidden by the Church—such as marriage within the prohibited degrees, or the quasi-marriage of a guilty divorced person—should in like manner exclude him; while participation in the religious services of sectarian bodies should in all cases expose the offender not only to suspension from communion, but to forfeiture of his right to hold ecclesiastical offices of trust or authority, such as that of churchwarden. And, further, not merely should some clearer rules be laid down than those of the introductory rubric of the Communion Office, whereby a clergyman might know whom he is justified in repelling from Holy Communion, but the principle of letters dimissory for laymen might be profitably introduced, as it is in the American Church, where no incumbent can be required to admit to Communion any new-comer in his parish, who does not bring with him a certificate of good standing from the rector or wardens of the parish in which he last resided.

A multitude of other details, especially such as concern brotherhoods, sisterhoods, guilds, and associations of lay helpers, would merit attentive consideration, were legislation actually at hand; but the subjects indicated in the

preceding pages are numerous and ample enough to supply abundant food for thought to all who are interested in wholesome and progressive reform : and it may readily be seen, on the one hand, how much that really needs to be done is altogether free from a polemical or partisan character, and, on the other, what a very small fragment of it indeed has been touched by the draft Canons of 1874 : whence the corollary follows that the committees which drew them up have at least demonstrated the necessity of considering the whole subject afresh on a far wider scale.

ART. IV.—ROMANCE OF MODERN SCEPTICISM.

Daniel Deronda. By GEORGE ELIOT. Four vols. (Blackwood and Sons, 1876.)

THE pre-eminence in one field of literature which we have seen generally accorded to a female writer naturally turns our thoughts to the question of feminine influence, and its apparently increasing weight on public opinion. However the author of the most remarkable series of fiction in our time has thought fit to assume a masculine disguise, there has been no sustained effort and no real intention to conceal the sex of one whom the world—as represented, that is, by the periodical press—agrees to class among the master-spirits of the age. In fact, the success of these works has been too marked and universal for such an effort to have been carried through, even if seriously intended. The disguise, however, was originally assumed as a veil ; and this shows, perhaps, that the author was not impelled to her task so much by that universal stimulus of our day—a desire for a more public field as such—as by a deliberately formed design to illustrate principles.

That there has been, all the world over, a growing craving for a wider circle of sympathisers, for a more numerous audience than a private sphere presents, those who are old enough and observant enough to note broad changes cannot doubt ; but it is mainly when this growing craving extends, not to men only, but to that half of society which has hither-

to in the world's history been forced to content itself with the privacy of a narrow field, and when women also awake not merely to the possibility of overstepping old boundaries, but to the ease with which they may be overstepped—it is then that men become alive to a change in the very structure of society.

A new era has now fairly set in, and the feminine pen has become a power, if we may use a hackneyed phrase, such as it never was before in the world's history—we mean, of course, in some few hands ; for this general feminine recourse to the pen has not much to do *directly* with the influence we point to. At the risk of seeming ungallant, we must broadly state that the great mass of woman's writing is very far below the mass of man's writing ; a difference which becomes most distinctly apparent where men and women alike take up literature as an employment—as something to do, without any native leaning or overmastering impulse. Men, under these conditions, can learn to write tolerably. They can do efficient serviceable work. We doubt if women can. The pen is not so natural an implement to them in its public use—a consideration which should act as a check where there is no counterbalancing impulse. Women require a more distinct vocation to make much of it. They probably—and naturally and properly—feel the distance greater than men do between their public and their private selves, though always this distance is real.

It is an unquestionable fact that authorship in almost all cases develops something which nothing else, not even the most intimate friendship and closest intercourse of mind with mind, would have developed—something which would have remained latent and hidden from the man's own self but for this method of communicating with his kind. Here especially Swift's observation comes true, that 'although men are accused of not knowing their own weakness, yet, perhaps, as few know their own strength. It is in men as in soils, where sometimes there is a vein of gold that the owner knows not of.' The nature of the pen is to effect some change in its employer's view of himself. It is really a sceptre, and imparts a sense of authority, while he holds it, which the rest of him perhaps ill bears out. The timid and uncertain in private life finds himself possessed by another spirit, and is surprised at his own powers of strong and bold assertion so long as the pen holds the reins of his intelligence ; and in this way it becomes a great equaliser of temperaments. But if this is granted to be true of authorship generally, it is obvious that in the case of woman this action of the pen is more trans-

forming still. Publicity, which is a sort of electric shock to all natures, is a greater shock to hers:—the line passed is a more marked one. And we use the word publicity even where the writer remains anonymous, for thought is public, though the thinker's self is hidden. Observation shows us that the woman has a more distinct feeling of separation between the public and the private self—in a word, of there being two selves in *all* public performances—than is the case with man. In acting, in speech-making, in preaching, she can only succeed by laying aside one part of herself, and this even in cases where she has a strong natural leaning towards performance; and nature adapts her for the office of impersonation assigned to her by the painter and sculptor.

It is one natural consequence of this publicity—of awaking to an enlarged audience—that woman should at the same time awake to her grievances. Until people have some one to tell their wrongs to, the wrongs themselves do not assume their full dimensions. But not only did she want this wider sphere opened to her by the pen, some stimulating motive was not less essential to fan discontent into a flame. Wherever woman's grievances are most eloquently or vehemently expressed, we may confidently look for some influence outside herself. The first seed was certainly of man's sowing. It is woman's nature by a divine appointment to look up to a teacher. So real is this need that where she misses man's influence and receives no impulse from him, where she has no guide or teacher to look up to, to look back upon, to consult, to be stimulated by, her nature does not expand; she is dull and addicted to dulness, as, for example, to gossip or to the mere material interests of herself and others, as may be seen where the father of a family is either wanting altogether or fails of his proper influence; where there are no brothers; or where the religious teacher excites neither veneration nor interest. The woman of genius who early finds herself cleverer and more open to impressions than the men about her only falls under this external influence later than she otherwise would; and happy is it if this be a wise and good one. Mere intellect in her case, independent and conscious of superiority, puts its possessor in extreme danger when it encounters its equal in the person of some sceptic or daring innovator. Nay, she is only the more open to the assaults of such temptation because of having rejected the restraints of habit binding on others. Her very independence arising from feeling above the people about her, is a source of pain to her, and may only make her fasten the more eagerly

on this satisfaction of one of the wants of her nature with a sort of passion and intellectual hunger. We are, of course, only speaking of woman's nature in the general. Some there are so equable, so sensible, so little swayed by desires of any sort, so steady in an even monotony of useful employment, that they need no authority or guidance beyond their own judgment. But as the pen will not be the instrument, at least no instrument of power, in women thus constituted, they are hardly to the point in our present inquiry.

This consideration of woman's instinctive need of, and deference to, authority, while it lessens her weight as a teacher, so far modifies her responsibility, and with it modifies also the judgment which instinctively we pass upon her. Woman's nature is conservative; no heresy, no attack on received morals ever takes its start from her. Even when she stands up alone to assert what is most repugnant to our sense of right or propriety, our feelings stop short of the displeasure we should feel if man were the speaker. We instinctively look behind the actual speaker, we look beyond the immediate feminine exponent of theories we repudiate for some man as their instigator; and commonly he is not far to seek. Though living names are in most cases forbidden by the rules at once of kindness and discretion, we may mention Miss Helen Taylor's speech at the School Board election as a case to the point. At first, no doubt, her words caused us a flush of recoil severer than any man's infidelity could have excited, but we soon recognised in these utterances a signal instance of woman's submission to that which *to her* was authority. She was, in fact, simply the living voice of John Stuart Mill, and was repeating a lesson he had taught her, though very possibly she might have been persuaded by him into the notion that he himself, not she, was the learner. For no doubt a clever woman catches an idea with preternatural quickness, so quickly that she may easily be mistaken as to how it came into her head. And as with opinions, so with audacity in propounding them. All audaciously asserted opinions are as a rule borrowed opinions—the very audacity only driving the experienced observer to look for a source beyond the bold asserter of them. It was a female devotee who, in the high tide of atheism, is quoted by Horace Walpole as setting down Voltaire, 'Il est bigot, c'est un déiste.'

Where submission to guidance in its providential form is defied, we see the need we have dwelt upon assert itself in strange and even grotesque forms. What can be odder than

the impetus of sudden blind reception with which Harriet Martineau threw herself into Comtism under the teaching of Mr. Atkinson, of whose powers of reason and persuasion the world at large is so little conscious? 'It was a great deliverance to her,' says one of her eulogists, 'to accept a teaching which enabled her to lose her own life in the life of the world.' To us this great deliverance assumes another aspect. We see in it a reaction from a posture of mind of which the independence might be in accordance with a strong will, but was certainly opposed to nature.

What we would argue, then, is that it is not the cold persuasions of the intellect which lead women towards the rejection of time-honoured truth, but some personal influence. Not that we would limit their responsibility. Woman is in fact protected from implicit reception and mere subservience by an innate discernment. No theory in morals has received its fit investigation till it has sustained the feminine scrutiny, and been subjected to her mother-wit. If she does not invent and excogitate, she brings her common sense to bear, and sees the practical side of questions with intuitive quickness; and taking these characteristics into account, we do not willingly believe that a sensible woman can ever be blindly ignorant of her motives of action. She must know, if she wishes to know, whether she is led by reason and conscience, by the single desire for truth, or by some personal feeling of preference, admiration, reverence, inclining her to override her scruples. We do not say she is necessarily wrong in yielding her own judgment to external influence, but she knows what she is about in so doing, and does it with her eyes at least partially open. One thing is clear, no system of philosophy can remain a mere speculative question in the female brain. The scepticism of Hume or Dr. Darwin did not prevent their acquiescing in morals and manners as they found them, but in woman doubt and disbelief naturally fasten on social institutions. If a new idea is worth anything, it must work a change in the actual face of things. So long as it is only men that argue and philosophise, things go on in the groove they are set in; it is not till the feminine element asserts itself that the surface of society is sensible of a shock; as it is in our day. We say society, meaning society as speaking rather through its private voice than as represented in its public organs; for the press, careful to show itself *au courant* with the newest thought of the day, shows itself little disturbed by laxity of opinion, and chooses to pay small regard to attacks either on long-accepted beliefs or on received ethics.

This disregard has been conspicuously shown in the reception given to George Eliot's latest work, *Daniel Deronda*. Whether we agree or not with the literary estimate arrived at is as little the question we would set on foot at this late day, as whether the authoress is satisfied with the amount of interest and approval her work has elicited, or whether her own judgment responds to the verdict. Every writer must have some means of testing the critic's professed insight into the motives which set thought at work, and gave invention the start; must know things about himself the world does not guess at, which might modify his critic's views, and infuse a certain diffidence into his decisions; and the author of *Daniel Deronda* cannot but have contemplated an inner conflict between her own consciousness and the world's judgment, and must have prepared herself—as 'master minds' have to prepare themselves—for angry comments from prejudice and universal prepossessions, the absence of which must have taken her almost as much by surprise as it has ourselves.

That the morals of her work in the first rush of criticism were either assumed to be of the noblest quality, or accepted without question, was no matter of wonder, for there is a sedateness and gravity, a strong didactic tone in her style, which subdues the merely literary critic, if it does not carry him along; but we should have thought that the assumption of Judaism as a religion, if not good in itself, as at least superior to Christianity, the turning her English-bred fashionable young hero into a Jew, and wedding him at the fall of the curtain to a Jewess, would at least have excited some remonstrance; but with her thoroughgoing partisans this outrage on universal prejudice, if not on universal conviction, has passed unnoticed, as a point on which the writer was free to take her own line. Objections indeed are raised to *Daniel Deronda* as a prig, but not as a Jew. 'Those,' we read,¹ 'who look to George Eliot for a sort of intellectual sustenance and moral enlightenment which they can get in no such plenty and perfection elsewhere,' are not at all disturbed by this vagary of genius, as it probably passes for. The *Spectator* even goes beyond this in a reverential interpretation of whatever might perplex the less ardent disciple:—

'No book of hers before this was ever conceived on ideal lines so noble, the whole effect of which, when we look back to the beginning from the end, seems to have been so powerfully given. No book of hers before this has contained so many fine characters, and betrayed

¹ *Pall Mall*, September 30, 1876.

so subtle an insight into the modes of growth of a better moral life within the shrivelling buds and blossoms of the selfish life which has been put off and condemned. And last of all, no book of hers before this has breathed so distinctly religious a tone, so much faith in the power which overrules men's destinies for purposes infinitely raised above the motives which actually animate them, and which uses the rebellion, and the self-will, and the petty craft of human unworthiness, only to perfect the execution of His higher ends, and to hasten His day of deliverance. It is true that so far as this book conveys the author's religious creed, it is a purified Judaism—in other words, a devout Theism, purged of Jewish narrowness, while retaining the intense patriotism which pervades Judaism ; and that the hero—who is intended for an ideal of goodness as perfect as any to which man can reach at present—evidently sees nothing in the teaching of Christ which raises Christianity above the purified Judaism of Mordecai's vision. But, however much we may differ from her here, it is not on such a difference that our estimate of the power or art of this fine tale can turn. So far as its art is concerned, there neither is nor can be any issue of a dogmatic nature embodied in it. But it would be as idle to say that there is no conception of Providence or of supernatural guidance involved in the story, as to say the same of the *Œdipean* trilogy of Sophocles. The art of this story is essentially religious.'—(*Spectator*, September 9, 1876.)

We do not quite understand from any Christian quarter—and the *Spectator* is in its general tone a religious paper—this notion of Theism, even if devout, being an advance upon Judaism ; orthodox Judaism implying necessarily not mere narrowness, but a religion with distinctive marks of a revelation ; to which was committed that Law which was the schoolmaster to bring us to Christ. We wish, however, we could be as confident of this devout Theism as the *Spectator*. Though here and there the characters seem to acknowledge a God, the clearness of the recognition is in inverse proportion to the intellectual advance of the recogniser. Thus music excites Deronda in the synagogue no farther than to a sense of abstract goodness :—

'Deronda having looked enough at the German translation of the Hebrew in the book before him to know that he was chiefly hearing Psalms, Old Testament passages or phrases, gave himself up to that strongest effect of chanted liturgies which is independent of detailed verbal meaning—like the effect of Allegri's *Miserere*, or a Palestrina's *Magnificat*. The most powerful movement of feeling with a liturgy is the prayer which seeks for nothing special, but is a yearning to escape from limitations of our own weakness, and an invocation of all good to enter and abide with us ; or else a self-oblivious lifting up of gladness in *Gloria in excelsis* that such good exists ; both the yearning and the exultation gathering their utmost force from the

sense of communion in a form which has expressed them both for long generations of struggling men.'—(*Daniel Deronda*, Book IV. p. 300.)

A passage which tends to explain away, and attribute to certain psychological qualities in ourselves, both prayer and the Being to whom prayer is addressed. All positive belief deserving sympathy is made to be *inherited* belief, which thought, intellect, manhood, and honesty necessarily reduce to this vagueness. Thus Mirah contemplating suicide is allowed to change this 'good' into God—'The more I thought the nearer I got, till it seemed I was not thinking at all, but only the sky and the river and the Eternal God were in my soul.'

The Judaism of Spinoza is, of course, a different matter, and fits in very well with the patronising tone of half apology for Daniel Deronda who, in a moment of excitement, ejaculates 'Great God ;' 'the words escaping him in a tone so low and solemn that they seemed like a prayer:' eliciting from the author the comment, 'The old thought' (of his mother) 'had come now with a new impetus of mingled feeling, and urged that exclamation in which both East and West have for ages concentrated their awe in the presence of inexorable calamity.' Of any recognition of a Providence we can recall no instance. It does not fall in with this author's tone of sentiment or with her art as a novelist to 'deny a Providence' as formally as Harriet Martineau did ; but her Judaism does not require its acknowledgment : for we do not trace it in Mordecai's fatalistic notions of an inevitable course of events. Mordecai of course represents neither the author's belief nor any other person's. He is apparently an embodiment of all Jewish philosophies, Babylonian, Alexandrian, Spanish, and Dutch ; 'emanations,' metempsychosis, and all the mysteries of the Kabbala included. And together with this, and perhaps as the legitimate fruit, he is a modern Pantheist, and as such suspected by and at war with the Rabbinical orthodox school, whom he charges with misleading the hopes of their race. What fits him for the author's purposes is his passion for his race. This devotion to race as such,—to race as of something to look back upon into darkness, and forward to into an indefinite future, this hold of an endless thread of being represents with this author the idea of eternity. To it she gives, in its action on her representative characters, an overmastering influence ; an influence which, in the degree of its intensity, has no likeness in nature, and is absolutely opposed to Christianity, whose design is to bring all men into one family as they are all of one blood.

On this idea Mordecai prophesies—that is, personifies a prophet and symbolises inspiration—and, as an eccentric human conduit for the transmission of thought performs a useful part; affording a psychological basis for the notions on the supernatural which Positive philosophy supposes the world to have outlived. If not the supernatural itself, it is a good deal stranger. He recognises under the most improbable conditions Deronda as the receptacle of his mission and of his soul. Deronda, though unconscious of the tie that unites them, feels the call, and deferentially listens to his mysterious utterances. A soul of one of the mediæval world was born again in him; a soul that had ‘debated with Aben Ezra, that had heard the war of the Crusades and the shrieks of tortured Israel, as sung in the cadences of those old days.’ ‘While it is imprisoned in me it will never learn another.’ All our readers are familiar with London Bridge as the resort of dreamers who three times over are appointed that spot for the interpretation of their visions. Mordecai watches for the inheritor of his soul not on London Bridge, but Blackfriars: ‘I expected you to come down the river; I have been waiting for you these five years.’ ‘The generations’ (of his race) ‘are crowding on my narrow life as a bridge, and the bridge is breaking—you will be my life.’ These last and dying words being, as it were, a formal self-institution into the body of his successor.

However we may scruple to accept, not these wild illusions, but the soberer picture of Judaism—its belief, its philosophy, and its aspirations—as a correct portrait of modern Jewish faith, it is certain that one party of Jews is more than satisfied with it. It is simply human, we suppose, for people who feel themselves under a cloud,—or, what is more depressing, generally uninteresting to the outer world,—to welcome any apologist; but we know no greater justification of the charge of Rationalism that has long lain against one leading school of Jewish opinion than the eagerness with which they appropriate this portrait as a faithful likeness and a gratifying testimony.¹

¹ Dr. Hermann Adler, preacher of the Bayswater Synagogue, on Saturday night delivered a lecture on *Daniel Deronda* to the Jewish Working-men's Club, Aldgate. Mr. H. Guedalla was in the chair. Dr. Adler said that the latest work of George Eliot contains the most faithful exposition of Judaism and the Jewish character which has ever been published in this country by any one not an Israelite. A sad and humiliating book could be written on the treatment of Jews in literature, but against the calumnious misrepresentations, of which there were many old and recent examples, might be set the character of Rebecca in Sir Walter Scott's

It is clear that this sense of interest awakened has told on one party. Immediately upon the publication of *Daniel Deronda*, though with no allusion to it, there appeared in the *Pall Mall* a series of letters 'by a Jew' on the Jewish Syna-

Ivanhoe, or the passages in which the present Prime Minister proved that he was proud of the Hebrew blood which flows in his veins. Dickens had in his last completed tale represented the Hebrew Riah as the quintessence of all virtues; but they did not want exaggeration, they only asked for justice and truth. Such a truthful description of several types of Jewish character they found in *Daniel Deronda*. Daniel Deronda himself seemed designed by the author to lay stress upon the peculiarity of Judaism in that its professors are not bound together merely by the tie of a common religion, but that they have another tie almost as strong—that of common descent. Mordecai, an assistant in a second-hand book-shop, a vendor of watches, but a sort of Spinoza, a poet and philosopher, into whose mouth some of the finest reflections contained in the work were put, reminded them of the fact that some of the most learned Jews, from the Rabbis of the Talmud down to Moses Mendelssohn, had been followers of handicrafts or trades. This man had completely seized the lofty spiritual character of his religion and the great future in store for it. He did not think the purification of Judaism meant the throwing off of all its distinctive rites and observances. He looked forward to the Holy Land becoming an organic centre for the Jews dispersed over the whole world—to a new Jewish polity like the old, a Republic with equality of protection, so that the outraged Jew might have a defence in the court of nations, as the outraged Englishman or American. And when he had ceased the speech in which he expressed these aspirations to the members of the Working-men's Club, so solemn was the effect produced that no one ventured to resume the discussion. It was as though they had come to hear the blowing of the shofar, the trumpet which is sounded on the New Year and on the Day of Repentance. The author must have read very extensively on the subject of Jewish life and prayer, but that would not wholly account for the fidelity of her descriptions. We must also ascribe it to that power of divination which made Schiller give the most vivid description of the Lake of Lucerne, though he had never visited Switzerland. Names and allusions often bespeak her familiarity with ancient customs and little-studied literature. When Dr. Adler had read a few pages of the book and met with the name Klesmer, he said to himself, 'The author of this book is deeply read in Jewish folk-lore.' The name Klesmer, compounded of two Hebrew words, was given to the musicians who used formerly to play at Jewish weddings. No apter surname could be adopted to denote the Hebrew extraction of the clever Bohemian or Polish musician of the style of Rubinstein. There are passages in the book in which we may fancy that a Polish Magid is expounding a difficult Hagada. 'A Rabbi said, "The Omnipotent is occupied in making marriages."' Was not that nonsense or blasphemy? No; 'the levity of the saying lies in the ear of him who hears it. By marriages the speaker meant all the wondrous combinations of the universe whose issue makes our good and evil.' Many theories have been started to explain how it was that George Eliot wrote the Jewish episodes of her book. Dr. Adler was of opinion that she was induced to take her deep interest in Judaism by the fact that she, in common with every profound thinker, could not fail to become interested in a faith which, as she herself stated, has penetrated the thinking half of the world and moulded



gogue, the Piyutim, and the inconsistencies and absurdities of Jewish Ritual. The world was called on to judge of the differences existing between the orthodox and liberal parties of Judaism. Society was appealed to as a judge, and was made the confidant of the writer's expectations of conflict :

'A deep-rooted lethargy is spreading its evil in one part of the community, and doubt and inquiry—not of the most reverent character—in the other. In this unsatisfactory state of affairs the clergy have, I think, a fine opportunity of exercising any power they possess ; this they can do by throwing off their shackles and unfurling the banners of independence ; and it is very certain that if they instituted a system of rational Judaism thousands would flock to it with enthusiasm In some provincial towns where a few enlightened Israelites live, no attempt is made to organise a congregation, for fear of attracting the Poles ; and in such towns the Jews not unfrequently attend the Unitarian Chapels. The time may come when the three elements in the community—the intolerantly orthodox, the apathetic, and the agitators for reform—will come into open conflict ; and all well-wishers for true religion among the Israelites fervently hope for such a conflict.'

But though there is much in modern Judaism, and the tone of thought here hinted at, to attract our author, it is not on the ground of the singularity of her choice of a religion to which to give the advantage, nor yet for the indication her work shows of an external attitude towards all religions based on a revelation, that we call our readers' attention to it. In fact, if we desired to combat a certain form of unbelief, we should neither choose a female disciple for its exponent nor a novel for the battle-field. Our real concern with this author is on another ground. We have said that the female mind is prone to reduce theory to practice. It is, then, on account of the morals of *Daniel Deronda* that we are driven to investigate its religious bearings. The author professes a severe morality, and the claim has met with a general sanction ; but her morals are not Christian morals.

The propagation of opinion may become a writer's object from various causes. There is the pure unalloyed belief that the creed held is the only truth ; there is the impulse of confiding partisanship, putting into picturesque form the philosophical conclusions of others ; there is the stimulus, so common with less scrupulous minds, which inspired the forms of the world's religions. And the central figure of the great work thus inspired, a book which was certainly an English classic, was a person like themselves, a Jewish working-man. The lecture was frequently interrupted by applause, and at the end a vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.—*Times*, December 11, 1876.

¹ *Pall Mall*, September 20, 1876.

eloquent dogmatism of the fox without his tail ; there is mere flippancy delighting in new views merely from a sense of novelty and liberation from old restraints ; there is the businesslike preference for a certain licence as a saleable quality—as what the market requires ; there is the sense of power and of a part to play, an influence inevitable upon a mind of the author's large and varied powers. Where, as in her case, there is such seriousness and weight of thought, to write merely for the entertainment of readers, however singularly gifted to this end, would be felt an unsatisfying and unworthy aim ; her views of life have clearly given her a purpose much nearer her heart than amusement, either her own or others'. One subject pervades George Eliot's works with a growing indication of design. This subject is marriage ; her later novels showing a deliberate purpose to set in an adverse light the relation of husband and wife under the teaching of Christianity and of the English law as founded on that teaching. So long as this author depended on her early experiences and associations, so long this design was held in check—in the background even of her own consciousness—by the pictures of actual life to which her mind seems to have reverted with a loving tenderness. Still, looking back on the past by the light of the present, we trace the same thought, though not actively at work. The later tales have evidence of it, as a present impulse ; the whole diction as well as line of observation betraying an immediate not a distant source. New ideas and quickened perceptions are rendered in a phraseology which shows that the old vocabulary was felt inadequate and needed enriching or mystifying by freshly acquired science and knowledge. We are disposed to think that whenever George Eliot expresses herself in a language that, as compared with her latest style, may be called her mother-tongue, there the sentiment will be most congenial to her Christian readers ; that new words mean new influences, or influences on the ascendant. Of this we are sure, that writers should as much as possible confine themselves to the words they have known all their lives, words at least that they can fix no date of consciousness to. Especially we would give this advice to the ladies, who perhaps are most in a hurry to put newly acquired knowledge to use, without leaving it to the slowly assimilating processes of intellectual digestion. But this by the way. Such a topic as that of marriage, handled with the view which we ascribe to our author, is one which requires delicate handling, and here we observe that her grave decorum of treatment has served her well. It is not a little

striking that the very novel that illustrates her view, and even asserts the rights of illegitimacy, and this even where the stain is imparted under the extremest breach of the seventh commandment, gets praise for its purity of tone, and lies on the drawing-room table of the most scrupulous. Girls weigh Gwendolen's various points of relation to her husband, to Mrs. Glasher, and to Deronda. Nothing perhaps more tends to this strangely compliant acceptance of a work that puts marriage on its trial and attacks morality (in its popular sense) in its stronghold than the seeming eccentricity of the Jewish element. The most careful mother is not afraid of her children turning Jews. It is all strange and fanciful, together. Walter Scott has a romantic and charming Jewess; French fiction has the Wandering Jew. We seem on unreal ground, where things may be expected to depart from the conventional; and Deronda is propriety itself. Indeed, it is the one criticism on which several members of the press are agreed, that he is *too* proper; and certainly his deportment does put the lady more conspicuously in the wrong. But beyond this there is real use in it for the matter in hand; the Jewish law has a laxer code than the Christian on the point of marriage, just as the Law possesses no distinct revelation of the Immortality which the Gospel brought to light. And, owing to his Jewish tendencies, the relation of Gwendolen with Deronda, so dangerous in itself, excites the scruples of the careless reader far less than would otherwise be the case, even before his Jewish birth is declared. Only think how the world of readers would have been up in arms if he had been a Christian director instead of a half-Jewish layman!

If we revert to this author's former works, we see that marriages are depicted as happy only in proportion as the parties are removed from the influences of thought, cultivation, and leisure. Farmers and working people are happy, even though the character to which husband or wife is allied has some weaknesses and blemishes. No doubt experience has shown her that Mr. Poyser can be happy with Mrs. Poyser, though the outer world may pity him a constant exposure to the keenness of her retort. Amos Barton, the dull, depressing country parson, retains the affections of his amiable but drudging wife. Mr. and Mrs. Glegg pull along together, though every reader must appreciate the sweetness of nature that bears with the wife's consistent acerbity. He will indeed acknowledge the justice of the satire, and even its value as a lesson to wives not too far gone in grudging ungraciousness, who assume that 'conjugal complacency belongs only to the

weaker portion of the sex, scarcely alive to the responsibilities of a wife as the constituted check on her husband's pleasures; a habit of mind which engages Mrs. Glegg systematically to set herself against those of her husband, 'it being impossible for a healthy female mind even to simulate respect for a husband's hobby.' However, it is not husband's wrongs, but wife's wrongs under existing conditions which occupy the attention of modern reformers:—so Mr. Glegg is gifted with the virtue of resignation and making the best of things; which is a resource, the reader reflects, equally within reach of wives as they are. He, we are told, 'meditates on the contrariness of the female mind as a mystery in the scheme of things;' but 'a man with an affectionate disposition who finds a wife to concur with his fundamental idea of life, easily comes to persuade himself that no other woman would have suited him so well, and does a little daily snapping and quarrelling without any sense of alienation.' Such resignation is possible, but only suitable, where the husband's natural history is in the stage of tracing a connexion between an unusual prevalence of slugs and the burning of York Minster, and the wife conceals her hair under a frowsy front.

Again she makes conjugal harmony compatible with a politer civilisation if the wife acts on the world's received estimate of the relation, if she regulates her life by its maxims, and sets her small selfish interests above all other considerations, as in Dorothea's sister Lady Chettam in *Middlemarch*; or if she shows the 'wifely receptiveness' of Mrs. Gascoigne, in the present story, accepting all her husband's opinions with a 'pliancy' that made her not only adopt his views, but each change of view with summary definiteness. But change the scene: let sensibility and culture and a finer touch of nature enter; what wild work these qualities make with marriage; what havoc they make of the cheerfulness of duty even where duty is respected as a motive! All that makes humanity more truly human seems, with our author, but to make the marriage relation one of hopelessness and sadness. Look at the sad, powerful picture of the wife's degradation, under the brutality of Dempster, in *Fanel's Repentance*, and the sin of Mrs. Transome, in *Felix Holt*, with its revolting consequences. Look at Romola recoiling from and escaping from the ideal selfishness of Tito. Look at Dorothea suffering under the rigid unsympathy of her wilful choice, Mr. Casaubon, and Lydgate deteriorating under Rosamond's worldly egotism. Of course such pictures may be defended as lessons and warnings.

If people deliberately marry on low motives they may need to be reminded of the terrors in wait for them, but in many of these cases the motives were not low, the suffering is not merited. It might seem that the design of the author of these situations is to argue for a way of escape from unhappy consequences, rather than for the duty of resignation under them. Every moralist exhorts to care in the choice of a companion for life ; but marriage is not and probably never will be, under any change or progress of society, altogether an affair of deliberate choice. Circumstances must always play an important part, and the judgment is necessarily in a less calm state, not in fact in such perfectly working order as in the decisions of less momentous and vital moments to life's well being. No obedience to the sense of duty can save man or woman from trial arising from unforeseen qualities, from characteristics developed and strengthened by this new untried relation. This being so, because no care can secure against rubs and disappointment, because the wisest judgment cannot hedge its possessor from risk, therefore nature comes to the aid of her children in the hundred ways by which she makes lives tolerable, if not bright, which have no charm to the observer. Habit, use, the inevitable, the sense of possession, the exercise of discretion, kind management, the bracing effects of endurance, the tie because it *is* a tie,—through such influences we see lives not unhappy, even where the ideal of marriage is least realised. We are not here concerned with the quickening power of Christian faith upon duty, or that resignation which has an immediately divine source, or the obedience which loves because it has vowed to love, and is conscious of a help above nature in fulfilling its promises, and a hope which makes the hardest task not intolerable. We argue that marriage, not merely where man and woman are in perfect unanimity and accord, but marriage under ordinary social conditions, is in the highest sense of nature, and by the light of that nature, natural to man, and natural that it should be binding. And therefore we assert that a tendency in any person or system to picture it as an institution, in its indissoluble sense, ordinarily unfavourable to man's happiness except under very rare conditions, is a dangerous tendency, and as perilous to true morality as to the general happiness.

These remarks belong to our subject as a whole. As a satire upon the narrow ideas of marriage which prevail in some states of society, we would not wish a word changed in the scenes of conjugal snapping and quarrelling in *The Mill*

on the *Floss*. Such a portrait gallery as the Dodson sisters and their several husbands carries truth upon the face of it. All must have been seen to be so described. They must be real living prejudices which impressed themselves with such force on the observer. It is possibly this keen-sighted, appreciative observation, early exercising itself in the analysis of prejudice, and thus acquiring a sense of superiority over the thing questioned, which opened the way to a habit of doubt and scepticism towards whatever was generally, and by whoever, received ; to a habit of mind directly opposed to faith. We can even suppose that whatever nourishes strength of will and tends to the practice of self-control, on whatever absurd grounds, excites in her a respect which no inherited belief, failing in these fruits, excites ; and that in pitting these grotesque rules for the life men know, with their power over the will, against a professed belief in a future existence, she finds gratification in showing the superior force of actual experience over the faint hopes and dim fears, which are all we perceive in the generality of mankind who profess to entertain the expectation of eternity. This expectation she reduces in practice to a kind of *post-mortem* survival of the will in the same field on which it has exercised itself through life. The author herself notes this illusion in old Featherstone, the miser, who, 'in chuckling over the vexations he could inflict by the rigid clutch of his dead hand, inevitably mingled his consciousness with that livid stagnant pressure ; and so far as he was preoccupied with a future life it was with one of gratification inside his coffin.' And if the Dodson sisters accepted the Christian creed in terms, the details of their funeral solemnities were felt to be of equal importance with its assumed hopes, and entirely predominant in their minds. Mrs. Glegg, indeed, constructs a present judgment day out of these solemnities. It will then be seen on what sound principles her will was made, and her world of neighbours will be instructed on the leading motives of her life. She is ever propelling herself into the scene of triumph—the scene, indeed, for which she has lived and on which she has shaped her conduct. Many a conscience has responded to this satire, and owned how often it too has failed to give the just weight of importance to the weightiest consideration. Thought thus engaged has probably detected no latent meaning in the choice of Baxter's *Saint's Rest* as the companion of a sullen ill-temper, which makes life unbearable to all exposed to its excesses ; yet one lurks there.

A false and jarring relation between husband and wife

has always been a favourite resource of the less scrupulous novelist ; but the reason for the peculiar suspicion this picture of conjugal discord excites in *Daniel Deronda* is that the antagonism is suppressed and secret, that the surface of life looks smooth, that if people who behave and look like Mr. and Mrs. Grandcourt are in a state of exasperation towards each other, we may suspect half our acquaintances of fiendish malice on the one hand, and a concealed dagger in the other. The teaching of the book is that seeming harmony is no proof that tyranny on one side, and gnawing mutiny and suppressed rebellion on the other, may not exist beneath it ; and further,—if we look for any moral purpose in such a scene of horror—that its author objects to marriage as a binding relation unless there is also an ideal accord. She puts the case of a marriage where the husband, to persons judging on received principles, is most in the right. The wife has in profusion all the things she married for : he is indulgent and lavish not only to herself, but to an indigent mother ; his public treatment of her is courteous and considerate ; her social position is one to gratify her highest ambition. We are putting the case as seen by the ordinary observer. The counter side is known only to themselves and the author, who invests him with the will and crushing power of a boa-constrictor. Human will is idealised in him ; he likes a wife with a strong will in her turn that he may have the joy of crushing it. But again, the observer, judging by facts, must take the husband's part. He does not allow his wife to do things she ought not to do. A husband who objects to his wife making a confidant of a most interesting young man, when he knows her confidences are about himself, can scarcely be pleasant in his tone. All wives who are thwarted in their wish to complain of their husbands and to confide to interesting young men the miserable mistake they have made in their marriage, may for the future plausibly compare their case with Gwendolen's, and as a next step their husband with Grandcourt. The truth is, that Grandcourt is made odious, not because his conduct is natural, but because his odiousness is necessary to the argument. He represents the authority of a husband in a revolting light because the case requires it. The natural submissiveness of woman to what she recognises as the inevitable, and which comes out especially in marriage—so far, at least, as that all experience has notable examples of it—her capacity for making the best of things, and of accommodating herself to circumstances, in which pride aids humbler virtues, are all turned over to inferior minds, to the ignorant, the narrow, and

the prejudiced. Submissiveness is a low-class condition, one which culture and aspiration and ideas of universal benevolence unfit a woman for. And Gwendolen, as being gifted at least with some of these accomplishments or qualities, is placed by them, quite as much as by her errors, above the capacity for making the best of a bad bargain. And besides, her errors are in themselves large enough to be dignified; her selfishness is so imperious that it rises into a virtue in disguise. It *is* evidently to turn into one in the long run. She wants everything for herself, but she is not mean, and she does what she chooses without regard for what the world would say:—a step in progress which we own ourselves to hope may be slow in gaining general footing. But this tragic drama of strong wills clashing is not so much the point we call attention to as the bone of contention over which the wills clash—the conduct of Gwendolen towards Deronda—conduct which in actual life must result in the gravest consequences. Our author is not wanting either in foresight or in knowledge of the world. If certain consequences are natural consequences, no doubt she faces them as lesser evils than those she thinks involved in the present state of things.

The story for due entanglement of plot required (and the argument no less) the presence of a strong counter-influence to that of the husband. Without this Gwendolen would have subsided into proud passivity, and the husband out of mere satiety would have exercised his will, or some of it, on other objects, if it had not been stimulated by a cross influence. The interest of the author's last two novels has hung on the introduction of the same element. Both heroines choose their husbands on deliberately formed principles, and are impervious to advice; both discover too late that their hopes are disappointed, and both find in another man the qualities in which their husbands especially fail. Dorothea, as she discovers her husband's utter want of the sympathy her soul craves for, finds it in Ladislav. Ladislav represents sympathy. Gwendolen becomes awake to her husband's total deficiency of conscience—no disembodied fiend is less burdened with one—and in Daniel Deronda she finds a conscience to which she is impelled to appeal. She has done wrong in marrying a bad man on inferior motives, and Deronda's presence always intensifies this remorse. His mere presence, indeed, compels her to impart to him, either directly or by implication, the fact of the great mistake she has made, and the writhing of her whole soul under it. No doubt these confessions are made with the

skill and delicacy of handling not only of a great artist, but of one who has moral aims of her own in attacking received ideas : but turning from these aims and looking at the action and the situation in the light of experience, we must protest against the tendency of her story. The influence of attractive young men—intensely sympathising, whose expression of countenance is even in advance of their internal sentiment—upon unhappy wives cannot be so described as to hold promise of good to the wife ; or handled so as to satisfy our views of social propriety. Such self-will as Gwendolen's, beautiful and attractive as she is represented, must tell in real life after a manner in which the author's plan must not suffer it to tell in fiction. We find some of her critics impatient at this reticence as a want of nature ; they resent Deronda's coldness as contrary at once to nature and feeling. But no one can admit more implicitly the influence of masculine thought on the feminine nature than the author where she comments in a very suggestive passage on the change in Gwendolen's view of things after meeting Deronda in her husband's company :—

‘No chemical process shows a more wonderful activity than the transforming influence of the thought we imagine to be going on in another. Changes in theory, religion, admirations, may begin with a suspicion of dissent or disapproval, even where the grounds of disapproval are but matter of searching conjecture. Poor Gwendolen was conscious of an uneasy transforming process—all the old nature shaken out of its depths, its hopes spoiled, its pleasure perturbed.’

For ourselves we cannot but feel a revolt against every line that confuses the two relations of human and divine love. In this work we seem to see an example of this confusion : but we must remember that wherever the Christian idea of Divine—of spiritual—influence is wanting, there repentance and conversion must be either spontaneous or the work of a human hand ; and no doubt, viewed in this light, personal attractiveness must be regarded as the most effective of all instruments ; and we may no longer question the posture of affairs, when Gwendolen, violently hating her husband, has head and heart full of an outside conscience in visible form. At any rate we must reconcile ourselves to the inevitable. Outside consciences will always have engaging personal qualities, with probably fewer terrors than that conscience which holds its court within. Thus we read that, on a visit paid as a bride, having intended to take no notice of Deronda—

‘she found herself under an inward compulsion too strong for her

pride. From the first moment of their being in the room together, she seemed to herself to be doing nothing but notice him: everything else was automatic performance of an habitual part.'

The various forms of expression by which this influence was maintained are carefully described: 'his face had that disturbing kind of form and expression which threatens and affects opinion, as if one's standard were somehow wrong;' and in receiving Gwendolen's impetuous confidences obtruded upon him at a music party he had alluded to 'the ancient story of the lost sheep,'—Deronda forgot everything but his vision of what Gwendolen's experience had probably been, and urged by compassion 'let his eyes and voice express as much interest as they were capable of.' In response to interest so expressed, we are not to wonder that, instead of taking her part in the concert, 'Gwendolen, who had slipped on the music-stool, looked up at him with pain in her lovely eyes, like a wounded animal asking help.' Nor need we wonder that her husband, having observed this scene, made himself additionally disagreeable when he next had his wife on his arm; especially as, previously to these mute appeals, she had taken 'the deep rest of confession' in an appealing look of sadness, which Deronda's depth of sympathy had responded to in an answering look. Gwendolen is always wanting this deep rest of confession, which is assumed to be a merit and token of sincerity; but in fact where people are thoroughly egotistical, and indeed without this, where they are sure of sympathy, faults are quite as pleasant to talk about as anything else. Whatever faults were brought about by hatred of her husband, Deronda could so far find excuses for, that he fully shared her sentiments of repugnance; and of this she was perfectly aware. One of the attractions of Gwendolen with the author is her daring impulsiveness; what she wants she must have, and the fear of the world's opinion has no weight with her; her modesty is shown by certain instinctive repulsions rather than by more engaging tokens; and she is never ashamed. Herself is so uniformly her theme that under no circumstances does she ever get away from it. What she does she justifies. Thus she talks to anybody and everybody of Deronda's early influence over herself, of his evil eye upon her luck at the gaming-table; she insists upon his calling upon her when she knows his presence is disagreeable to her husband: and all this is supposed an indication of nobility of character, because she has no reserves, and assuming a sort of nun-like costume, makes Deronda her confessor whether he will or no, talks of her miseries and

frankly owns that her detestation of her husband has got to that pass that she is afraid she shall do something wicked. And this husband is represented as such a toad, and viper (when nobody but his wife sees him), that really the reader is expected not to see any harm, and to recognise in these confidences the road to a higher and purer life.

There is never any concealment of the fact that the attraction of Gwendolen towards Deronda was the attraction of personal fascination. She lets him know that she cannot do without him, that all her goodness depends on him: these feelings are evident throughout, it is a part of his personifying conscience; though they are allowed their fullest expression only on the death of her husband. It was not in her egotistical nature, always believing herself first with everybody, to conceive Deronda caring for another more than herself; her confession—a powerful scene—is made before the blow of his approaching marriage falls on her. We call it powerful, yet it must be noted that the sympathies both of author and confessor are so strongly on her side, the verdict of ‘serve him right’ is so forcibly in the mind of both and reflected by them upon the reader, that the effort need not have cost her so much. Deronda mildly pronounces the murderous design a ‘vision of injurious selfish action,’ and proceeds to prophesy that she will be one of the best of women:—

‘The words were like the touch of a miraculous hand to Gwendolen. Mingled emotions streamed through her frame with a strength that seemed the beginning of a new existence, having some new powers or other which stirred in her vaguely. So pregnant is the divine hope of moral recovery with the energy that fulfils it. So potent in us is the infused action of another soul before which we bow with complete love. . . . Her imagination had not been turned to a future union with Deronda by any other than the spiritual tie which had been continually strengthening; but also it had not been turned towards a future separation from him. Love-making and marriage—how could they now be the imagery in which poor Gwendolen’s deepest attachment could spontaneously clothe itself? Mighty love had laid his hand upon her; but what had he demanded of her? Acceptance of rebuke—the hard task of self-change—confession—endurance. If she cried towards him, what then? She cried as the child cries whose little feet have fallen backwards,—cried to be taken by the hand lest she should lose herself. The cry pierced Deronda,’ &c.

It has been observed that Deronda personifies all sacred ideas: he is priest, confessor, director, conscience, Providence; we might add that he represents a divinity and heaven, if these ideas are represented at all. Mordecai breathes into

his soul the gift of prophecy (in the mode in which he himself exercises it). We take leave of him inaugurating a Messianic period. All these offices he fills in the eyes of Gwendolen, except that the Judaism, as the separating element, meets no reception in her mind. In the interests of received morals—the morals of propriety—Gwendolen and Deronda are separated, but the separation is an incongruity ;—a sacrifice, may we say, to appearances? No doubt, at any rate, the story is much less criticised by the world at large, than if the more obvious and natural consequences of the relation had followed.

The relation we have protested against exists also in a certain school of religious novels, in which the attractions of the preacher more than share the weight of his message and the credit of conversion. Where the line should be distinctly drawn between spiritual and earthly affections, as is required in Christian ethics, the confusion of the two shows an apprehension very ill-informed in what it professes to teach ; but we are not sure that if certain spiritual ideas are blotted out, the same objection stands. Unquestionably principles are more easily spread and carry much more influence through the medium of agents invested with attractions that meet all the requirements of eye and ear ; and on the same ground we may say that the open recognition of this form of attraction and resolute yielding to it, under Gwendolen's circumstances, may have quite a different aspect where the theory of what this life is—what are its duties, and what it ends in,—is also different ; where one human being can fulfil to another the divinest offices.

‘Had he not first risen on her vision as a corrective presence which she had recognised in the beginning with resentment, and at last with entire love and trust? She could not spontaneously think of an end to that reliance, which had become to her imagination like the firmness of the earth, the only condition of her walking.’

We can only in general terms express our suspicion of any religious manifestation that is stimulated by the most passionate of human affections. As the nerves can simulate any bodily disorder, so the heart, the temper, the nature can put on any quality or characteristic that befriends the absorbing sentiment. Gwendolen's conscience is aroused on all the points which furnish subjects for confession to Deronda, but we miss any mark of the self-examination which might have warned her of the perils to which she exposed herself in the relation she so resolutely established between them. We can never think it other than objectionable in fiction when wrong-

doing is made the road to reform and a higher life ; but of course the question is, What is wrong-doing ? and here probably we and the author part company.

There is another subject in close connexion with that on which we have mainly dwelt, which shows as decided a departure from the received Christian standard ;—that connected with Mrs. Glasher and the rights of persons in Mrs. Glasher's position. Mrs. Glasher tells Gwendolen in their secret interview, 'I left my husband and child for him ; he ought to marry no one but me.' 'My husband is dead now ; he ought to marry me ; he ought to make that boy his heir.' Now, society has its code of morals founded on the notion of honour. The man has injured the woman in the most vital point ; let him make her what compensation he can in the world's eye. But we are led to understand from the constant sneer at society that the world's judgments go very little way with this author ; that she professes a higher standard. We gather therefore, by the introduction of such a question, a design to treat it from a judicial point of view. Mrs. Glasher is not made an attractive person, there is no attempt to invest her with any false glamour of interest ; while, on the other hand, there are no strong expressions of blame or recoil. The case is brought forward *as* a case, the real sinner being Grandcourt. Now Gwendolen, on first being informed of this connexion, and throughout, is made to rest her objection to fulfilling her promise to Grandcourt, and subsequently her self-blame for having married him, simply on the ground of interfering with Mrs. Glasher's *rights* : and the rights of Mrs. Glasher and her children are the question throughout ; whereas, speaking strictly, under Christian teaching, there is no right at all on either side, but that of repenting in dust and ashes. The woman has no social rights, no rights as a citizen ; for her children she forfeits them as well as for herself. The state they are born into is one of shame and infinite disadvantage ; but one entailed on them by their parents, and not by society. Their birth is a natural disqualification, just as a thousand other things are disqualifications interfering with the prospects of those suffering under them. It is a disqualification, however, which the author evidently desires to see done away ; a wish which she represents as already gaining some ground in English society. She makes Sir Hugo, a respectable baronet, describe Mrs. Glasher to Deronda 'as a sort of wife to Grandcourt for several years,' adding that he has left his estate to her boy. 'In my opinion,' answers Deronda, 'he

did wrong when he married this wife (Gwendolen), not in leaving his estates to the son.' 'I say nothing,' replies Sir Hugo, 'against his leaving the land to the lad.' Yet surely the Sir Hugos of real life would see some harm if the landed property of England were to fall into the hands of such claimants. We do not complain of a judicious scrupulousness; but, writing for all classes of readers, the author has been obliged to suppress and overlook all the probabilities of a life like Grandcourt's which would utterly upset such rights as she claims for Mrs. Glasher's children. Mrs. Glasher left her husband for one she preferred to him, and why should not *he*, by the same rule, leave her when it suited him? What, we would ask, but the strength and strictness of the marriage tie can defend women in the decay and loss of natural charms as time goes on? What would be the fate of many if subject to the changeableness of an undisciplined fancy, largely aided by the possibility of giving that change effect?

We should have thought that people wrote carelessly, or without their host, in assuming that marriage with Grandcourt—if she could have brought it about—would have set Mrs. Glasher right with the world; but perhaps those who entertain this notion are better informed on such points than ourselves. We cannot doubt that certain trammels are less felt where culture reigns than in what are called the respectable classes, and that the feeling against respectability as a Philistine quality, which possesses the advocates of modern ideas, has much to do with the strong hold the old-fashioned view of marriage has on these classes. The middle or respectable class—the two epithets mean virtually the same thing—has fewest temptations to depart from the established view. Culture carries with it leisure and assumed freedom from prejudice, and along with them all the temptations belonging to these conditions. Respectability, doing the necessary work of the world, and not too much above appearances to despise them, has neither time nor taste for the changes of current opinion, and accepts the standing judgment of mankind as most in accord with its social status and most recommending itself to reason; a posture of mind strikingly opposed to the modern turn for speculation which takes nothing for granted, and treats the most sacred and time-honoured institutions as things to be turned over and a new face put upon. And yet with its contempt 'culture' betrays a sense of weakness, such as mutability must always feel before steadfastness. The mere sight of stability is irritating to the man of change, he will not believe that it can have a foundation in reason.

No serious writer—and such George Eliot emphatically is—would have depicted the relation of Gwendolen and Deronda, would have exercised all the resources of her genius in drawing the picturesque, exciting scenes in which she brings them together, and further elaborately related their effect on the action and feeling of Gwendolen towards her husband, without a definite purpose, and that purpose to dispute certain generally received axioms, or rather doctrines, on the subject of the conjugal relation. As such the book touches more nearly the heart of Christian morality than George Sand's more daring defiance of social order. These two writers have lately been so frequently brought together that the comparison is natural and to be excused on our part, though the deeper nature of our English genius, her love of order and subjection to such law as she does acknowledge, must set her, in her own mind, leagues apart from her impetuous and unscrupulous sister genius, with whom satiety is the prevailing motive, impulse, inspiration, whatever we call it. The death of Madame Dudevant, bringing about a general notice of her works and powers, has naturally induced this comparison; and the principle of ignoring what the reviewer does not care to enter upon, issuing in much preposterous whitewashing of the great Frenchwoman's works and character, has made it possible. The apologies of her admirers take different forms, with, however, the general agreement that genius is not to be measured by ordinary rules. Our apology for George Sand, so far as we put one forward, lies in her training, which was almost worse than heathen, inasmuch as her childhood lived in sight of the desecration and in constant hearing of the denial of things sacred; lies in the fact that her grandmother *se disait déiste*, and her mother taught her the argument of which she made such use in after life—that she had never done any harm, because what might seem like it was done in spite of herself and she could not help it, and was sure God was too good to punish her for it. What can be more different from this (in spite of our ignorance, we must feel perfectly sure) than the first introduction to religious ideas of the author of *Adam Bede*, and the sympathiser in the ardent, self-denying, evangelical pastor, Mr. Tryan? Yet, in each, the one from the side of undisciplined passion, the other as the exponent of what she professes to regard as a higher morality, the same line may be discernible on the great question we have supposed to be under trial. Take, for example, George Sand's novel *Jacques*. Jacques, the reader may require to be informed, is *le vieux Jacques*, who at the age of thirty-five

encounters a great misfortune; he arrives at *mon pauvre dernier amour*. For a long time he informs his correspondent—

‘Dieu m’a longtemps béni, longtemps il m’a donné la faculté de guérir et de renouveler mon cœur à cette flamme divine : mais j’ai fait mon temps, je suis arrivé à mon dernier tour de roue : je ne dois plus, je ne puis plus aimer.’

This *dernier amour* is a girl of seventeen, to whom he engages himself. She is devoted to him, and might under another *régime* have continued to be so for the term of her life, being a simple girl enough; but Jacques’ magnanimity will not impose on the simplicity—on the adorable puerility—of his future bride. He therefore addresses a letter to her, of which the following is the opening :—

‘La société va vous dicter une formule de serment. Vous allez jurer de m’être fidèle et de m’être soumise, c’est-à-dire de n’aimer jamais que moi et de m’obéir en tout. L’un de ces serments est une absurdité, l’autre une bassesse. Vous ne pouvez pas répondre de votre cœur, même quand je serais le plus grand et le plus parfait des hommes; vous ne devez pas me promettre de m’obéir parce que ce serait nous avilir l’un et l’autre. Ainsi, mon enfant, prononcez avec confiance les mots consacrés sans lesquels votre mère et le monde vous défendraient de m’appartenir; moi aussi, je dirai les paroles que le prêtre et le magistrat me dicteront, puisqu’à ce prix seulement il m’est permis de vous consacrer ma vie.’

The sequel of this story is, at any rate, entirely French, for a lover appearing upon the scene with whom Jacques would in no way interfere, he demands of this Octave if he will also *consacrer sa vie* to Fernande, and receiving a satisfactory answer, repairs by himself to Switzerland to disappear in a crevasse; his reason for this step being that Fernande is scrupulous, and cares for what the world says; therefore that this is the only way to make her thoroughly comfortable—

‘Un homme moins malheureux que moi eût peut-être trouvé l’occasion de se sacrifier pour l’objet de son amour et d’en être récompensé à son dernière heure par les bénédictions des heureux qu’il eût faits : mais mon sort est tel qu’il faut que je me cache pour mourir . . . Car après tout Fernande est un ange de bonté, et son cœur sensible aux moindres atteintes pourrait se briser sous le poids d’un remords semblable. D’ailleurs le monde le maudirait, et après m’avoir poursuivi de ses féroces railleries pendant ma vie, il poursuivrait ma veuve de ses aveugles malédictions après ma mort.’

Certainly nothing in manner can be more opposed than this farrago of nonsensical, *blasé* passion and the grave didactic tone for which George Eliot is distinguished; but there is more affinity in aim than in mode of treatment, how-

ever, much that aim may be regulated by the purer, more chastened fancy of the English authoress. And when a comparison is drawn between the two, the fact that each believes herself a reformer cannot be left out. The Frenchwoman, who threw herself mind and body into the masculine form, sympathises equally with man and woman under the tyranny of a lasting tie; George Eliot sympathises with woman, and mainly writhes under her grievances, and this concentrates her powers. Both are ready to resort to ideas of violence, self-destruction, and murder; but George Eliot, instigated by the alleged wrongs of her sex, puts a force and sting into her desperation of revenge which make George Sand's conceptions in the same line seem child's play. Take, for example, her Jacques repairing to his crevasse, pen in hand, with all his maundering reasons, and Gwendolen, in a state of moral repulsion and cowed resistance, sitting opposite her husband in the boat, afraid of her own hatred as she felt it gathering a fierce intensity under the cold clutch of his iron will; with images of evil passing quick, quick before her like furies, and placing all her reliance against herself on Deronda, who she was sure would not leave her neighbourhood while she was there and needed his help. Each author, however, represents all these miseries as working their tremendous issues under apparently happy lots, under a mask of smiling, unalloyed, enviable prosperity, and thus offers parallels to living prosperous discontent. Angry women may easily see Grandcourt in a good sort of husband with provoking ways, and men and women who have outlived illusions see themselves in the long series of the brilliant Frenchwoman's works. If it were our business here to enter into the literary merits, or even the finer moralities of either authoress, we might enlarge on the further ground of admiring comparison presented by their keen appreciation of country life, and the religious simplicity and purity of manners with which each invests a life of wholesome rustic labour. But faith and religion, as we understand them, in either case are provincial virtues, incompatible with high cultivation whether of the feelings or the intellect. In fact in *Daniel Deronda* we do not observe a single character actuated by religion as a motive. All the old spiritual sentiments and affections are not indeed disowned, but a new basis is assigned them. Mirah wishes to conform to the practices of her race; with Deronda 'to be in a state of suspense, which was also one of emotive activity and scruple, was a familiar attitude of his conscience; Gwendolen of course is perfectly dead on this point,

the clergy are not Christians, but members of the establishment ; and so on. Furthermore, we cannot but connect with this wiping out of the idea of faith in the unseen, the growing appreciation not only of art, but of display and performance, which we notice in *Daniel Deronda*—of a sort of stage success. Everybody has more or less to do with the stage. Mirah was brought up on it; Gwendolen wants to become an actress when she has to think of getting her own living; Deronda's mother is a kind of Rachel, who describes the life of a successful singer and actress as altogether imperial and glorious; Klesmer embodies in his own person the ideas of composer, manager, conductor, performer. Art with him is the highest business of life, and when he marries the heiress, it is Deronda's opinion that if there is a *mésalliance* in the case, he should say it was on Klesmer's side. Here, however, it must be allowed that a lingering English prejudice so far hampers the author's tone and style, that she cannot help conveying to the reader a sense the reverse of this. Her truth of observation betrays her into a portrait of which the image left on the reader is rather ridiculous than impressive.

The strong feeling for art now astir is no doubt a highly cultivating influence, but as all things have their weak side, the side of devotion to art is probably its inducing some touch of vanity and love of display. While this is recognised in the picture of life before us, it is treated with a marked indulgence. There is sympathy with the temper that is determined to be somebody in the world, to make a figure and a name; in fact, to get what you can out of life. The belief that this world is a scene of probation runs counter to such aspirations, at least puts a strong check upon them; and we feel that there must be such differences of view where the present life is assumed the only theatre of action of which we have any certainty. Such a theatre is a need of all active thought, a sphere somewhere is the universal hope; and we regard it as an evidence that the belief in immortality is natural to man that this hope reconciles him to the obscurity and insignificance in the world's eye which is the lot of the large majority. We are far from asserting that this hope is systematically denied in these volumes. No change of opinion, assuming such a change, can eradicate in a mind of large intelligence and keen imagination the idea of an indefinite future; and we have noted the evident struggle to construct out of time and death an eternal future, and a linked chain of unending spiritual life.

If we have felt it a duty to protest against views which

have passed with too little comment in the general critique of *Daniel Deronda*, we cannot do so without expressing our deep regret at such a necessity, at having to put ourselves in opposition to the implied teaching,—on a subject of such supreme importance to the interests of society,—of an author not only of remarkable genius, but who has shown in the course of her works both veneration for the sanctities of home life and a sense of the purifying and ennobling influences of religion. If in the religion she has there pictured we may now trace some differences from the religion necessarily in the mind of the simple characters she has set before us, this difference would be hidden from the large majority of her readers, who naturally do not look, in the fiction of an authoress whose power lies in delineation of character and perception of motive, for any exposition of doctrine; much less for a new creed under the disguise of the old:—if we must indeed pass such a suspicion upon it. The veil, however, becomes thinner as new opinion overrides the old; and while we grieve over the necessity of our protest, we also feel that but for the general elevation of sentiment and tone the protest need not have been made. We, at least, should not have felt called upon to make it.

ART. V.—JOHN WYCLIF AT OXFORD.

1. *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*. Edited by W. W. SHIRLEY for the Master of the Rolls' Series of Chronicles. (London, 1858.)
2. *Second and Fourth Reports of the Royal Historical Commission*.
3. *Johann von Wiclif*. Von GOTTHARD LECHLER. 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1873.)

IT often happens that the traditional facts of the lives of historical personages are called in question and reconstructed to suit new conceptions of their character and importance. Especially is this the case when the integrity of a man's motives are impugned by hostile criticism, and what once appeared as a noble striving after truth is traced to the promptings of self-interest or wounded pride. In the case of those who in ecclesiastical matters were the pioneers of

freedom, and led the attack upon the abuses of the old system, we naturally find that character and motives have been narrowly scrutinised. It is a matter of importance to one party to represent the characters of the first Reformers as lofty, and their motives as pure; it is equally important to the other party to do all they can to show the mixture of private and personal feeling which gave energy and keenness to their onslaughts.

After such a controversy has raged for some time, and the facts have been fully brought to light on both sides, the insignificance of the point in dispute, so far as it affects the real character of the man, becomes apparent. The permanent value of a man's life emerges above the struggle as to its details; and the man's work and ideas become so important in themselves, that the question how they arose in him becomes a secondary one. We can abandon outworks that were ingeniously thrown up for defence, now that we are sure of the impregnable strength of the fortress itself. It is no discredit to a man that he finds out slowly by personal experience the defects of a system under which he lives, and as he finds them out sets himself to amend them. Such conduct is not a proof of small personal resentment, but rather of the truest political wisdom. We cannot gauge how far a man's opinions are moulded by the things that befall himself; but we are sure that his opinions can only broaden upon the foundation which he has already laid. If his actions are wise and moderate, and his teaching is reasonable, serious, and straightforward, the charge of personal motives and personal bitterness falls harmless to the ground.

A position of this kind has been taken up in recent days as regards some facts of the life of John Wyclif. Until recently the notices of his life at Oxford were undisputed. He was found to be at Balliol, Merton, and afterwards Warden of Archbishop Islip's new foundation of Canterbury Hall, whence he was ejected by the monastic party, aided by the Pope. To this ejection Lingard ascribes 'those feelings of resentment and those bitter and envenomed invectives with which he afterwards assailed the Court of Rome, as well as the monastic orders.' Le Bas, in his *Life of Wyclif*, indignantly denies this, and oversteps the mark by declaring that 'not the slightest allusion to the subject has yet been found in any portion of his writings.' In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1841, an anonymous writer called attention to the existence of a contemporaneous secular priest, of similar name with John Wyclif. The clue so given was taken up

by the late Professor Shirley, who, in his admirable preface to the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, proceeded to divide the Oxford notices of Wyclif between the two men of similar name, and maintained that John Wyclif, the Reformer, was not the Fellow of Merton, or Warden of Canterbury Hall. Dean Hook, in his *Life of Archbishop Langham*, considered Professor Shirley's arguments so conclusive, that he assumed the case settled. 'It relieves,' he says, 'the Reformer from the suspicion that, in his hostility to the Pope, he was influenced by personal feelings.' Dr. Lechler, whose exhaustive book on Wyclif deserves more notice than it has met with in England, is not, on general grounds, convinced by Professor Shirley's arguments, which he does not consider strong enough to overthrow the historical evidence, or to accord with Wyclif's own language. It will be our object to examine Professor Shirley's arguments, because they raise questions of much interest concerning University life at Oxford in Wyclif's day.

Now there was a certain secular priest, John de Whyteclyfe, Whiteclyve, or Whytcliff—for his name is spelt in all these ways—about whom we find the following facts in the registers of the four Archbishops, Islip, Wittlesey, Sudbury, and Courtenay. In 1361 he was presented by Archbishop Islip to the vicarage of Mayfield, in Sussex; in 1368 he was named, in the will of John Watford, rector of Snorgate in Kent; in 1380 he exchanged Mayfield for Horsted Keynes, in the diocese of Chichester; in 1383 he died, and we find that his will was proved. About this John Whiteclyve, Professor Shirley says that 'this name is, in mediæval spelling, undistinguishable from that of the Reformer.' It seems to us, however, that in this case Professor Shirley has credited mediæval spelling with undue laxity. There would seem to be great variations in the spelling of the separate component parts of the two names, Wyclif and Whiteclif; but the fact remains that the vicar of Mayfield's name is always spelt with a *z*—the Reformer's never.

To meet the uniformity of the first syllable of the vicar's name, Professor Shirley says: 'The entries extend only over twenty-two years, and were very likely made by the same hand, or under the same superintendence.' Still, they occur in the registers of four archbishops, and the uniformity extends only to the retention of the letter *z*, and not to the exact repetition of the rest of the name. On the other hand, the first syllable of the Reformer's name is never spelt with a *z*, though written by many different hands. Different records

in three Oxford Colleges, the episcopal registers of Lincoln under two bishops, the archiepiscopal registers of two archbishops, the various documents relating to Canterbury Hall, the pleadings on both sides, the Patent Rolls of Edward III.—all combine in writing the first syllable of the name of the man they speak of without a *t*; it is written Wi, Wy, or Wye, with variations, as in the other case of the termination, *cliff*. The evidence of spelling would tend to show that there was a feeling of the difference of the two names, which seem both to have had a local origin. John Whitecliff may possibly have taken his name from the Whitecliff in the parish of Sevenoaks in Kent. John Wyclif undoubtedly took his name from Wyecliffe—*i.e.* the water-cliff, a little village on the Tees, north of Richmond. The variations of spelling seem to have obeyed certain laws, and did not count the insertion or omission of a dental as of no importance.

Another distinction between the two men is their titles. The vicar of Mayfield is always styled 'dominus,' never 'magister'; the Warden is styled 'magister.' Professor Shirley remarks that 'dominus was the ordinary style of a priest when there was no question of his degree;' to which may be added, also, when he had no degree. There was no question of the Warden's degree; yet we always find him styled by its title. It is not a matter of much importance, yet still this difference exists.

Leaving, however, this question of the difference of name between the two persons who are supposed to have been confounded, let us look at the actual facts concerned with the wardenship of Canterbury Hall, and consider how far they are in accordance with other facts about John Wyclif. At the risk of being tedious, we will give the facts as they are to be gathered from the original documents. In 1361 Edward III. gave his licence for the appropriation of the advowson of Pageham, in the gift of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to Canterbury Hall, which Archbishop Islip was then founding at Oxford. In April 1363, we have the charter of the foundation of Canterbury Hall, and the gift to it, by Archbishop Islip, of the manor of Wodeford in Northamptonshire. The Hall is for twelve students, and by the statutes, the Prior and Chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury, are to select out of that Chapter three fit persons for the wardenship, of whom the Archbishop is to choose one. Islip reserved to himself and his successors the power to modify the statutes, as occasion required. In the following March the Chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury, nominate

three of their brethren, from whom Islip chooses Henry Wodehull as the first Warden. After this we find the royal licence for the conveyance of certain messuages in Oxford to Canterbury Hall, by the Abbot of Abingdon, Prior of S. Frideswyde, Warden of Merton, Abbess of Godstow, Thomas of Gloucester, and Master and Fellows of Balliol. It would seem that many people took an interest in the new foundation.

In December 1365, John de Wyclyve is appointed Warden in laudatory language: 'Simon Islip to his dear son, Master John de Wyclyve. Having regard to your praiseworthy life, honourable conversation, and the literary acquirements in which the Most High has noted you as supereminent in arts, and being assured of your truth, prudence, and carefulness, we commit to you the wardenship.' There is no mention made of any nomination by the Chapter of Christ Church. Wyclif's wardenship, however, came to an end very soon. In March 1367, the new Archbishop, Simon Langham, appointed to the wardenship John Radyngate, who had been duly nominated by the Chapter of Christ Church. He seems to have been nothing more than a monk, as no academical title is given him. Accordingly in April his appointment is cancelled, 'certis ex causis et literis nos ad hoc moventibus,' possibly because he had no degree either in arts or theology; and the original Warden, Henry Wodehull, is again appointed, after consultation with the Chapter. It does not appear that Wodehull was again formally nominated by them.

Under these circumstances Wyclif appealed to the Pope, and we have the statement of the case made to the Curia on both sides. First, on behalf of Simon Langham and the monks, it was affirmed that Wyclif obtained possession of the Hall during the lawful absence of Henry Wodehull, and that he was appointed when Simon Islip was in sore weakness; Langham was of opinion that the Hall should not be wholly in the hands of seculars, and so had ejected Wyclif and re-appointed Wodehull; he had threatened to sequester the revenues of the Church of Pageham, unless Wyclif's party yielded; so Wyclif and his fellows appealed to the Pope. Throughout this document Wyclif has scant courtesy shown him; he is called 'quidam Joannes de Wyclyf.' It may be remarked in passing that Lingard has taken this avowedly *ex parte* statement as true history. Secondly, we have the statement on behalf of John Wyclif, Master in Arts and Bachelor in Divinity, reciting the foundation of the Hall by

Islip, the appointment of Wyclif, his unreasonable removal by Langham, the imposition of Wodehull, and the refusal to admit him ; the consequent sequestration by Langham of the Church of Pageham, almost the entire support of the clerks, and the compulsion to which they were thereby subjected fraudulently to admit Wodehull.

The suit seems to have lingered, as suits always do. In July 1369 a Papal Commission was issued to Cardinal Adrian to open the case : in May 1370 the Papal mandate was sent for the execution of Cardinal Adrian's judgment. It recited the petition of the Prior and Chapter, to the effect that Canterbury Hall ought to be governed by one of their own monks, and that the Warden ought to have with him three other monks of their Church, according to the foundation ordinances, whereas John de Wyclif, William Selbi, William Middleworth, and Richard Benger, clerks of the dioceses of York, Salisbury, and Exeter, falsely alleged that secular priests ought to rule the Hall. The said John had been appointed Warden ; Henry Wodehull, monk of the Church and Warden of the Hall, and some fellow members, had been ejected and spoiled of their goods. Whereupon Simon Langham, seeing the dissipation of the goods of the College by the said John and the other clerks his fellows (*consortes*), sequestered the revenues of the parish church of Pageham, whereupon a suit arose between John de Wyclif and his fellows on the one side and the said Archbishop Langham on the other. The Pope had commissioned Cardinal Adrian to hear the cause and decide it, with power, as he thought best, to remove the secular clerks or the monks, and to make the College either one of seculars or of monks exclusively. Richard Benger was proctor of the said John and his fellows, but did not appear, and was declared contumacious. The judgment of Adrian was that the seculars should be ejected and the monks exclusively settled in the College ; that the ejection and spoliation of the aforesaid monks should be revoked and declared void, and restitution made. The Pope confirms this judgment.

The last document dealing with this point is the royal pardon for all that has been done amiss about Canterbury Hall, and confirmation of the deprivation of Wyclif. Under date of April 8, 1372, Edward III. recites that 'leave and licence had been given under the Great Seal to Simon Islip to found a certain hall, called Canterbury Hall, in Oxford, in which there should be a certain number of scholars, as well religious as seculars, to whom he gave the advowson of the Church of

Pageham. The Archbishop founded his hall in accordance with this licence, and settled certain monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, one as the Warden of it, and gave them the advowson aforesaid. Afterwards, in accordance with our licence, the Warden and other monkish regular scholars were removed by the Archbishop, who installed a secular Warden and scholars, who enjoyed his benefaction so long as he lived. After his death, on the accession of Simon Langham as Archbishop, Simon sequestered the living of Pageham, and a suit arose between the Warden and secular scholars on the one part and the Archbishop on the other. An appeal was carried before Pope Urban, who pronounced that only the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, should occupy the hall, and that the seculars should make restitution to them. By authority of the Papal decree, the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, installed a certain fellow monk as Warden, and certain fellow monks as scholars, to the entire exclusion of the seculars, and this against our licence, seeing that the advowson of the Church of Pageham had been given by one of our ancestors for the endowment of the see of Canterbury. Still we, in consideration of 200 marks paid us by the Prior and Convent, condone all their offences in the matter of this hall and this advowson, confirm the decree of the Pope, and grant to the Warden and regular scholars of the hall, and their successors, to hold the hall and the advowson, in spite of the terms of the foundation by Simon Islip for a mixed society of regulars and seculars.'

In this royal award, which ended the matter, there is no mention of any names of rival Wardens: the whole dispute is treated as one between regulars and seculars. Wyclif is assumed, on the whole, to have been in the right, and the monks in the wrong; but, in consideration of 200 marks, the wrongdoers are pardoned, and carry off the substantial rewards of victory. It has been urged that it is very improbable that the royal award should have been given against Wyclif in the very year in which he was appointed to the post of royal chaplain (1372). The tone of the document itself shows that there is no weight in such an objection. The incident itself was merely one common enough in the prolonged struggle between regulars and seculars. The Papal judgment in this case had been given in favour of the regulars, and the King confirms it after taking care that the monks pay for their victory. That no names of Wardens are introduced shows that it did not come before the King in the light of a personal question.

In connexion, however, with these documents about the foundation of Canterbury Hall and its rival Wardens, we must take other Oxford notices about persons named Wyclif in Merton, Balliol, and Queen's Colleges; we must consider how far these can be made to apply to the Warden of Canterbury Hall.

First of all, as regards Merton. In the 30th year of Edward III. (1356) the 'compotus' of the Bursar makes John Wyclif steward of the week at Merton. We have, moreover, evidence that Benger and Middleworth, two of the Fellows who, together with Wyclif, were ejected from Canterbury Hall, were Fellows of Merton at this same time. A catalogue of the Fellows of Merton has recently been brought to light and copied by Mr. Thorold Rogers. This catalogue is mentioned by Anthony Wood as being used by him in the compilation of a similar catalogue in his own day. He says of it that 'one Thomas Robert (who died in 1446), then Fellow, did, out of a zeal which he had to the College, cull the Bursars' accompt out of the Treasury. . . This catalogue was first drawn out on the backside of several antiquated parchment rolls, which, being revised and corrected, were all transcribed into a quarto book of parchment, and kept in the Library to this day.' The transcript has not been found, though it was used by Leland and Astrey, but the original catalogue, 'first drawn out on the backside of several antiquated parchment rolls,' is the one which Mr Rogers has discovered. Here may be seen the names of Wyklif, Benger and Middleworth, all Fellows in the time of Edward IV. It is noticeable that to the name of Wyklif only, out of the whole list of 463 names, is a special date appended—'Wyklyf, anno xxx Ed. terc.' Here, also, are found the names of Aston, Brightwell, James, and Rugge, all of whom were connected later with the Lollard movement in Oxford.

If we continue the Oxford notices of Wyclif in the order of time, the next that we find are in connexion with Balliol College. In May 1360, John de Wyclif, master of the house of the scholars of the Hall called Le Baillol-Halle, was attached to make answer to Nicolas Marchaunt in a plea of distresses taken in the parish of S. Laurence Jewry, London. In April 1361 there is a notarial attestation of the appointment of John de Wycliff to be the Proctor of the 'Hall of Balliol upon Candyk, in the suburb of Oxford.' In May 1361, John Wyclif is presented by Balliol, and instituted to the rectory of Fylingham, in Lincolnshire.

Whether, after this, Wyclif left Oxford to reside on his

benefice we do not know. Probably he did not. At all events we find notices in the records of Queen's College, of the residence there of Wyclif and others whose connexion with the Reformer is well known. In October 1363, the repairs of Wiclif's chamber, 15 days' work, cost 5*s.* 7*d.* In July 1365, two years' rent for the chamber of Wyclife are entered at 40*s.* In September 1374, other work was done for Wyclif's convenience, and he paid 20*s.* rent ; again, in August 1380, he paid 20*s.* rent. Besides these entries concerning Wyclif, we find between 1369 and 1399 various entries about William Selby, William Middleworth, Nicholas Harford, and John Trevisa, all of whom were prominent in the Lollard movement in Oxford, and all of whom were resident in Queen's College at the time when Wyclif seems to have been there. But, besides these entries, Mr. Riley, in the Second Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, has brought to light some notices of the expenses of the almonry boys, amongst which we find, in 1371-2, accounts for making a tunic for Wiclif (no Christian name being given), doubling it ; a doctrinal ; a knife ; his ordinary master's salary.

Thus we find some one of the name of Wyclif at Merton, Balliol, Canterbury Hall, and Queen's, and the question remains, Are all these notices to be referred to the Reformer ; if not, which of them are ? Professor Shirley says :—

‘Of the various notices, those which relate to the mastership of Balliol can alone be given with perfect certainty to the Reformer, and the connexion which appears to have existed between Balliol and the Wyclif family makes it natural to suppose that it was his original college. This, and the improbability, which is certainly great, of the Fellows of Balliol electing a Fellow of another college to their mastership, seem to assign the fellowship of Merton to Wyclif of Mayfield. . . . The evidence as to Queen's College, though not quite conclusive, points to the Reformer.’

Mr. Riley has another hypothesis about the Queen's entries, consequent on his discoveries about the almonry boys. He is of opinion that all the Queen's entries belong to the same person, but that person cannot be the Reformer. It is certainly obvious that a charity boy in 1371 could not have been the Royal chaplain of 1366 and the King's ambassador in 1374 ; but a little comparison of dates would seem to make it equally obvious that the charity boy of 1371 could not be the same person whose chamber cost the College so much for repairs in 1363, eight years before, and who paid the high rent of 20*s.* a year.

The Historical MSS. Commissioners, in the body of their

Report, do not accept Mr. Riley's hypothesis, but are clear that 'there must have been two John Wyclifs residing much about the same time in Queen's,' while they 'cannot accept without hesitation Professor Shirley's conclusion that either of them was the Reformer.' We have, therefore, conflicting hypotheses about Canterbury Hall, Merton, and Queen's, and the only sure footing is Professor Shirley's 'certainty,' which all inquirers accept, that the Master of Balliol was the Reformer.

But was Balliol Wyclif's 'original College,' or rather had he any 'original College' at all? Wood makes Merton his original College; modern writers make Queen's or Balliol. But is not this a transference of academical usages in our own days to days long before and very different? Of those 30,000 scholars, more or less, of which Richard of Armagh speaks in his time, which was Wyclif's, very few indeed can have had an 'original College.' The 300 (again more or less) unendowed Halls, Hostels, Inns, Entries, lodged very many; some are said to have had no lodging but the town walls. The present partial return in Oxford to the ancient system of the University helps to free us from the anachronism into which former writers fell, of identifying in the fourteenth century members of the University and members of Colleges. It is by far the most probable that Wyclif came to Oxford as a student of the University and did not belong to any College at all.

Again, Professor Shirley's chief reason for believing the Fellow of Merton to have been the vicar of Mayfield and not the Reformer, is because 'the improbability is certainly great of the Fellows of Balliol electing a Fellow of another College to their mastership.' Here again we have the same exaggeration of the importance of Colleges in the early history of the University. Balliol in the fourteenth century was a small and struggling society. Owing to its poverty the mastership was continually changing hands, and, curiously enough, the rectory of Abbotsley was given to the College when Wyclif was Master, for the express purpose of increasing the value of the Mastership. The probability rather is that the Fellows of Balliol would be only too glad to elect to their mastership a distinguished Fellow of Merton, the College of Bradwardyn and the most considerable academical institution of their day. Not to speculate on probabilities, let us look at the facts. Anthony Wood gives a list of the Masters of Balliol—a list which is necessarily imperfect for the first 230 years, during which no registers were kept.

But from the records of acts done by the Masters we know that there were certainly ten, and there may have been more, before Wyclif, who made the eleventh in seventy-nine years, so that the duration of their office was a little over seven years. Again, of the thirty-three Masters between 1282 and 1637, only two are recorded to have been members of Balliol, seven of other Colleges, and twenty-four have no Colleges appended to their names; it may be assumed that these last did not belong to any College, as Anthony Wood gives all ascertainable information.

Another remark made by Professor Shirley is: 'The deed appointing John Wyclyve to be Warden of Canterbury Hall is dated from Mayfield, the very place of which John Whyteclyve was vicar.' It may be observed that of the six deeds relating to Canterbury Hall, issued by the two Archbishops, Islip and Langham, four are dated from Mayfield, which was the favourite residence of the Archbishops of Canterbury from the days of King Edgar to those of Henry VIII. There it was that Archbishop Dunstan, finding the orientation of his wooden church defective, put his shoulder to the corner and shifted it a little due east and west; there he had an unpretending 'mansio,' which Archbishop Islip transformed in 1350 into that magnificent Hall, portions of which still remain. There archbishop after archbishop delighted to dwell, as numerous deeds from 1294 onwards show, till Henry VIII. cast covetous eyes on the place and compelled Cranmer to surrender the palace, manor, park, and good lands.

Another point made by Professor Shirley is that the deed appointing John Wyclyve to be Warden 'speaks of the nominee in terms which imply personal acquaintance.' The terms of the deed, other than those of ordinary courtesy, are certainly remarkable and clearly imply distinguished academic position rather than personal regard. They are entirely appropriate in their application to the most distinguished schoolman, after the death of Occam, in the fourteenth century: they are utterly unsuitable to a country vicar, who, as far as appears, had no University degree.

Turning from the examination of Professor Shirley's arguments, we must at once express our opinion that the Oxford documents refer to one and the same man throughout: we say *man*, for the charity boy, with his jacket, primer, and knife, at Queen's, may be left out of the question. It is remarkable how entirely the dates in all these notices fit in with one another. We will recapitulate them for clearness:—

1356.—John Wyclif, Fellow of Merton.

May 1360—May 1362.—Master of Balliol, probably vacating office at the latter date, the end of his year of grace, after accepting the rectory of Fylingham.

October 1363—October 1364.—Has a chamber at Queen's repaired for him.

July 1365.—Pays two years' rent at Queen's.

December 9, 1365.—Made Warden of Canterbury Hall.

April 1367.—Superseded as Warden by Henry Wodehull.

Michaelmas, 1375.—Pays one year's rent at Queen's.

August 1380.—Pays one year's rent at Queen's.

It is on all hands allowed as certain that the Reformer was Master of Balliol; but the comparison of Oxford dates shows that the Master of Balliol may well have been Fellow of Merton, tenant at Queen's, Warden of Canterbury Hall, and tenant at Queen's again.

The question may naturally be raised, why should Wyclif have chosen Queen's for his residence? The character of the College and the political attitude of the Reformer may probably suggest a reason. Founded by Queen Philippa's chaplain in 1340, Queen's was the fashionable College of the University, and was especially connected with the House of Lancaster. John of Gaunt himself visited his mother's College and was hospitably entertained there; his son, Henry Beaufort, afterwards Cardinal, was a member of it; his grandson, Henry of Monmouth, is generally reported to have been there. Now Wyclif was a Reformer in Church and State, a political ally of the old feudal nobility in their quarrel with the Church, a supporter of Lancaster's policy in the expulsion of Wykeham and the bishops from office, and in the taxation of Church lands. His opponent Cuningham *calls him 'Herodis domus dux.' In February 1377 he was on his trial in the Consistory court of St. Paul's, supported by the Duke of Lancaster; in December of the same year he was again summoned before the Archbishop in Lambeth Chapel, when a message from the Princess of Wales forbade the proceedings. It is scarcely remarkable that one of whom all this is true should be more at his ease in Queen's than elsewhere in Oxford.

Again, the dates that can be gathered from the Oxford notices show that Wyclif resided pretty continuously at Oxford up to April 1367, the date of his expulsion from Canterbury Hall. We have no trace of him after that for six or seven years till 1375, when he again resided for a year.

Then he was absent for four or five years, returned in 1380, and was lost to Oxford afterwards. We must consider how far the known and acknowledged facts of the Reformer's history fit in with these dates, and what account can be given of the causes of Wyclif's absence from Oxford.

We have no hesitation in accepting the tradition, supported by Woodford's direct statement, that Wyclif's ejection from Canterbury Hall was an era in the Reformer's history. He had previously made a reputation as a schoolman second to none living, and had written all his philosophical works. He had become a Royal chaplain and had defended in the schools at Oxford, on the principles of Occam, the decision of Parliament at Westminster, in 1366, against payment of the arrears of Papal tribute then demanded. His determination in the schools, shortly after the date of his ejection, 'de dominio contra unum monachum,' marks the close of this period.

Hitherto Wyclif had been the Oxford scholar, henceforth he was the English Patriot and Reformer—Gregory XI. said, the heretic and subverter of the existing state of society, religious and political. Had he confined his attention to the subjects which had hitherto engaged him, he would no more have been remembered by us than Marsiglio of Padua or John of Jandun, to whom the Pope likened him. But henceforth he made himself for ever memorable by attacking the Church's doctrine as well as practice. He showed from the original documents the contradiction between the primitive and the existing faith. From the claim of the Popes to be Christ's representatives he drew the inevitable conclusion that they ought to observe Christ's law—that the Vicar of Christ has no power to bind and to loose except according to the law of Christ. He held that excommunication was of no effect except a man first excommunicate himself by his deeds; that ecclesiastics might be deprived of their endowments when they abused them; that even the Roman Pontiff was subject to the lay tribunals for the Church's good; above all, on grounds of Scripture, of antiquity, and of reason, he laboured to uproot the belief in transubstantiation, the very foundation of the hierarchical system. Henceforth he studied and wrote for the people of England, not for the schools of Oxford. Academical determinations were exchanged for popular appeals.

The schoolman lived at Oxford, the political and ecclesiastical Reformer lived in the wide world. In 1374 Wyclif was appointed a Royal Commissioner to discuss the Papal

claims at Bruges, and on the failure of this mission returned to Oxford. In May 1376 Pope Gregory XI. issued his bull to the Chancellor of the University directing him to seize Wyclif and send him to the Archbishop and Bishop of London; but, warned in time, Wyclif had withdrawn. In February 1377 he was on his trial before the Bishop of London at St. Paul's, with the Duke of Lancaster by his side. In September of the same year, on being consulted by the Council whether the realm might, for purposes of self-defence, withhold her treasures from the Pope, he discussed and refuted, on principles of natural reason and the law of Christ, the Papal pecuniary claims. In October he summed up his political and ecclesiastical opinions in his protest to Parliament. In December he was summoned before the Archbishop at Lambeth.

In the spring of 1381 Wyclif was again at Oxford for the last time. He put forth publicly fifteen conclusions against the received doctrine of the Eucharist, and defended them in the schools. For these he was condemned by William Berton, the Chancellor, and twelve doctors. The condemnation was promulgated in the School of the Augustinians, Wyclif himself being present, sitting in his doctor's chair, and arguing against it. He appealed, 'not to Pope or bishop, or ecclesiastical ordinary, but to King Richard himself.' John of Gaunt came down to Oxford and imposed silence on him. In May 1381, Wyclif put forth his memorable confession of faith on the Eucharist, which he supported by the words of institution, and by the authority of the early, as opposed to that of the Roman, Church. 'The truth,' he said, 'will in the end conquer the priests of Baal.' This, as far as we know, was Wyclif's last act in Oxford. Other disputants entered the lists, and there were stormy times in the University. The followers of Wyclif were put down, but of himself we find no further mention in the proceedings there. Harford, Aston, Brightwell, James, and Ruge were all forced into submission by the Archbishop, and the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* contains a detailed account of all that was done against them. It gives all the proceedings and discussions on both sides, yet there is in this no mention of Wyclif. Had he been there he would certainly have disputed, and have been suspended, and would have appealed as he had done before. No defence of Wyclif is given, but his opinions are quoted in extracts from the *Dialogus*, and from a sermon of his. It may be safely inferred from this silence that Wyclif left Oxford in 1381. This accords with the last

notice of his name in any of the College books. In August 1380 the tenant at Queen's paid a year's rent.

Thus the known facts in the life of John Wyclif, the Reformer, fit in with all the Oxford notices of the presence there of a person bearing the same name. There are no discrepancies to be accounted for, which would make it necessary to admit that there were two John Wyclifs. Time and place combine to show one John Wyclif throughout. But besides these coincidences of time and place, there are others of persons which tend in the same way.

First, there was a certain personal connexion of Canterbury Hall with Merton and with Balliol. Simon Islip, the founder of Canterbury Hall, had been a Fellow of Merton, where he had known Wyclif, Benger, and Middleworth, all of whom he placed in the Hall. The scholars of Merton alone were permitted to use the books which Islip gave to the Hall. The Warden of Merton, William Durant, was a benefactor to the Hall. The Master and Fellows of Balliol were also benefactors. But the Master of Balliol in 1361 was certainly the Reformer; the good will of the College might accompany their ex-Master to the wardenship of the Hall. The three fellows of Wyclif at Canterbury Hall denounced by the Pope, were Middleworth, Benger, and Selby. The two first were with Wyclif at Merton; the first and last were with him at Queen's. Trevisa, Harford, Aston, Brightwell, James, and Rugge were with Wyclif, the two first at Queen's, the four last at Merton, and all these were avowed allies of the Reformer. Trevisa translated the whole Bible into English.

There is one point connected with these Oxford notices which must be noticed before we leave them. Professor Shirley thus states it:—

'A far more urgent argument is the following:—The Reformer was a Doctor of Divinity, at the very latest, in 1366, and before that was a Bachelor of Divinity for some time. In December 1365 the Warden of Canterbury Hall, in his deed of appointment, is styled Master of Arts; and in the statement of his cause before the Papal Court, which must be dated 1368 or 1369, he is spoken of as a Bachelor of Divinity—that is to say, at a time when the Reformer was a Doctor, of at least two, and probably five or six years' standing. . . . This evidence seems to preclude the possibility of the Warden being the Reformer.'

The whole question turns on the date of Wyclif's doctorate, which Professor Shirley fixes 'at the very latest in 1366,' on the following grounds:—There is documentary evidence that Wycliffe was D.D. in 1374, while he is styled simply

Master in the appointment to Balliol in 1361. Reference to his writings enables us to narrow these extreme limits, 1361-74. John Cuningham's three tracts were composed within a short time, at most, a few weeks of each other; in the first Wyclif is uniformly styled Magister, in the second he is for the first time called Doctor. But Cuningham's first tract, which thus immediately preceded the Doctor's degree, is an answer to one written by Wyclif, 'not later than 1366.' Therefore the doctorate was 'at the very latest in 1366.'

Now Professor Shirley's reason for dating in 1366 Wyclif's 'determination,' which Cuningham answers in his first tract, is that in it 'Wyclif declares his intention of not entering for the present on a subject which afterwards gave a title to two of his best known works, the *Theory of Dominion*,' one of which was written in 1366 or 1367, and the other in 1368 at the latest. Wyclif's words, on which this view is founded, are scarcely enough to justify this inference: he says, 'That is the neat way of introducing the subject of Dominion (pulcra via ad introducendam materiam de dominio); but I must withdraw from it for the present, that the subject which I have in hand be not passed over.' In withdrawing from the subject Wyclif simply says that he could not discuss it then; he says nothing about the future or the past. Moreover, the quick succession of Cuningham's tracts is by no means proved. Walden says expressly that Cuningham carried on with Wyclif 'a long-sustained strife and hand-to-hand struggle continuously for years (per annos continuam luctam).' Cuningham himself says, in the opening passage of his first tract, that Wyclif's 'determination' which he was answering, was itself an answer to some previous arguments of his own. Similarly, in the openings of the second and third tracts, he recalls and gathers up the past, not as if the tracts followed closely one upon another, but as if the controversy were of long standing. At the end of Cuningham's three tracts, Walden resumes his narrative and gives a date. 'After this, when the hidden fire could no longer be concealed, he (Wyclif) began openly to utter his blasphemies, and in the year 1381, in the summer, he began his determinations against the Sacraments of the Altar.' Surely we cannot be tied down to 1366 as the latest date for these tracts; all that we can say with certainty is that they were written before 1381.

We can, however, get a little nearer the date of Wyclif's doctorate than this. Professor Shirley observes that 'in the statement of Wyclif's cause before the Papal Court, 1368 or

1369, he is spoken of as a Bachelor of Divinity.' To this may be added that the same statement speaks of him as '*said to be a Bachelor of Divinity (ut asserebatur)*,' as early as his appointment to Canterbury Hall, December 1365. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was only obtained after years of study. To obtain it a Regent Master of Arts had to spend five years in study and hearing lectures before 'opponency,' and two years more before responding; he would not be a full Doctor, licensed to lecture on Lombard's sentences, till seven years after entering on his theological course. The words '*ut asserebatur*' imply a doubt whether in 1365 Wyclif had got as far as the Baccalaureate; but suppose the words to mean that Wyclif was then on his way to a theological degree, he would not have reached it till 1372, which is the date given by Bale on other evidence for his doctorate. However this may be, Professor Shirley's assertion that Wyclif is 'spoken of as Bachelor of Divinity when he was a doctor of at least two, and probably five or six years' standing,' is an assumption of the whole question. There is no evidence to be drawn from this point which can 'preclude the possibility of the Warden of Canterbury Hall having been the Reformer.'

So far we have been engaged in removing objections which have been brought against the identity of the Warden of Canterbury Hall with the Reformer. But there is positive evidence also on the point. We will lay aside the testimony of anonymous though possibly contemporary chroniclers, and will rely only on the words of Wyclif himself and his contemporary Wodeford. Wyclif's own testimony is contained in his work *De Ecclesiâ*, and is to the following effect:—

'A man can do good, not merely generally, but morally, and yet therewith commit a venial sin, as a familiar example shows. For Simon Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury, founded a College in Oxford with intentions more pious than those with which any English Abbey was founded; he ordered that in it merely secular priests should study for the good of the Church; and this was done. After his death, the design of the pious patron was overthrown by simony and lies; the seculars were expelled; others were admitted, who were not poor, but abounding in wealth, contrary to the maxim of Jerome, "that it is the glory of a bishop to provide the means of the poor, and the disgrace of the priest to be anxious for his own wealth." Under the sophistical pretext that a bishop and his chapter are one, and that goods of the Church cannot be alienated, he (Simon Langham) claims as his own the possessions (Pageham) of the College. The Bishop of Winchester (William of Wykeham, then engaged in founding his two Colleges) should take care to avoid this cunning

device. Now I suppose that Simon (Islip) sinned in founding the said College, but not to the extent that Anti-symon (Langham) did in dissolving it.'

Professor Shirley's comment on this passage is—

'In this last sentence Archbishop Islip is spoken of as having infringed that principle of the unlawfulness of perpetual eleemosynary endowments which formed part of Wyclif's theory of dominion. That theory was promulgated by the Reformer in Oxford only a few months after the disputed nomination to the Wardenship. . . . Who can suppose that the promulgator was himself the Warden ?'

Professor Shirley has mistaken the whole drift and meaning of the passage. Wyclif is not speaking in the last sentence, or elsewhere in this extract, about the unlawfulness of eleemosynary endowments. In that case Simon Langham would not have been called 'Anti-symon,' nor Islip 'pius patronus;' Langham would not have sinned to a greater degree than Islip in dissolving the foundation, but, on the other hand, would have redressed Islip's sin in so doing; 'simony, lies, a cunning device,' would not have been imputed to Langham, nor 'pious intention more than in the foundation of any abbey in England' to Islip. How could the authority of Jerome, 'it is the glory of a bishop to provide means for the poor,' be quoted against eleemosynary endowments? The whole passage means,—Islip committed a venial sin, made a mistake, in the very act of doing moral good by founding Canterbury Hall, because he did not guard against the device (*cautela*) by which his pious intentions were frustrated; let William of Wykeham look to this in the foundation of his colleges at Winchester and Oxford. This is just the language which the ejected Warden, after an interval of some years, might be expected to use. So far from being a difficulty in the way of the writer being identical with the Warden, it is rather a strong proof of the fact, unless we choose to assume that he was altogether beyond the ordinary feelings of human nature.

The contemporary evidence in favour of the Reformer's Wardenship is that of Wodeford in a course of theological lectures entitled *Seventy-two Questions on the Sacrament of the Altar*. Wodeford says:—'This madness of his (Wyclif's) against the Religious was bred of depravity.' For before his expulsion by the endowed and dignified Religious from the Hall of the Monks of Canterbury, he made no attack of any consequence against the endowed Religious.' The date given by Professor Shirley for these lectures of Wodeford is 1381,

on the ground that they were written shortly after Wyclif's *Confession* (May 10, 1381), and before the condemnation of his *Conclusions* (May 1, 1382). Professor Shirley admits that to this contemporary statement great weight must undoubtedly be allowed, but he endeavours to reduce its importance by adding—

‘Wodeford can scarcely have spoken from his own recollection. Of his other extant works the earliest was written in 1390; the latest was dedicated to Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini in 1433. He must consequently have been a mere boy, when, sixty-one years before, the dispute about Canterbury Hall was closed.’

A literary activity of fifty-two years' duration, from 1381 to 1433, is not impossible, but would be remarkable in any age, above all in the fourteenth century, when men lived hard and died soon, when Lancaster was ‘time-honoured’ though he numbered only 59 years, and Wyclif speaks of himself as ‘in fine vitæ’ when only 58. But what is the authority for this last work of Wodeford's which was dedicated to Cardinal Cesarini in 1433? Professor Shirley refers to Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, ix. 129:—

‘John Pits writes that two years after this (*i.e.* 1397) there died at Colchester another distinguished confuter of the Wyclifites, Brother William Watford, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, and shown him to be an Irishman; but it is clear that he lived long afterwards, from his treatise *De Religione*, dedicated to Cardinal Julian Cesarini in 1433.’

The previous passage, to which Wadding refers, is in vol. iii. p. 45, where he chronicles the founding of a Minorite monastery at Waterford, in Ireland, on which city he pronounces a high-flown panegyric, as being his own birthplace. He adds—

‘Among its many noteworthy buildings there is the convent, whence I think William Waterford came, whom Henry Willot calls Woderford, not Wodford, as John Pits would have it. John Pits also makes him an Englishman, misled by the fact that he wrote many distinguished works in England, especially against Wyclif's errors. I have two learned treatises of his in MS. The first is dedicated to the Venerable Father in Christ, Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury. . . . At the Council of Basle in 1433 he dedicated to Cardinal Julian my second little work, *De Religione*, the heading of which is “Here begins the work *De Religione* of Master William Waderfort, Professor of Theology, of the Order of the Minorites.”’

In Wadding's Catalogue of Franciscan writers he repeats

what Leland, Bale, and Pits had said before him of 'Gulielmus Wodfordus, alias Wodefordensis, alias Waderfordensis.'

We need not plough with Samson's heifer to find out this riddle of an authorship prolonged for more than half a century. Luke Wadding has succeeded in transferring to Ireland a distinguished member of the most distinguished English University. Out of love to Ireland he transposed the good old English name of Wodeford into Woderford, Watford, Waterford, and thus his native city has the honour of giving to the world him whom Archbishop Arundel called 'invictus pugil,' and his contemporaries 'hereticorum extirpator.' Bale gives the date of Wodeford's death to be 1397, and certainly there is nothing in the statements of Wadding to justify us in putting it any later.

As to the value of Wodeford's testimony, Wyclif himself speaks with great respect in his *De Civili Dominio*, written between 1378-1383: 'Doctor Master William Wodeford has argued against this with compendiousness and subtlety, as his manner is. And, in good truth, I am under all the more ample obligations to him in that I have learned, in different degrees and arts of the schools, from his temperate exercise, many noteworthy truths.' When it is remembered that the 'manner' for rival theologians in those days was to call each other 'sons of Satan' and 'Judas Iscariots,' this testimony is alike honourable to him who gave and him who received it.

Much more might be said of this William Wodeford, of Bale's mistakes about him, and the confusion thence arising between William the Franciscan and William the Carmelite, of his writings, of his friendship with Margaret Countess of Nottingham and Duchess of Norfolk, of the alterations made after his death by his editor in his treatise dedicated to Archbishop Arundel, of that editor himself, of Gratius' print of his treatise, to which Leland refers. All these matters would make a curious chapter in literary history; but enough has been said to show that William Wodeford was an Englishman, was not alive in 1433, is a most unexceptionable witness, and that his evidence might fairly be regarded as conclusive.

Here we would wish to stop, but Professor Shirley insists further—if Wodeford's statement is true, why did none of Wyclif's bitter enemies, and specially Walden (Wodeford's disciple), who leaves in his three folio volumes no story against Wyclif untold, never repeat this Canterbury Hall scandal? A brief consideration of the state of opinion and of parties within the University in the latter half of the

fourteenth century will serve to show—first, that Walden (the other traducers of Wyclif were merely his copyists) had no interest in ‘the Canterbury Hall scandal;’ and, next, that there is a certain personal fitness in connecting the ejected Warden of Canterbury Hall with the author of *Fifteen Conclusions on the Eucharist*, which struck the keynote of doctrinal reformation in England.

The early history of the University is entirely connected with the settlement in Oxford of the Franciscans, for before the time of Grossetete there are few authentic facts of importance on record. If not the fathers, the Franciscans were certainly the guardians of the University of Oxford, by whom in her nonage the tender nursing was reared to health and strength. The statutes of the Franciscan Order required that a candidate for admission should be ‘competently learned, or else that he be of such condition that he may profit “the brethren by labour.”’ This did not mean that he might be a scholastic philosopher; and when one such, supposed to be Alexander Hales, was received into the Order, S. Francis gave significant warning, ‘such doctors will be the destruction of my vineyard.’ The warning soon proved true. Within a century of the founder’s death, Brother William Occam raised the standard of revolt against authority in Church and State, defended against Popes the liberty of Princes and peoples, destroyed scholasticism, and led nominalism to victory. Wyclif was the inheritor of Occam’s political mind, though he never reached his philosophical power, and did but develop Occam’s principles in Church and State.

This, then, was the situation at Oxford in the latter half of the thirteenth century. The friars had superseded the monks in popular estimation, as town missionaries entering the world to teach it supersede country recluses who fear it and cut themselves off from its dangers. But the friars were themselves divided between realism and nominalism, between Duns Scotus and Occam. Thus an opportunity was offered to the secular clergy of recovering ground taken from them by monks and friars alike. These three parties ranged themselves differently in Oxford at the two dates 1366 and 1381. At Canterbury Hall the combatants were the seculars and the monks; in the Eucharistic controversy they were the seculars and the friars. In both conflicts the authority of the Church, as represented by the Archbishop of Canterbury and enforced by the Pope, decided the question at issue in favour of the monks in 1366, in favour of the friars in 1381. At Canterbury Hall the royal licence shows that it was designed

to combine in one foundation monks and seculars. The attempt was made in the interest of the monks, but it was too late. The discordant elements would not combine, and the temporary success of this last effort did not retard the fall of the monks generally. In this contest the friars had no interest; they were the jealous and professed enemies of both litigants; they might regard the rival Wardens with equal indifference, or, if they sympathised with either, they would sympathise with Wyclif, who fifty years before would have been wholly one of themselves, who at this time had much in common with them. The 'Canterbury Hall scandal' was no scandal to a Carmelite; why should he take the part of a monk against a secular, and retail stories to the discredit of the secular when he was at the time more of a brother than the monk?

Again, there is a personal fitness in connecting Wyclif the Reformer with Canterbury Hall in 1366, and with the Eucharistic controversy in 1381. The man and the cause were the same, and as one advanced so did the other. The struggle was the old one—freedom of personal judgment against external authority. To repress the spirit of free inquiry the Church allied herself with the monks at one time, with the friars at another; to maintain it, Wyclif strove at Canterbury Hall against monkish domination, and in the Oxford schools against 'idolatry,' as he himself called it.

One more remark suggests itself about Oxford parties at this time. The voice of the University was not heard in 1366; the University spoke and was roughly silenced in 1381. Still she did not cease to remonstrate against the overbearing mandates of Pope and Archbishop. A new party arose, an academical, as distinguished from a theological, party, whose chief object was to support the independence of the University against external pressure. This party Professor Shirley overlooks; he calls Rugge a 'Lollard Chancellor;' but all Rugge's actions, as well as those of his chief supporters—Brightwell and Repyngdon—are opposed to this conclusion. These men were not Lollards; they withstood Wyclif as a theologian, but within the University took his side as representing at the time the cause of the University against the Church.

Professor Shirley's last piece of evidence is this:—

'Archbishop Parker says that Islip intended to give to his Hall the patronage of Mayfield. This, if true, is of course conclusive as to the identity of the vicar and the warden. Parker wrote with Stephen Birchington's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* before

him, and Birchington says that Islip intended to give to his Hall, not Mayfield, but Ivechirche. This Parker corrects. Either, therefore, he possessed authority which he considered better than Birchington's, or Mayfield was a simple oversight. If the latter, what were the chances against his inserting the one name which had, unknown to him, a remarkable historical significance ?

Without admitting the assumed conclusiveness of this argument, it is sufficient to meet it by quoting Parker and Birchington correctly. Parker says, not that Islip 'intended to give,' but actually *gave* (*appropriavit*) the rectories of Pageham and Mayfield. In this he is clearly mistaken, for Islip never gave Mayfield. Birchington says, Islip 'intended to appropriate Pageham and Ivechirche, but was prevented from completing his work by his death ;' that is, he gave Pageham, but not Ivechirche. Birchington is perfectly right, so that if Parker corrected Birchington, he himself fell into error. The probability is that Mayfield was written by Parker as an oversight for Ivechirche. He may easily have been led into this oversight by the frequent mention of Mayfield in the narrative which follows of Islip's death. 'While on his way to *Mayfield*, the Archbishop fell from his horse into a swamp. Wet and muddy he came to *Mayfield*, dropped asleep before changing his clothes, was paralysed, and died at *Mayfield*.' Surely the chances are not very strong against Parker writing down by error in anticipation a name which occurs so frequently in the context of the authority whom he was following.

We have endeavoured to discuss fairly Professor Shirley's arguments on this question of the identity of the Warden of Canterbury Hall and the Reformer. The question is neither trivial nor unimportant in itself, and is full of interest in reference to the history of the University of Oxford and its early relations to the Colleges. How far we have succeeded in proving the identity of the two personages must be judged by others ; but at all events we claim to have established that Dean Hook was premature in regarding the question as conclusively settled in the negative by Professor Shirley's arguments.

ART. VI.—THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY AND ITS CRITICS.

1. *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel: an Historical and Critical Inquiry.* By Dr. A. KUENEN, Professor of Theology in the University of Leyden. Translated from the Dutch by the Rev. ADAM MILROY, M.A. (London: Longmans, 1877.)
2. *The Religion of Israel: a Manual.* Translated from the Dutch of J. KNAPPERT, Pastor at Leyden, by RICHARD A. ARMSTRONG, B.A. (Williams and Norgate, 1877.)
3. *Deuteronomy, the People's Book; its Origin and Nature: a Defence.* (Daldy, Isbister, and Co., 1877.)

UPON that ancient Hebrew literature, which we know as the Five Books of Moses, the assaults of the modern school of Biblical critics have been long concentrated with special violence. As the oldest body of records in the world, it perhaps is hardly to be wondered that it has aroused the hostility of a school which regards whatever is old as its natural prey. Like the exposed redoubt or the advanced post, which draws the enemy's fire, so the Mosaic literature acts as a breakwater for much that is of vital importance behind it. Here, as everywhere, the *supernatural* element in the narrative is pursued with unrelenting hostility. It has become more and more the fundamental axiom with a considerable number of critics that if there be another world, which is, on the whole, unlikely, man cannot possibly have any communication with it or from it; that he is shut up to his own circle of ideas, which originate wholly in this world; and that, therefore, what is called supernatural is, in the nature of things, impossible. It is a regular crusade against the Pentateuch carried on nominally in the interest of historic truth, but who shall say that it is not the joy of eliminating the supernatural that gives the zest to the endeavour? Merely to *explain* away the marvellous element in it is too evidently hopeless. It is so vast, so continuous, so unmistakable, that the most hardy of critics cannot venture to assume respecting the Pentateuch what, to take an analogous instance from the literature of to-day, Mr. Matthew Arnold assumes respecting the Gospels, that the writers have entirely misunderstood the phenomena they witnessed, or that we have entirely mis-

understood them. If therefore its meaning cannot be denied, the only remaining resource is to destroy (if possible) its *authority*. If it can be shown that, so far from being substantially the composition of Moses, it is a forgery (or, as Dr. Kuenen prefers to call it, a 'programme') of times long subsequent to Moses, and not earlier than 'in or shortly after the Babylonish captivity,' then the last shred of authority which it possesses, as a serious historical document, will drop away from it, and it will have no further claim to be considered as a record of events supernaturally caused or even supernaturally directed. If, then, the Pentateuch is the advanced outpost of supernaturalism, the book known as Deuteronomy is probably the portion most exposed to assault of the Pentateuch itself. There may, indeed, seem the less ground for discrimination between the several portions of that record, inasmuch as the present division into five books, though certainly very early, is probably not absolutely primitive.¹ Such a division is indeed indicated by the nature of the subject-matter with sufficient clearness. Genesis (the 'Book of Origins,' as Ewald rather oddly calls it) and great part of Exodus are histories pure and simple. Leviticus is an elaborate directory or book of ritual, and, furthermore, is to some extent a book of *temporal* law; Numbers partly an itinerary, partly a collection of genealogies put roughly together. Each and all are anonymous. Deuteronomy alone presupposes the existence of the other four books, and Deuteronomy alone apparently makes an express claim to Mosaic authorship.²

It differs widely in character from the rest of the Pentateuch. To speak popularly, it is a series of addresses; addresses too, be it observed, often of a highly moral and spiritual character, as opposed to what is formal or technical. It is

¹ The titles of the Five Books, as we have them now, are not Hebrew but Greek. In a Hebrew Bible the titles prefixed are simply taken from the first words of each book, and would in the first instance stand merely for brief *sections* and not for entire *books*. The whole Law was transcribed upon a single roll, and divided into longer or shorter sections. It was called at first (as appears, exclusively) 'the Law (or book) of Moses' (Ezra vii. 6; Neh. viii. 1, xiii. 1). Varieties of phrase are found as we go onwards, as would naturally be the case: 'the book of the Law,' 'the Law of Jehovah,' or simply 'the Law.' This is the name current among modern Jews, 'the Law' תּוֹרָה (*Torah*).

² xxxi. 9-12. But compare Exod. xvii. 14, xxiv. 3, 4, xxxiv. 27; Num. xxxiii. 2. These are *all* the passages which bear on the subject; and obviously not one of them amounts to a statement of authorship. We must carefully distinguish between statements made *about* Moses in the course of the narrative, and the intention to designate him as the author of the narrative itself.

as if the Book of Homilies should be appended to the Prayer-Book and the Act of Uniformity. The flowing, rhetorical, impassioned style in which it is for the most part couched has little in common with the remarkably simple and matter-of-fact narrative, or with the minute technical details and specifications, or even with the lengthy and painstaking legislation concerning the ordinary life of the Hebrew population, not to speak of the details of ceremonial observance, which, if they do not occupy absolutely the whole of the other books, yet give the specific character to each of them. This difference of subject may in part account for the difference in style which is evident and unmistakable. Then again, as we have just noticed, it cannot possibly itself stand for the *whole* of the record. It presupposes the other books,¹ and is, from this point of view, far more of a witness to *their* authenticity than they to it.

Upon the whole, therefore, we can hardly be surprised that the attack should have been concentrated upon this portion of the Pentateuch. That it has been so concentrated the works named at the head of this article abundantly show. Ewald (*History of Israel*) declares that our Deuteronomy was written in Egypt itself, and during the reign of Manasseh. Dr. A. Kuenen, however, may be taken as the ablest, as he is the latest, representative of this destructive school; and we shall address ourselves principally to meeting certain of the arguments contained in his latest volumes (the *History of Israel* and *Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*) in the pages that follow. In so doing we are glad to avail ourselves of the opportunity of noticing a small work recently published anonymously upon this subject, *Deuteronomy, the People's Book*; a gallant attempt, of which we can hardly speak too highly, to tear down the huge structure of misrepresentations and exaggerated conclusions which critics of a theoretical turn of mind have contrived to rear. Its arguments are, on many points, very convincing, and the author need not have scrupled to put his name to his work.

We may regard, then, the attack upon Deuteronomy as a crucial one. If the book cannot hold its ground, much of our received belief concerning Jewish history must be given up with it. It is the key of the position. If, on the other hand, the attack fails here, we need trouble ourselves but little respecting other points in which the authenticity or antiquity of the Mosaic literature has been or may yet be assailed.

Dr. Kuenen lays down *in limine* the sweeping objection

¹ Deut. xiv. 27, cf. Num. xviii. 20, 21; xxiv. 9, cf. Num. xii. 10.

that the arrival of the Israelites in Canaan, which is throughout represented in the Pentateuch as still future, is, in fact, presupposed all through; and that the later date of its compilation is thus betrayed. It is evident that, if well founded, this objection would be fatal. But what are the facts?

The charge is founded (Kuenen, *Hist. Krit. Onderz.* i. 22-27) upon such passages as Gen. xxxvi. 31; Exod. xv. 13, 17; xvi. 35; Lev. xxvi. 34, 35; Num. xii. 3; xv. 32; xxi. 3; Deut. iii. 14. We will take up these passages in order, and must first remark that whereas Dr. Kuenen and his school usually proceed in the first place to disintegrate a book—to take it to pieces, and assign the different component parts of it to different hands—it is in this instance apparently convenient to insist that the book must be considered as one homogeneous whole, to which no additions have been made, and of which every part is answerable for every other. Orthodox writers, on the contrary, whilst firmly maintaining the Pentateuch to have been substantially the work of Moses, have been just as willing to allow that it had undergone during the slow process of transcription, a kind of editing, in which a paragraph or a sentence had here and there been avowedly added, or perhaps merely put into the wide margin of the papyrus roll as an illustration, and by some later transcriber removed into the main stream of the text. Thus, so early as the fourth century, we find the great Biblical critic S. Jerome writing in his letter against Helvidius, ‘Sive Mosen dicere volueris auctorem Pentateuchi sive Esram ejusdem instauratorem operis,’ alluding to the constant, widespread and most probable tradition among the Jews, that this editor of the Law was Ezra himself. It would be long to give anything like a *catena* of writers who have expressed themselves in a similar way. We will mention two only. Thomas Hartwell Horne (*Introduction to the Holy Scriptures*, vol. i. pp. 68-70) fully acknowledges the presence of certain non-Mosaic paragraphs. Canon Perowne, in his article ‘Pentateuch,’ contributed to Smith’s *Dictionary of the Bible*, concludes ‘that there is abundant evidence to show that, though the main bulk of it is Mosaic, certain detached portions of it are of later growth.’

The fact is, we think, unquestionable; and there are two distinct ways of accounting for it. The first is that adopted by Dr. Kuenen and his school, which consists in inferring that the writer, living at a time comparatively modern, has been endeavouring to throw himself back into remote antiquity, and to produce a document that should have the appearance

of the Mosaic age; and, in so doing, has unintentionally betrayed his real stand-point. We may remark, in passing, that such an attempt, made in such an early age, would infallibly have betrayed itself, not by one or two, but by absolute shoals of anachronisms. The writer would have certainly reproduced the social institutions, the habits, the usages of the age in which he wrote. Take, for example, the so-called letter to Abgarus, or those Epistles of Phalaris, upon which Bentley displayed his great critical powers, and how unmistakably they betray the hand of the forger by their cast of language and the tone of thought prevailing in them, no less than by actual historical mis-statement! So, we may feel sure, would it have been with the Pentateuch had it really been the work of some priest or prophet living hundreds of years subsequent to the events which it professes to narrate. It was a profound remark of Ewald, that 'the ancients had no idea whatever of local colouring.' We are by no means sure, indeed, that the laborious study of manners and costumes by which modern writers seek to complete the illusion of the reader, has had any existence whatever before the present century. Certainly Shakspeare had no conception of it. All his characters from Greek and Roman history are really Englishmen masquerading in classical costumes and under ancient names. The same thing is true of Chaucer; and, to go further afield, of Tasso in the *Gerusalemme*, and of the *Divina Commedia*. With all respect, therefore, to the learned persons who have adopted this theory, we hold that the very conception of some writer or writers unknown, about the time of the Babylonian captivity, having *forged* a treatise in the name of Moses, and imitated the manners and customs of the Mosaic period with such rare fidelity that the lynx-eyed critics of a later day can find little or nothing on that score to object to—that such a theory contains within itself an anachronism greater than any other that might be named, and more entirely alien to the spirit of the time to which it is assigned.

We are thrown back, then, upon the other alternative—of these passages being editorial additions or marginal notes; and we propose to examine this hypothesis at some length.

We say that when examined they one and all announce themselves in this character to a fair and unbiassed judgment. Take, for instance, Gen. xxxvi. Is it not obviously an interruption of the dynastic register or list of the 'dukes' (אֲדֹמִים) of Edom? It is useless to speculate as to the hand which inserted this explanatory note. There it is; but to assign to the

entire book a later date on account of it would be absurd. Yet that is the practice of our sapient critics.

Exod. xv. 15, 17, would require a very forced interpretation to make them bear the meaning which the critic desires, that the Sanctuary was already established. It is spoken of indeed as past, but it is *relatively* to the preceding verb—*i.e.* it will be past when the thing foretold shall take place. Furthermore, the passage is a highly poetical one, and will not, in any case, bear the weight of the inference thus laid upon it.

In Exod. xvi. 35 occurs another explanatory note relating to the length of time, *i.e.* forty years, during which manna was eaten, and relating that it ceased 'when they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan.' We know the fact itself from Joshua v. 10–12, where it is related with circumstantial detail. Moses could not have written this (as was long ago pointed out by Dean Graves¹), since the incident did not take place until after his death. It may possibly have been written in the interval between the settlement in Canaan and the compilation of the Book of Joshua, or more probably is a redaction of that passage by some later hand. In any case it is of little importance. The narrative clearly ended at 'to be kept for your generations.'

The next passage referred to is Lev. xxvi. 34, 35, to which what is said above of the *relativity* of *tenses* applies fully. The object of the chapter is to warn the people to 'keep my sabbaths.' Then the possible (too possible, and unfortunately too *probable*!) case of the non-observance of these sabbaths is considered, and in denouncing the hypothetical penalty, the hypothetical offence is naturally put in the past, as it is put, *e.g.*, in every Act of Parliament which deals with a criminal offence, and is only rendered applicable by the actual occurrence of the offence, which is therefore spoken of as *past*. We venture to say that the thing meant *could not have been expressed* in any other way; and we would suggest to the critic to try his hand at expressing it otherwise.

Num. xii. 3, 'the man Moses was very meek,' introduces a difficulty, but it is a difficulty of interpretation, and has but a remote bearing on the question of authenticity. If there is a certain harshness in supposing the passage to have been written by Moses concerning himself, there is surely a greater difficulty in supposing any other person presuming to write in such a tone of him either then or afterwards. Canon

¹ *Donnellan Lectures on the Last Four Books of the Pentateuch*, part i.

Espin's note on the passage in the *Speaker's Commentary* seems to us unreasonably dogmatic in its tone; and on the whole, where there is but a choice of difficulties, we feel disposed to adopt the method, advocated amongst others by Horne, of rendering 'was depressed or afflicted' rather than 'meek.' Num. xv. 32-36, again, is obviously alien to the structure of the passage, which is an exposition of the Law suddenly interrupted by this incident without preface or introduction, and as abruptly resumed on v. 37. Upon this passage and others like it, the suggestion of Mr. B. Street¹ is worth considering, that judges were in the habit of inserting in their copies of the Law, under each of the commandments, a record of *cases* which had been decided in accordance with, or with reference to, its principle. Num. xxi. 3 is again obviously post-Mosaic; whilst of Deut. iii. 14, the entire verse, the same may be said, it being inserted in the *third* person into the course of a consecutive narrative in the *first*, which is resumed (in the first person again) with verse 15.

In examining these passages, however, we have been dealing with merely preliminary and subordinate arguments. Whatever real weight there is in the rationalist attack is manifestly derived from other considerations. As the author of *Deuteronomy the People's Book* observes on p. 25 :—

'The real evidence lies elsewhere. Some of it is so shadowy as clearly to be tied on as an appendage to other and stronger proof. Critics cannot be expected to make this confession in as many words, nor do we ask them; but the strong evidence is manifestly that which they put in the forefront for popular apprehension.'

The apparently formidable objections to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch are three :—

1. The Book of the Law was unknown as late as the reign of Josiah; for at that time (2 Chron. xxxiv. 14-22) a copy is said to have been discovered in the Temple, and both sovereign and people were entirely unacquainted with it, and read it apparently with the greatest surprise.

2. The Book of Deuteronomy relates (chaps. x. and xii.) with great emphasis and circumstantial detail the institution of a central altar for sacrifice and burnt-offering. Now this idea of a central altar does not appear in the *history* of Israel until the reign of Josiah, or, at the earliest, the reign of Hezekiah, seventy years before.

'The thing seems never to have been thought of till then. There was no such rule for Shiloh, or even for Moriah, for more than three

¹ *Restoration of Paths to Dwell in*. Strahan and Co., 1872.

hundred years after the Temple was built. Altars might be raised, sacrifices might be offered, people might worship Jehovah with acceptance on any hill-top and at any place they pleased, till the discovery of the "programme" curtailed their rights.

And thus a distinct case is sought to be established of ideas proper to a later age being attributed to an earlier.

3. There is to be found also in Deuteronomy (xvii. 14-20) a reference to the possibility or the probability of a king being chosen, and to the dangers which were to be apprehended from the ambition of such a monarch. And the details of this passage are strikingly like events that afterwards took place during the reign of Solomon; from which correspondence our critic concludes that the one is derived from the other, and that we have here 'a history of what was long past put in prophetic form as if it were still future.'

We shall examine each of these pillar-arguments for the post-exilic theory; and having, as we hope, done something to show their entire unlikelihood, will then put together some suggestions respecting the probable function of this book, and the estimate of it which history and critical science alike enable us to form respecting it.

1. As to the first point, then, it is too easily assumed that the 'Book of the Covenant,' found by Hilkiah in a chamber of the Temple during its restoration, was the Book of Deuteronomy *alone*, and not the entire Pentateuch or 'Law of Moses.' Such arguments as are adduced to identify the book read with Deuteronomy alone are attenuated and doubtful in the extreme. It is indeed expressly called 'the Law' in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 15; and we are by no means certain that the present divisions between the five books existed at that time. The probability is that they are due to the arranging hand of Ezra or his fellow labourers, and that in the reign of Josiah they existed as sections, only slightly separated in the process of transcription, upon the same roll of parchment or, more probably, papyrus.

But whatever this 'Book of the Law' may have been (it may be rejoined), whether the Five Books or the Deuteronomy alone, it was unknown both to Josiah and to his subjects, as their surprise and alarm abundantly show. We have to account for this fact, one which would have seemed highly improbable beforehand.

But if we look more closely into the incident, we find that this ignorance of Josiah and his people was not an *absolute* ignorance of everything concerning this newly-discovered 'Law.' It was such a *degree* of ignorance, and no greater,

as was compatible with (a) a habit of worshipping Jehovah ; (b) a recognition, entire and unquestioning, of the obedience owed to His commands. This is shown *inter alia* by the prompt reformation set on foot as soon as the nation was better informed as to the nature of those commands. It amounted simply to ignorance of the particular duties, ritual or domestic, required of them by the Law of Jehovah. But how, it may be asked, upon the supposition that the Five Books were in existence and accepted as of authority before this time, was it possible that this ignorance could have arisen ? Their history enables us to supply the answer. The *religious tradition of the Jewish nation had suffered two great breaches of continuity*, which had almost destroyed it : the first, in the destruction of the tabernacle at Shiloh ; the second, in the massacre of a great number of priests at Nob. Let us consider these separately.

The religious and ecclesiastical system sketched out in the books of Leviticus and Numbers continued for long only partially realised. The Tabernacle and Ark of the Covenant, with the altar of Jehovah, after long wanderings in company with the army of Joshua during the conquest, settled at last (Josh. xviii. 1) at Shiloh. In what way the choice of the place was determined we do not know. The tabernacle was, comparatively speaking, a small erection, the particulars of which are of course familiar to us all. It was, so to speak, a *field chapel*, an institution common enough in Continental armies ; and its scale could have been hardly adequate for the national necessities. Such as it was, however, it was the religious centre of the Hebrew nation. How keenly the Hebrews could resent any apparent slight offered to it, will appear from the narrative in Joshua xxii. of the storm raised by the building of an altar on the east side of Jordan by the two and a half tribes, which was misunderstood by the Westerns to imply a separation from the national worship.¹ Thither they went to obtain guidance for themselves in their business or their expeditions (Josh. xviii. 10.) There were held the yearly sacrifices and the great periodical festivals 'before the Lord' (Judges xxi. 12, 19, 21.) It was the *religious* capital of the nation, as Mizpah seems to have been the secular capital, the place of muster for war, and the trying place for ordinary business.

But we have no reason to suppose that it was the *only*

¹ This fact bears strongly against the argument of the author of *Deuteronomy the People's Book*, chaps. ii., iv. ; and he has omitted to deal with it,

place of sacrifice, although it was the chief place ; and many facts tell in the other direction. Not to mention many other instances of altars and sacrifices, Deut. xxvii. 5 itself contains an express command to build an altar on Mount Ebal. The frequent mentions of other local sanctuaries, Shechem, Gilgal, Mizpah, Bethel—the occasional remark casually occurring, as of a thing well known and familiar, that ‘ the people still sacrificed and burned incense in the high places,’ make it absolutely certain that there was for ages a tolerated worship of Jehovah in local sanctuaries, going on side by side with the more legitimate and regular worship in the ancient tabernacle at Shiloh ; and that therefore the religious ideal of the Mosaic Law remained so far unrealised.

This irregular worship, however, would probably be of a very simple kind, and its practical outcome would probably be limited to the keeping in existence a sense of loyalty to Jehovah and the national religion. For the custody of their religious records they would look to Shiloh, and find the depositaries of their religious traditions and their national ceremonies in the high priests resident there, and in the limited number of priest-assistants (for the day of the magnificent ritual and thronging troops of Priests and Levites in the great Temple of Solomon was not yet come) who were settled around the ancient sanctuary.

But there came a day when all this was suddenly taken from the degraded and secularised nation. Beaten in fight by the warlike and heroic tribes of Philistia, they did a thing which shows at least the depth of their instinctive veneration for Jehovah and His tabernacle, as it shows further the corrupting superstition into which that veneration had sunk—they brought down the ark of God into the battle-field, and in a second encounter, more fatal and disastrous still, it fell into the hands of the Philistines. The aged Eli, the high priest, was represented in his charge of the ark by his two sons, Hophni and Phinehas. Both were slain. Doubtless other priests who bore the ark died in its defence ; and the aged Eli died suddenly at the news of the catastrophe.

Thus the sanctuary was deserted, the high priest dead, and not only he, but his natural successors, Hophni and Phinehas, were also cut off. The high-priesthood was in abeyance. It devolved on a mere boy of ten or twelve years, too young to know very much of the prescriptions of the sanctuary, and who could not have entered upon his office for many years. Accordingly, with the loss of the Ark of the Covenant, and the virtual vacancy of the high-priesthood, much of the

importance which remained to Shiloh passed away. By what further steps we do not know, and very probably by the gradual progress of decay, it became a desolation and a ruin. Jeremiah, about five hundred years later, refers to its overthrow (Jer. vii. 12) as a signal example of retribution for religious declension. The entire religious life of the nation, as far as it had been attached to Shiloh, took a new form, and at length found a new centre in Samuel, *a prophet, not a priest*. Now the Hebraism of the prophets was comparatively unpriestly and non-ritualistic in its character. It *supplemented* the function of the priesthood, but sometimes opposed it. In one or two instances it would seem even to have absorbed it; and this is clearly such an instance. Samuel, in the present ruin of the priesthood, appears to have fallen back upon the patriarchal worship—that old and tolerated worship of Jehovah at country altars, which, as we have seen, had thus far existed throughout side by side with the tabernacle. Gilgal or Ramah, the place of his abode, replaced Shiloh as the religious centre, and there we find him (1. Sam. vii. 17, ix. 12) habitually offering sacrifice, although not a priest.¹

Here, at all events, we see a distinct breach of the religious traditions of Israel. The *interregnum* (so to call it) must have lasted pretty nearly a hundred years. During that time the religious memories, the ritual prescriptions, the custom of periodical attendance at the sanctuary, must have been gradually dying out, and a people growing up to whom religious particularism, and the resort to a multitude of local 'high places' for such vague travesties of the dimly remembered sanctuary rites as they might continue to practise, were the normal and natural state of things.

But even a worse blow was about to be inflicted.

To Nob, one of the sacerdotal cities, not far from Jerusalem, the high priest, with all his brethren, seem to have removed from the desecrated Shiloh. Here the whole body of the priesthood were collected; and here, therefore, the passionate and vindictive Saul found them an easy prey. Acting upon suspicion, partly well founded, partly imaginary, he massacred the entire priestly family of eighty-five persons, with their children and dependants. Thus, at one blow, and with the

¹ There is some doubt about the descent of Samuel. 1 Sam. i. 1 makes him to have been of the tribe of Ephraim; whilst 1 Chron. vi. 22, 28, apparently mentions him (if there is no mere coincidence of name) as a descendant of Kohath the Levite. In either case he was not a priest. There may have been some idea on the part of the Levites in general that they had an undefined right to offer sacrifice 'in the absence of the priest.'

exception of one person, Abiathar, the entire family of Ithamar was blotted out of Israel.

The author of *The People's Book* describes the state of things which followed very forcibly :—

‘With the exception of Abiathar, the ruling family in the priesthood became extinct. Eighty-five priests of Ahimelech’s father’s house were butchered in the king’s presence, and their wives and children shared the same fate shortly after. Most justly, therefore, might the chronicler say that, about fifty years later, David “found more chief men of the sons of Eleazar than of the sons of Ithamar,” for it was on the latter that this terrible calamity fell. In one day the traditional observances of the sanctuary were blotted out, and recourse required to be had to the five books for their renewal. The magnitude of the disaster to the family and the kingdom is now beyond our calculation. Nor did the evil stop there. Abiathar had no chance of at once restoring what Saul had thus ruthlessly destroyed. In banishment and in exile he followed for years the fortunes of the outlawed David, in the wilderness, in Ziklag, in Hebron. The traditional lore of the priests was thus wholly, or almost wholly, lost. A break in its continuity more thorough and more serious had not taken place. A regency, so to speak, a massacre, and an exile during a troublous period that may have lasted for half, perhaps for a whole century, effectually broke the continuity of traditional routine among the Hebrew priests. Nor do these seem to have been all the blows that shattered this continuity. Saul is known to have slain some of the Gibeonites; the Mosaic tabernacle is also known to have been transferred to their city from the blood-stained soil of Nob. Is it not reasonable to suppose that Saul’s madness had turned from the slaughtered priests to those who seemed to befriend them in Gibeon?’ —(*Deuteronomy*, pp. 37, 38.)

On the whole, then, we think it will not be denied that if the precise particulars of the Law had been forgotten, and a copy of the Law itself had become a thing unknown, by the time of Josiah, there were abundant reasons to account for this neglect of their institutions, and for the ignorance of the nation, during these ‘dark ages’ of the Jewish Church, without the violent expedient of pronouncing the Law itself a daring forgery.

2. Much of what has been said above will bear upon the question of a *central altar*. We may summarise our line of argument thus: The Mosaic command of a central altar and a central sanctuary was avowedly, when delivered, an ideal to be realised at a future time, and not a system to be immediately put in practice. During the wanderings in the wilderness, the great mass of the tribes must have been scattered over the peninsula too far from the tabernacle for attendance there to be possible to them, and hence had their sacrifices

'in the open field' (Levit. xvii. 5 ; Deut. xii. 8-10) offered by men who were not Levitical priests. Thus the habit took possession of the national mind of regarding the central sanctuary as something belonging to the distant future, something which was to be put into action by-and-by, but which did not apply to the present, in which they might continue the old patriarchal practice of sacrificing in many places.

Thus time went on. Even when they reached the promised land, the exigencies of a prolonged state of war would postpone for many years all considerations of resettling the *status* of the national establishment of religion. By the time that this motive had ceased to operate, a new generation had sprung up to whom the habitual observances appealed with greater force from long-standing habit, as those prescribed in the Law appealed with less. And so we imagine it to have been during the generations which intervened between Moses and the monarchy—a grand ritual system, and a stately central temple recognised in theory at first, even then temporarily kept back from realisation by the hostile exigencies of events, and so lingering until it ceased to be recognised at all.

It is observable that David, who took the first steps for the splendid realisation of this ideal in the founding of Solomon's Temple, seems from the first to have entertained a loyalty to the priesthood quite unknown to Saul. Not that David was in any sense regardless of the prophetic order. Facts are dead against any such idea ; witness his recourse to Samuel in his extremity (1 Sam. xix.) ; witness also his recourse to the prophet Gad in his exile in 1 Sam. xxii. 5. But along with this we have traces of his regard for the priesthood which have no parallel in the case of Saul. To the high priest Ahimelech it was that David betook himself for shelter and help when escaping from Saul, and received them. With David, in turn, Abiathar the priest, the one survivor of the butchery, took refuge. In exact agreement with all this, also, we find that David *never sacrificed* in any of these customary local sanctuaries. We never hear of his performing any sacrifice except in the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite ; then only in a place which had received, as it might seem, a quasi-consecration by the presence of the angel, at the direct command of God conveyed through the prophet Gad, and under the stress of the pestilence. Samuel might sacrifice ; Saul had dared to sacrifice ; but David, even when exile and outlaw, entertained the high priest, Abiathar, in his camp, and sur-

rounded himself as far as possible with the solemnities of the Mosaic Law (1 Sam. xxx. 7; 2 Sam. v. 19). He assists in the procession when the Ark was brought home into Jerusalem, 'girded with a linen ephod.'¹ Before it he could sacrifice with royal profusion 'when it had gone six paces,' *i.e. before the Ark*; for that was the legitimate and appointed place for sacrifices, and no doubt 'a priest a Levite' was not wanting to perform them. 'Zadok and Abiathar the priests,' and apparently the entire priestly body, were his faithful adherents during the rebellion of Absalom. He was evidently what we call now-a-day 'a good Churchman.'

Our position, therefore, is that the 'central altar' was no new idea, but so old an idea as to have died out of the memory of the Hebrew masses, who were in the habit of offering sacrifice upon altars erected in many other places; but that it was a tradition, or a point of special strictness with pious persons, to avoid this irregular worship, to sacrifice 'before God,' *i.e. before the Ark of Jehovah*, wherever it might be, and to sacrifice nowhere else. That David being, as all his life and actions show, a staunch adherent of the Levitical priesthood, exemplifies remarkably this principle; and that as soon as he was firmly seated on the throne and had leisure from war, he proceeded to make all preparations in his power for the realisation of the ideal of the Levitical ritual, by the erection of the Temple in Jerusalem, which was actually carried into effect by his son Solomon.

3. Is it evident, we may inquire in the next place, that the passage relating to the choice (Deut. xvii. 14-17) of a king in Israel was copied after the fact, and in all its most prominent details, from the known incidents of the life of Solomon?

It must be remarked upon this that, according to Dr. Kuenen's hypothesis, the pseudo-Deuteronomy being composed 'in or shortly after the Babylonish captivity,' *i.e.* B.C. 588, and the death of Solomon having taken place in

¹ A very ingenious illustration is given by the author of *The People's Book* of the degree to which the loss of the full religious tradition had gone, even among the priests. When the Ark was brought back from Kirjathjearim, neither David nor any of his followers *knew how it should be carried*. They put it 'upon a new cart' after the Philistine manner (2 Sam. vi. 3). Then occurred irreverence, and the death of Uzzah. But three months after he had discovered the right way as ordered (Exod. xxvii. 6), and it was borne by 'the priests the Levites' (2 Sam. vi. 13). Had David consulted a copy of the Law about this in the meantime, and learned the right way of removing the Ark? It certainly looks like it.

B.C. 975, there is an interval of nearly four hundred years between the two. Assuming that the unknown composer had before him the Hebrew text of 1 Kings x., xi., and had set to work to 'manufacture' a prophecy which should prefigure these aberrations of Solomon four hundred years before, which had made so deep an impression on his mind in his Babylonian exile (and this is really ruling every doubtful point against ourselves most unfairly), what then? Would he not have taken pains to make the two *answer* to each other? But they *do not* answer with anything like such an artificial completeness as would then have been the case. It may conduce to clearness in showing how really independent the two passages are one from the other, if we analyse them and put their chief particulars side by side :

DEUT. XVII.

The king was to be :

1. A man chosen by Jehovah.
2. A Hebrew, not a foreigner.
3. Not to multiply horses.
4. Not to cause a return into Egypt.
5. Not to multiply wives.
6. Nor to multiply silver and gold.
7. Was to write a copy of the Law.
8. And to read this.
- 9.
- 10.

1 KINGS XI.

Solomon was :

- 1.
- 2.
3. Had horses brought out of Egypt.
- 4.
5. Had many wives.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
9. Had a great navy.
10. Had many chariots.

The result is that the two passages agree in two particulars out of ten. And since an expenditure in warlike equipments (for which purpose alone horses were used among Eastern nations at this period) and the indulgence of the harem have been the prevailing sins of Eastern despotic rulers in all ages (no doubt as much in the Mosaic age as others), it is not surprising that Moses, instructed by wisdom from above, should deprecate, and that Solomon in the fulness of his power should realise, these very extravagances, without the violent assumption of a factitious prophecy ages after the fact, to account for the coincidence.

We shall now take no further heed of the critical objections to the date of this book. Our endeavour has been to set side by side with the hypothesis of Kuenen and others of his school, which virtually imputes fraud and forgery to 'the Deuteronomist,' and which seeks to establish itself by a series

of unproved and violent assumptions—to set beside this an hypothesis moderate and conservative, which, setting out with the persuasion that the Pentateuch is really the work of Moses, and of the date which it claims to be, shall account for the facts likewise, and that in a simpler and more natural manner. It is for readers to judge whether the proposed hypothesis does this or not.

No examination of this latest portion of the Pentateuch can possibly be satisfactory which omits to view it in the closest connexion with the character of Moses himself. The personality of the great lawgiver is never absent from the pages of his work; and that personality is, with one only exception, the grandest in all history. Those rarest of characters among men, who appear at the great crises of human action—Noah, Abraham, Moses, S. Paul—are all characters of slow growth and late ripeness; and, which is remarkable, they are at their best at the very last. The slow growth gives toughness of mental fibre, just as the oak requires a century to attain its maturity, but then may last for five hundred years or more, whilst the quickly growing pine as quickly decays. So it is with men. The smaller and shallower the nature, the more quickly and easily it reaches its best. Rapid, precocious, facile, the performances of such are the wonder of their contemporaries. But in a few years, when the *perfervidus vigor* of youth, and the restless impulse which it gives, is spent, they subside into very ordinary specimens of human nature; whilst the larger and deeper nature goes on with added power and accelerating force till it reaches the confines of the end. Of such, it may be emphatically said, was Moses. His training had been long and various. He was 'learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,' and shared doubtless every advantage of that hieratic culture of which modern research has come upon so many traces of late. The rich and varied life of the governing class in Egypt—the most highly cultured, probably, then existing throughout the world—in which he had luxuriated for forty years, must have drawn out and stimulated his faculties as the heat of the forcing-house does flowers. His nature must have been fully developed by the end of this period. Nursed by indulgence and popularity and splendour into its fullest growth as it was, it says a good deal for its essential nobility that it bore without sourness or permanent distortion the piercing blast of adversity. Two shocks came upon him one after another—the utter and instant failure of his attempt to unite Israel under himself as their leader; and

then the compulsory exchange of wealth and rank in Egypt for the solitary life and the humble labour of a shepherd wandering from oasis to oasis in the Arabian desert at the back of Midian.¹ The one had developed, the other braced his powers. And after this came to him the cares of leadership—the endurance of that vast strain of anxiety and care which attends the reshaping of a nation. Such responsibilities make men grey before their time, and by this consideration we may judge in some degree of the magnificent elasticity and vital force of the nature of the man who was called by God to bear all this for forty years, and even then have it recorded of him that ‘his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.’²

It is the outcome of all this long and arduous experience that we are to see in the addresses which make up the book of Deuteronomy. The patriot, the legislator, the founder speaks there in almost every line no less than the bearer of the Law and messenger of Jehovah. The reminiscences of experience common to the speaker and his hearers; the *quorum pars magna fuimus*, which form the burden of almost every chapter, are characteristic—too characteristic to be overlooked, too natural and persistent to have been invented. The book forms unconsciously the *éloge* of the speaker. And therefore, let us say in passing, it is that we feel small sympathy with those who find in the supposed inability of Moses at the outset of his mission to *speak* to Pharaoh, the proof that these lengthy and rhetorical discourses cannot be his. It is not Moses the fugitive, the adventurer, it is not Moses the untried, or rather the unsuccessful, whom we have set before us in the opening words of Deuteronomy; it is Moses the aged, the tried in war and peace, the ruler over Israel for forty years—a king in all but name. Such responsibilities as he had borne crush feeble natures indeed, but they ennoble strong ones. And therefore even had it been the case that Moses was originally a man of slow and hesitating speech (Exod. iv. 10), we must look upon that weakness as having been eradicated by the slow lapse of years, by the habit of command, and the steady growth of all his powers. But

¹ It is singular to notice that the site of the land of Midian, so long a matter of uncertainty, has at last been identified upon the coast of the Gulf of Akabah; and that the Khedive of Egypt is proposing to rework the mines of gold and of turquoise, of which traces are found.

² It may be said that he *decentralised* (Exod. xviii. 24–26) and gave local self-government to the tribes; without which, indeed, the necessarily widely divided masses of Israel could hardly have been judged at all. That relieved him, no doubt, of some of the detail; but how vast must the *residuum* have been!

our view is otherwise. We believe that a more accurate scrutiny of the record will give us a set of facts leading to a different conclusion.

For observe that Moses *had failed once* in this very attempt to raise the children of Israel, and failed so utterly that he was obliged to fly for his life, and go into a lengthened exile among the desert tribes. Hence, when summoned by the Divine impulse to a renewal of the attempt, he shrank from it with the greatest reluctance. It was, speaking humanly, no wonder that he should thus recoil from a difficult and hazardous venture. When he had tried it before with all the *prestige* of princely rank and priestly learning, he had been entirely unsuccessful in arousing the crushed spirit of the Israelites. Experience had shown him that there was no patriotism to appeal to in his kinsmen; and that if there were any other spell (as the event proved there was) which had power to wake into action the dormant forces of the spiritual nature in the people, he at least was not possessed of it.

The event, we say, proved that there were reserve forces available on which Moses had not reckoned. He had appealed to their latent patriotism and failed, because there was no *nation* of Israel as yet, and no opportunity had been afforded for patriotic sentiment to crystallise around any national unity. But had Moses known it, the key to the deepest hearts of the Beni-Israel lay in their inchoate and perhaps hidden, but real and awful, faith in the God of their fathers—of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—and when he came to them again in that Name, and with miracles of power which showed his commission to be a reality, then he found a hearing and a following, in spite of the servile spirit which long subjection and long suffering had produced in his countrymen. Nothing stands out more clearly in the sacred record than the extent to which the Israelitish race had become (as we should phrase it) demoralised by their long subjection to a crushing tyranny. The very miracles of Moses had a double object, the one to quell the obstinacy of Pharaoh, the other to raise the spirit of the Israelites, and give them heart and hope to follow the great leader whom their God had sent them.

Then, too, prior to his mission, we must allow for a certain amount of this influence working on the mind of Moses himself—an influence which his education at Pharaoh's court would partially, but not wholly, counteract. Perhaps, indeed, that early association with all that was great and powerful at the

very centre of the Egyptian greatness, might only increase his apprehension at the thought of braving it. He was, as we have said, one of the noblest minds of humanity. But even his splendid endowment of moral and mental gifts could not so entirely have removed the traces of such predispositions as that they should not make themselves visible, and count for something in accounting for what we speak of. Bearing in mind these essential facts—the lingering infusion of weakness which the fine and noble character of Moses had not yet succeeded in shaking off, and the completeness of his former ill success in the rôle of a popular leader—we shall be able to come to the consideration of this episode of his career with something like adequate appreciation of it.

Moses then meets the divine call with a succession of excuses. First, he puts forth the plea (iv. 1) that the revelation made to him will not be credited. Driven from that ground by his being furnished with a miraculous credential, he then pleads: I am not *eloquent*, אִישׁ דְּבָרִים, *ikanòs prò tḗs chḗs*, &c. (LXX.), but I am slow of speech (*ισχνόφωνος*) and of a slow tongue (*βραδύγλωσσος*). These epithets might fairly be understood to have a reference to Moses' long solitude in the desert, during which he had neither heard nor spoken his own native Hebrew nor the vernacular Egyptian. But, in fact, this disability of speech, even if not altogether imaginary and having its root in Moses' secret reluctance to confront the stubborn tribes, the sneering courtiers, and the awful majesty of Pharaoh, had no real weight, and was instantly disallowed. Aaron, a man naturally Moses' inferior, but who had enjoyed a continuous familiarity both with the Egyptian and the Hebrew tongues, should serve as interpreter. Even then the shrinking of Moses from the offered mission found expression in the entreaty, 'Send some one else, O my Lord!' The natural inquiry is, why are we to take this alleged hesitancy of speech as representing actual literal fact, when no other of the pleas put forth by Moses is so taken, and all the probabilities go to show that it was merely the weakness of the reluctant, self-distrusting human nature recoiling before the prospect of a mission which it would require skill and tenacity almost more than human worthily to perform? Yet the usual idea as to Moses' hesitancy of speech seems to be founded on no better reason than such an invalid inference. There is absolutely no trace of this hesitancy in the subsequent narrative, or on any one of the many subsequent occasions when 'Moses spake unto the people.' An *initial* slowness there may always have been—the *vis inertiae* of a

large nature, whose forces are as difficult to get into play as they are irresistible when once aroused to action ; but that the Moses who (even upon every rationalist hypothesis) wrote, at all events in great part, the Pentateuch, and was a poet of so high a rank as his songs extant show—should be slow-witted and stammering *we* shall be slow to believe. There is a certain proportion in the faculties of a great mind, and it is unlikely that a genius of the very highest order should allow itself permanently to be hampered by a mere physical defect, if such existed. And our view, as we have explained, is that there was none ; but that the pleading of imaginary, or almost imaginary, defects would be quite in keeping with the long exile of Moses and the reluctance he showed to undertake the mission to which he was called. So far, therefore, as the unlikelihood of the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy is supposed to follow from the inability of Moses to deliver the lengthened discourses of which it is in great part composed, that unlikelihood appears to us altogether ill-founded.

Taking then the fact as established that Deuteronomy originated in the Mosaic age, we have finally to inquire what indications the book itself affords of its history. It may be roughly defined as consisting of:—1st. A brief introduction. 2nd. Three discourses delivered by Moses to the Israelites, in anticipation of his approaching death, during the first ten days of the eleventh month of the fortieth year from their coming out of Egypt. And 3rd. A somewhat heterogeneous collection of *pièces historiques*, comprising—(a) the formal appointment of Joshua ; (b) the Song or Psalm of Moses ; (c) his blessing or valedictory address to the tribes ; (d) an account of his death and burial. It is apparently the work of one hand, and that probably the hand of the scribe who wrote down the addresses. There are not wanting traces of such an official (Deut. xxxi. 19), and the various occasions (xxxi. 9, 24) upon which the statement is made that '*Moses wrote this law*' must be understood that he caused it to be written, dictated it, and was responsible for what was so written. We need have no doubt that it was substantially the Book of Deuteronomy as we have it (as far at all events as the end of chap. xxx.), which was put into the keeping of the priests, 'the Levites' (xxxi. 25) ; whilst the remaining chapters are clearly contemporary, and must have been added certainly during the same generation, probably by the same hand.

That the bulk of i.—xxx. was actually delivered to the people as speeches there can be little doubt. The extempore style, which is very different (we need hardly say) from that

of ordinary literary composition, full of repetitions (xxviii. 3-7, 15-19), strongly contrasted clauses (vv. 11-13), vivid rhetorical pictures full of details (vv. 30, 31, 56), speaks for itself. Possibly the legal documents incorporated in these discourses (xiv. 3-21; portions of xxi., xxii., xxxiii.) may have been 'taken as read.'

The Book of Deuteronomy may be called a popular digest of the Mosaic Law. It includes a good many details, and all the great principles upon which that law is constructed. It is plain, simple, popular, not shunning continual repetition, because its author knew the exceeding density and 'slowness of heart' of the people with whom he had to deal. If we compare one of the earliest of the Mosaic 'institutes,' the Ten Commandments, with the *curses* in Deut. xxvii. 15-26, which are one of the latest, and are obviously modelled upon them, we shall see how great was Moses' skill in statecraft, and how much he appreciated the advantages of perfect plainness, teaching by concrete instances, and continual repetition. It is a further proof of this practical wisdom that the book is directed to be read aloud once every seven years at the feast of tabernacles before the assembled tribes (xxxii. 10, 11), *i.e.* in the Sabbatical year, when the usual culture of the land was intermitted, and the Israelites had leisure to assemble for the purpose. We cannot indeed suppose that this far-seeing intention of the lawgiver was carried out. This beneficent provision also, like so many parts of the Law, probably remained inoperative. But that such an expedient should have been enjoined is sufficient of itself to constitute an extremely strong *preiudicium* in favour of the early date of the book. Quite other modes of publication were in vogue by the time, *e.g.*, of the Captivity; the Sabbatical years themselves had ceased to be observed; and we may ask what conceivable forger would have *invented* a mode of publication of the Law of which no one (on the rationalistic hypothesis) had ever heard, and which would strike him as altogether inadequate to the requirements of a great and by that time widespread population? Similarly the requirements to be fulfilled by a king of Israel, which are often quoted as a proof of the lateness of the date at which it was composed, seem to us, on the contrary, a proof of its antiquity. For in what age could such a list of *postulanda* have originated if not in the Mosaic? In the days of the early kings? But it is the exact point of the rationalistic case that the Law was then entirely unknown; and we presume no one would seriously maintain that a forger would compile the book with

such great care and skill, and then put it by for 150 years to mellow and get aged, as sham antiques are buried, with the intent that it should come out, say a hundred years later, after the writer himself was dead, to deceive every one into the belief that it was authentic. Nor could it well have originated under the later kings, who, for the most part, violated in their ascent to power and in their lives every one of its prescriptions. It would hardly have been a safe undertaking during those times of sudden and illegal violence, when the royal power was literally (like the Turkish power has always been) without any check save that of superior force, to have been known to have thrown a sort of doubt over the royal title in a book to appear during the life of the writer. If it did *not* appear at once, then motive would, as in the former case, be wanting; and besides, we come upon admitted historical notice of the book by that time. And thus one line of investigation after another leads us back to the earlier date which the book itself claims.

Here, however, we must leave the subject. We may have overrated the cogency of the arguments which, to our mind, show decisively the authenticity of this book and the inconclusive nature of the innumerable assaults which have been made upon it. But we do not overrate, we are convinced, the importance of the subject. To establish the authenticity of the Book of Deuteronomy is to establish that of the entire Pentateuch; and the Pentateuch is the guarantee at once of natural religion, and of the entire dispensation of Moses. But if this 'divine legation of Moses' be accepted with all its incidents, then the whole question of the supernatural is virtually ruled. *Locutus Moses; causa finita est.*

ART. VII.—THROUGH NATURE TO CHRIST.

Through Nature to Christ ; or, the Ascent of Worship through Illusion to the Truth. By EDWIN A. ABBOTT, D.D., formerly Fellow of S. John's College, Cambridge. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1877.)

THERE are two distinct methods of Christian apology, and as long as the division between minds that see likeness and minds that see difference holds good, there will continue to be two; the defensive method, which, entrenching itself within the limits of the ancient dogma, is content to treat all the forms of antagonistic opinion as 'not proven,' and the aggressive method, which goes down to meet them all in the arena, and claims from each its special and peculiar contribution to the sum of truth. One is more especially the method of old age, when the love of novelty has passed away, and disturbance from without become impossible, and men retire, as the night closes over each avenue of sense, to meditate in the inner chamber of their souls on the faith once delivered to the saints. This is the method of S. John. But the other, with its buoyant hopefulness, is the method which attracts the young. It is the especially *missionary* method; that of S. Paul preaching at Athens, of Clement, and all those who before and after him came from the great Catechetical School of Alexandria, of the Alexandrians, of the Oratorians, and of all who in any age have advanced the Church's frontier, by becoming all things to all men, that by all means they might save some. And complementary though the two are, and always must be, to each other, their relative importance cannot but vary immensely from age to age. At a time when anti-Christian opinion is negative and sceptical, but not active in construction, it is best encountered by the reassertion of old truths in their majestic changelessness; but in an age like the present, when a variety of positive and aggressive systems are claiming to supersede Christianity, on the ground that they can offer a more true and consistent explanation of the facts of life, the function of the apologist is altogether different. And it is to the young of the present age that Dr. Abbott appeals in the book before us:—

'I address myself principally,' he says, 'to the young. I do so, not because I would not gladly address myself to the old as well,

but because I could not hope to persuade those who have grown old in scepticism ; and in the attempt to succeed I should probably fall into a kind of argument and language which would not be equally adapted for those to whom I specially appeal. I say it with profound sorrow, that when the heart has been contentedly familiarised for many years with a spurious Christ, mentionable in the same breath with Mohammed, there is not much chance that, during this present existence at all events, a man will ever return to the true conception of Christ. Faith in Christ appears to me to be not a demonstrable matter, like the *Pons Asinorum*, but the product of a life of effort, and the result of many influences—the influence of parental and school training, the influence of society and of the Church, the influence of the memory of the dead, of public and private prayer, of the hope of immortality, of the continual reading of the Scriptures, and above all of self-denying and philanthropic labour. The resultant of all these potent influences cannot be conjured up by any magical charm for one who during the years of mature manhood has learned comfortably to dispense with these, or many of these, influences, and to do well enough without Christ.

‘Remembering my own difficulties and struggles, let me most earnestly beg the undergraduates of both Universities to learn to practise more resolutely and more patiently than at present the art of “suspending the judgment.” If I had read Strauss’s *Life of Jesus* three years before, instead of three years after, taking my degree, I should have, in all probability, at once cast off faith in Christ. But years of subsequent study have led me to a point where I can recognise considerable force in many of the arguments of Strauss, and yet remain a Christian. I venture to think that many other undergraduates of the present day, working hard for their degrees, are, no less than I was, deficient in the leisure, and perhaps also in the knowledge of human nature necessary to read Strauss with advantage. At such a time the right course is to follow Bacon’s advice : “Antiquity deserveth that reverence, that men should *make a stand thereupon*, and discover what is the best way ;” and by “antiquity” I mean not merely antique dogmas, but habits, public and private prayer, thoughts of the dead, purity of word and deed, conscientious diligence, and self-denying action.’

That this is a somewhat singular *Apologia* is too obvious to need remark. But it may be necessary to observe in passing that Dr. Abbott falls into some inaccuracies both of thought and of expression. ‘Faith in Christ’ is not a *Problem*, it is a condition of mind and soul. Accordingly, Dr. Abbott refers it to a wrong *genus* when he speaks of it as not ‘demonstrable.’ A problem is demonstrable: a condition of mind is not. Again, Dr. Abbott exposes himself to the retort that the faith which is ‘the product of a life of effort’—*which effort must go upon the assumption of the truth* of its fundamental postulates—is by no means secure from attack. Besides which, is he safe

in *lumping* together under the general head of 'antiquity' such things as 'prayer,' 'purity,' and 'diligence?'

However, passing these matters by, it is to such an audience that Dr. Abbott appeals, and the object of his book is to show the *naturalness* of Christianity, *i.e.*—

'a certain consistency in the work of redemption as it was wrought before Christ, and in the work of redemption as it was wrought in Christ, so that the progress or redemption of mankind, taken as a whole, would appear to have been, as it were, the work of one and the same Spirit;'

to exhibit, in fact, in modern language, and with relation to modern experience, the teaching of Nature, and the progress of history, philosophy, science, and the arts, as among the ways in which the creative Word has all along been coming to His own, and as throwing light, therefore, instead of darkness, on the nature of His historic advent. Of course this, which is practically the Alexandrian method, has from the beginning had its grave theological dangers; and every fresh application of its method, especially when couched in popular language, will be liable, as we must presently show, to give just, as well as unjust, ground for criticism; but its dangers are the dangers incident on all warm-hearted generosity, the mistakes of a host who, in welcoming all, bids a few impostors to his hearth; and we prefer, therefore, to postpone considering what seem the mistakes of Dr. Abbott's book till we have attempted to do some justice to its merits.

The opening chapter starts from the assumption that, however much its value may have been questioned, the faculty and desire for worship is universal in the human race. Worship is then analysed into the three elements of love, trust, and awe, and the conclusion drawn that—

'the object of our worship must be human, and liable to human affections and sufferings, or else we cannot love Him. He must be elevated above human sin and failings, or else we cannot trust in Him. He must be superhuman, and in some way one with non-human nature (in some sense "not ourselves"), or else we cannot feel awe for Him. If, therefore, anything or any person can satisfy these different and seemingly incompatible requirements, . . . such a being, concentrating and reconciling in himself the diverse revelations of humanity and nature, will be the one true legitimate object of human worship.'

This statement naturally leads to an examination of the so-called 'danger of anthropomorphism,' which is perhaps of all modern fallacies the one that most needs exposure. For the phrase, as it is commonly used, covers two very distinct conceptions—the one a religious truth, the other a philo-

sophical falsehood ; and it is from confusion with the former that the latter derives the plausibility of its appeal to the popular mind. The protest against those who wickedly 'think God such an one as themselves' is common alike to the philosophers and the prophets of all time. Isaiah and the Psalmist gave it as early, and at least as emphatic, an utterance as Xenophanes or Plato. But the very possibility of such a protest rests on the fact that we can know God, in theological language, 'ex analogiâ,' and it is therefore the very converse of the modern Agnostic position, that the relativity of human knowledge makes God of necessity unknowable. It has often enough been pointed out how this position proves too much, and, in its recoil upon itself, makes all knowledge alike impossible. For the Quiet that was above Setebos came equally from the mind of Caliban. But the majority of those who in religious matters are misled by this Agnosticism have no pretence to be philosophers, and think things out to their bitter end ; and they too often accept the falsehood, that our conceptions of God are theoretically untenable, from confusing it with the truism that they are practically limited and inadequate. Mr. Matthew Arnold's *Literature and Dogma* is an excellent instance of this. Its speculative absurdity escaped the notice even of its ingenious author, under cover of the undoubted truth of much of its satire upon current morality. And as being one of the most familiar forms which the fallacy in question has of late assumed, it is criticised clearly and at some length in the chapter before us.

The objection to Christianity as wholly human having been thus dealt with, there still remains the converse charge of Positivism, that it is not human enough. This is ably sifted in a chapter on the 'Religion of Humanity,' which, while doing full justice to that most fascinating of all the modern counter-charms to Christianity, brings its two essential defects into clear relief. First, it denies to Christ the place which, as a mere matter of history, He occupied.

'This is not true Positivism, for it ignores facts. It ignores the undeniable influence exerted by Jesus of Nazareth upon mankind, and gets rid of Him as an inconvenience, despatching Him in a phrase, as "the real or ideal founder of Christianity," and proceeding to show how Christianity was elaborated afterwards by "the first philosophers who sketched out Catholicism."'

Secondly, in denying personal immortality, it denies to human nature the attribute which is among the most essential qualifications for an object of worship. For that the race on earth cannot be immortal is, despite of M. Renan's dreams,

one of the surest of scientific certainties, and thus deprived of all hope of collective as of individual immortality, 'humanity, dwindling into destruction on a worn-out planet, cannot be worshipped, because it cannot excite in us trust or awe.'

But, after all, neither the religion of culture, nor the religion of humanity, is ever likely to find favour with the majority of men. They are too entirely ideal, *i.e.*, they appeal too exclusively to one factor of human nature; and their claim upon the moral life is too imperious, not to arouse in human nature the suspicious criticism of their credentials—'Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye?' It is far otherwise with the theory of evolution to which Dr. Abbott next passes. This, while involving none of the inconvenient consequences of a religion, has everything to commend it to the popular imagination; and a few years hence, in all probability,—unless superseded in the meanwhile, which is quite conceivable,—it will have become as much of a commonplace as the Copernican system, or the law of gravitation. But, meanwhile, it is declared by some of its best-known exponents to be, as they phrase it, essentially 'dysteleological,' or, in other words, to have banished 'providence' and 'reason' from the world. And if accepted, with this absurdly unphilosophical corollary, whether under the name of materialism or 'Philosophy of the Unconscious,' it bids fair to become, at no distant date, theoretically the most plausible, as well as morally the most seductive, of all the forms of anti-Christian thought. It is of the highest importance, therefore, that this fallacy of dysteleology should be exposed in a popular and concrete form. For no metaphysical proof, however able and exhaustive, of the impossibility of finding reason in a world in which it has not been already presupposed, will ever carry conviction to the mass of the unphilosophical public. What they need is to be shown that not only all proved instances of evolution, but even the most improbable instances upon which scientific judgment is at present in suspense, are as compatible with the presence as with the absence of a providential design.

And this Dr. Abbott endeavours to show in his chapters on the education of the world through illusion, which, whilst liable to objection here and there, are among the most striking and not the least beautiful and suggestive in the book. We quote, as an instance, his treatment of the view that our notions of immortality were first derived from the reappearance of the dead in dreams:—

'Mankind, as a whole, is said by men of science and students unbiassed by theological leanings to have received the revelation of the immortality of the soul indirectly through the illusions arising from the dreamful tendency, so that the visions of the night, whether true in themselves or false in themselves individually, have collectively led mankind to a very definite, and historically important belief. . . . The love that had no time, and no right, to brood over the fresh loss of a friend during the stir of work and pressure of duty finds leisure during the night. In the day we realised the absence of the friend; if we forgot it for a moment, we looked around, and sense, memory, and reason made loss conspicuous. We recalled an image in thought, but we knew that we were but thinking, and therefore the image was but an image. But when the darkness of night fell upon us, then came a darkness of the senses also, and an oblivion of all that was not habitual, all that was not part of our daily thoughts. Now the self-same great nature that prompts the wearied hound to hunt the prey over again as he whines and stirs before the fire in his sleep, prompts the race of men to receive their several revelations of good or evil from the night: the man of action is at his work, buying or selling, or scheming; the mathematician at his problems; the poet at his fancies; and the mourner for the dead takes up again the thread of sorrow. Now memory and sense are fettered; distinctions of time are lost; now we no longer recall the words or looks of yesterday as being yesterday's, irrevocably yesterday's; now we no longer see the empty seat, or the horrible black garb of mourning, the unopened books, or the toys unused; but we still recall the image of the beloved one, and being without the discriminating test of reason, we know not that it is an image. What in the day was imagination by night becomes vision or sight, and we see not an image, but our very friend. . . . For us the use of dreams is past. To us, after the most startling visions of the night, science and experience come at once with their probing touch, and at their approach vanishes not only the phantom, but the influence of it. But in the old times it was not so. They had not attained a science or even a theory of dreams; they had not labelled off with names imagination, sense, reason, and will. What they saw, they saw. True, some things seen dwelt in a world where they could not be touched; other things seen dwelt in a world where they could be touched: but both were equally real. When, therefore, the sleeping savage started from converse with the father whom he had buried a week ago, well might he say to himself, "So then my father's shadow still lives. I could not touch it, but I saw it this night, and the night before; and when I embraced it, it slipped from me like a shadow. The shape changed and varied like a mist, and it vanishes in the morning as the breath vanishes in the air. It was my father's shadow or spirit, which cannot be buried in the tomb." . . . Grant that men reasoned wrongly in old times about their dreams; suppose that in the course of many centuries, under the influence of nightly visions seen in the hours when men surrender their faculties to God, the hearts of the better, the more

active and less selfish sort of men were led by the guidance of love to believe in the existence of a shade or spirit of the departed after death. What then? Because God led men to the belief in immortality by love, and in a natural way, by illusion, do we on that account think ourselves bound to set the belief aside? . . . To me it seems a thought full of comfort and hope, and a most wholesome rebuke to intellectual pride, that the hour of bodily and intellectual helplessness should have been chosen by God to sow the seed of one of His highest revelations, as if to show that the foolishness of God is wiser than the wisdom of men, and the weakness of God stronger than the strength of men."

In the application of this principle of interpretation, Dr. Abbott passes insensibly from the first part of his book, which is mainly critical, to the second, whose constructive object is 'to sketch the influence of the illusions of nature upon man in producing worship before the coming of Christ.'

The education of the world through illusions has long enough been a familiar thought to theologians as well as to philosophers; and the special characteristic of this series of chapters lies in their application of this principle to all the various departments of modern anthropology, and in the endeavour to show that its recent discoveries, so far from necessitating any change of front on the part of Christians, fall naturally into their places as parts of one great teleological system, whose necessary centre is the Person of Jesus Christ. Thus the childlike attitude of the savage towards external nature, the undue complacency with which the Greek dethroned it to make way for the empire of reason, and the undue terror with which the Hebrew feared it, as nothing less than the garment of God, are traced out as preparations for

'the coming of Him whose mission it was to unite the revelation of human and non-human nature; to show that the perfect man was perfectly in accordance with nature; to exhibit mankind, in Himself, commanding nature by obeying her; . . . and to enable all the human race to enter at once the kingdom of man over nature, and the kingdom of God over man, by one and the same means—being born again, and becoming little children.'

The gradual purification of 'the old illusion of sacrifice, that peace with God could be purchased by the gift of a bribe,' reveals 'that peace with God can be procured by gift indeed, but the gift must be the free gift of one's heart and will.' A progressive change is traceable in the character of visions till—

‘if some new Prophet, greater than any of the former prophets, should come to bring an ampler revelation from God, . . . it might be that his whole life would be one communion with the invisible Lord, so close and so natural, and so inextricably interweaving for him things visible with invisible, that it might be hard to say for such a Prophet, where sight would end and vision begin. Of Him it might be said, from one point of view, that He had few visions; but, from another, that His whole life was one continuous vision.’

Death, for which Greece and Rome felt too much contempt, and Israel too much dread . . . was to be restored to its right place, and made no more a curse unto men; and—

‘for that purpose there was a need that some Man should deliver the too timid from the fear of death, and the too bold from the hope or contempt of death. To pass through the dark shadow, and to appear in the sight of all mankind on the other side triumphant—this might destroy fear in the hearts of all who would trust in the mighty Passenger; but if He also revealed the continuity of existence, bridging the old gulph between life and death, if He showed in the soul after death the marks and imprints of what the soul had been before death, and if He brought home to the hearts of men a sense of eternal results depending upon earthly actions, and of judgment following upon sin, as thunder follows upon lightning, then the self-same Passenger who destroyed fear in the minds of the faithful, would inspire in the minds of the faithless a wholesome and purifying awe. He would deliver the West from servility to the present, from the bondage of life; He would deliver the East from the bondage of death.’

Lastly, the educational illusions of the family and of society naturally culminate in Him, who

‘does for us the work of the family by giving us a new and higher consciousness of sin, a new ideal of the fatherhood, and a new ideal of the faith and love of little children . . . and the work of society by knitting not one nation, but all the nations of the world together in the bonds of a brotherly amity.’¹

But quotations cannot do justice to more than the outline of an argument, whose real value lies partly in its delicate treatment and cumulative presentation of a large number of heterogeneous details; partly, too, in its suggestion of a method which will admit of far wider application than is here attempted to all the phenomena of evolution in their relation to human history, on which subject, indeed, some of these chapters would make an excellent monograph by themselves.

¹ How like all this is to Dr. Temple's Essay on ‘The Education of the World’ in *Essays and Reviews*!

The third and last part of the book is then devoted to the worship of Christ, considered as purifying and completing, first the revelation of the family, then the revelation of society, and then the revelation of non-human nature, and so uniting in itself the attributes of love, trust, and awe.

For example—

‘The revelation of the family had for ages been appealing to mankind, pointing to the influence exerted upon the most callous and cruel by the unreserved trust of little children. Here then was a law of nature, if men had only had eyes to discern it, and courage to act upon it, telling us that helpless, absolute, unsuspecting trust, without possibility of coercing, without reserve, without conditions, has a power to produce righteousness in the persons trusted. Now the trust of little children is based upon ignorance of sin ; but it derives its power, not from its ignorance, but from its thoroughness. If, therefore, a new child of God could appear, with an unreserved and unsuspecting trust in sinful men, and this trust not based upon ignorance of their sins, but upon a divine knowledge of the underlying capacity for righteousness in all men, even in the most despised and desperate, might not such a trust as this have quite a new power over even the lowest of mankind? Acting on this law, Jesus called on His disciples to lay aside the old aggressive or self-defending attitude, and to throw themselves like little children, in perfect love and trust, upon the suspicious and hardened world. They need not fear, He said, that they would be rebuffed. On the contrary, the gratitude of mankind would secure them an abundant reward. “Good measure pressed down and running over” would men give into their bosom.

‘How He succeeded, and what “good measure running over” was given into His bosom by the gratitude of repentant sinners during His life, and has been given for many centuries since His death, is too well known to need repetition. Every reader of the New Testament knows that the disarming of Jesus was more effective than the arms and armour of Philosopher or Pharisee.’

In the same way Christ fulfilled and purified the world’s aspiration of worship, when in the midst of apparent failure, with all classes arrayed against Him, He received from Peter the confession of faith which flesh and blood had not revealed—the confession that—

‘His presence, His teaching, and His works were all those of one who could neither deceive nor be deceived, and who could not be separated from their conceptions of God.

‘Not righteousness, but faith is the cry of Jesus to His followers. To speak of righteousness apart from faith would have been to speak of light apart from the sun, of Himself apart from His Father. As He depended on His Father, so did the righteousness of men depend upon their faith in God.’

He fulfilled the world-wide yearning of which sacrifice had been the utterance—the yearning for forgiveness—by uniting in Himself perfect sympathy with sinners, and perfect antipathy to sin :—

‘To which last requisite for forgiveness, hatred of sin, far too little prominence is given in our thoughts. We do not sufficiently understand the feeling—nurtured in Israel, and pervading all the national literature—of antagonism and internecine hostility to sin, as being itself hostile to Jehovah. In our modern desire to avoid brutality and vindictiveness, we sometimes ignore even that righteous recoil from injustice or oppression, or sins against society, which has received the name of “resentment :” still more do we ignore the higher and nobler recoil from sins, considered as sins against God. “Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate Thee? Yea, I hate them as though they were mine own enemies.”’

In feeling this, and yet forgiving, the sacrifice of Christ must in great part have consisted.

‘What that sacrifice was we never shall in this life comprehend : but thus much we do perceive, that it was something in Jesus corresponding to our faculty of sympathy with sinners. It was the will of the Father that Jesus, who hated and loathed sin with an intensity inconceivable to us, should not only live among sinners, but also share their thoughts, and even the burden of their sins, “bearing,” as Isaiah says, “our sins and carrying our iniquities.” Only in this way could the Son of God make any sacrifice to the Father.’

Again, He has increased and purified for us the feeling of awe—of which previously external nature had been the educational instrument—

‘first, directly by giving Himself to us as an object of awe ; secondly and indirectly, by making Himself the mediator between us and Nature, and by introducing us to a new and purer awe of the material world, its laws and processes.’

And more than all this, He has been the great Reformer of society, of science, and of art, the true Spirit of Progress in the world.

‘When Christ came into the world, He found the pagan nations worshipping power. They had worshipped power under the form of Polytheism ; they were now drifting into another worship of it, under the form of Imperialism. Now the worship of might is a sure forerunner of the decay and disorganisation of society ; it is a religion of conquerors, not the religion of a peaceful society. Against the worship of might therefore Jesus set up the worship of a Righteous Father of all men. Have we ever sufficiently considered how much social reform was implied in this novel worship? . . . When Christ

bade His disciples pray to "Our Father which is in heaven," He virtually enacted for His followers the abolition of slavery; just as when Mohammed declared that "there is none in the heavens and in the earth but shall approach the God of mercy as a *slave*," he virtually enacted for his followers the continuance of slavery.'

So too He encouraged the true scientific spirit, intellectually by recognising, in His every word and deed, 'the inevitable *must-be*' which links together cause and effect; and morally by inculcating the true temper out of which science must ever spring.

'Those therefore who infer from Christ's supposed non-recognition of science that He "never dreamed of it" appear to me to draw an inference not justified by what we know of the art of teaching, not justified by what we know of the scientific success resulting from Christ's teaching, and least of all justified by what we know of the great Teacher Himself, who declared that all earthly blessings should in the end be added to those that sought the Kingdom of God, and who promised us a Spirit that should guide mankind unto all truth. Why should it be supposed that when Christ spoke of "all truth" He did not mean "all truth?" By "truth" Christ always meant "knowledge of the Father," and so far as science widens our knowledge of Him, so far Christ included science in His promise.'

Then, too, by His exposure of all conventionalities, by His idealism, His simplicity, His sobriety, His love of 'rest,' as well as by the 'ecstatic admiring habit of mind' which He habitually inculcated towards natural beauty, He has inspired all the subsequent progress of true art.

'As soon as the Dryads and Naiads had been banished from the woods and streams—and they were banished, or nearly banished, at the time of the birth of Christ—the world was reduced for the pagans to a large uninteresting machine. But Christ repeopled the earth for His disciples with that spiritual life which it was losing for the Greeks and Romans. For Him the flowers of the field and the birds of the air were the nurslings of God, the harvest was His gift, and the seed-time His promise: the rain and the sunshine, shed equally upon the just and unjust, were the messengers of His all-embracing love. This feeling has found expression in modern poetry and in modern thought. The sky, the seas, the earth, and the flowers of the field are all brought once more by Christian literature into sympathy with the human race. The rocks and forests that caused repugnance and horror to the old Roman mind suggest to us thoughts of a beauty and greatness more than earthly, and inexpressible aspirations towards One whom we adore as the Creator.'

Finally, by dying Christ consecrated His work for ever,

and taught us to understand what should all along have been the 'true revelation of death;' and by

'His resurrection, whose *reality* is testified by its marvellous effect on His disciples, He encourages us to look upon the future existence of the spirits of the blessed dead, not as a mere diffused subjective presence in the hearts of the survivors, but as an everlasting and individual life in the bosom of God the Father, of which higher life the life of earthly influence is nothing but an inferior emblem.'

It is manifest how objectionable the connexion in which this laborious examination of the claims of Jesus is found really is; and that in spite of the good intentions of the writer. For at the end of a long list of illusions is placed, as we see, the *Worship of Christ!* Is that, then, an illusion too? The connexion suggests that it is: and the danger is that the mind may insensibly receive what the connexion suggests, and so may pass on to class the Incarnation among other outgrown, or to be outgrown, illusions by which in past time the human race has been educated.

Another warning must here be given. The *claims of Jesus to worship are rested upon inadequate grounds*. Every one of these services, which the Saviour is rightly represented as having rendered to humanity, is a claim to honour, to gratitude, to reverence—but not one of these amounts to a rightful claim to WORSHIP. *That* must rest now, as ever, upon His essential Godhead, and upon that alone. We fear that this verity may be somewhat obscured in the book before us.

The work then closes with three chapters on the worship of Christ—in the past, the present, and the future—in which, after tracing some of the illusions of the Mediæval Church, necessary in their day but now outgrown, Dr. Abbott suggests, with a boldness very characteristic of him, but at the same time, as we think, somewhat in excess, some of the points in which a later age may see the illusions of the Church of to-day, and sketches what the worship of Christ may one day be for a generation more completely disillusioned.

'The man whose faith in Christ, though it may have been nourished and preserved by historical illusions, has grown hardy and strong enough to dispense with any props liable to be shaken by science and criticism, and who can fight all doubts in the strength of his trust in the human personality of Christ—he, and he alone, can feel confident, in these days, that his faith will remain unmoved. So far from trembling at science, such a believer will echo the grand saying of Edward Irving, that every creature, from the archangel in heaven to the worm that crawleth on the ground, doth bear witness unto

Christ. The infinite past revealed by geology and history, the millions of years possibly spent in collecting and hardening this planetary globe of ours, the millions more required for furnishing it with vegetable and animal life, and for elaborating that life up to the level of humanity, the dreary ages of supposed savage or semi-human existence, the collisions of conflicting nations, tending to eliminate inferior races, and to develop the higher qualities of humanity—all these will seem to the spiritual believer in Christ to indicate, not too long nor too grand a preparation for the Incarnation of the Son of God. Calmly reviewing the past, he will look forward to the future with equal calmness ; for if so many thousands or millions of years were required to prepare the field for the seed of God, well may a few thousands or millions more be required before that seed shall have had time to germinate and fructify.'

This third part of the book, however, necessarily labours under a difficulty from which the other two were free—the difficulty, namely, which must ever attend the attempt, whether in literature or art, to present the life of our Lord in its human aspect only. Dr. Abbott has been especially careful to guard against misconception, by stating in his introduction his full belief in the divinity of Christ ; but he is debarred from using this as a premiss, by the very nature of his argument, which is addressed especially to those who will admit no supernatural presuppositions. Such an abstraction of the Divinity, for the purposes of argument, though exceedingly difficult, and sometimes the reverse of wise, is of course justifiable in its place. But in the present case it is complicated and hampered by what, in our opinion, is a grave philosophical error—philosophical we prefer to call it rather than theological, because its real root is in the speculative, and not the dogmatic region. The author lapses at times into that kind of idealism for which matter has no reality, or if not speculatively unreal is at least practically of no importance. But such idealism, though it has still a stronghold among certain theologians, in the face of modern science must be for ever a thing of the past. We are far too familiar now-a-days with the interdependence of mind and matter ever again to be satisfied with a canon of reality in which 'matter' has no place ; and the attempt, therefore, to conciliate a generation trained in science to any view of Christianity which regards 'matter' as immaterial is of too reactionary a nature to command permanent success. Consequently, when Dr. Abbott professes himself ready to abandon, if need be, the physical element in the miracles of the Incarnation and Resurrection, and more than ready to regard the physical

concomitants of many other miracles as historical accretions, as well as in his general attitude towards a sacramental system, we cannot but think he is abandoning the philosophically stronger for the philosophically weaker of two positions, and granting a major premiss which would, in the end, prove fatally destructive of his own belief in the 'spiritual' reality of the Incarnation. It is right to add that Dr. Abbott is careful to explain that he is in some cases going beyond his own personal convictions in the concessions he is willing to make for the conciliation of adverse opinion; and in the appendix on miracles he asks those to whom the traditionary belief presents no obstacles to abstain from reading further. On the other hand, we cannot but feel that such cautions are practically futile, if not absolutely harmful; and with all admiration for the writer's chivalrous intentions, we feel that he is attempting to conciliate a spurious idealism, at the risk of causing fresh and needless difficulties to the far more extensive, and in many respects far healthier, materialism of the present day. Surely so able a writer as Dr. Abbott would himself be the first to recognise the impossibility of avoiding error in the attempt to illustrate at all widely the principle of the world's education through illusion; and it seems to us that in the present case he has looked for illusion in the wrong direction; nay that he has himself become an illustration of his own principle; and that he would have been more consistent with his own main argument if he had looked upon the Incarnation in accordance with the Scotist opinion, so increasingly prevalent among modern theologians, not only as the climax of human history, but as the predestined end and object of the universe of 'matter;' and, therefore, involving of necessity new phenomena in the material region. Science and sacramentalism are nearer kindred than they seem; and it may be that the last of those illusions from which the truth shall set us free will be the illusion which from the dawn of philosophy has been vainly striving to put asunder that matter and that spirit which God has joined together.

With these considerable qualifications, we commit to our readers' careful attention *Through Nature to Christ*. The beauty of its style, its tender feeling and its perfect sympathy, the originality and suggestiveness of many of its thoughts, would of themselves go far to recommend it. But far besides this, it has a certain value in its bold, comprehensive, trenchant method of apology, and in the adroitness with which it turns the flank of the many modern fallacies that

caricature in order to condemn Christianity. Its entire argument, however, it must be remembered, is, as the author expressly states, calculated for unbelievers, and is therefore pitched in key consistent with that intention. Doubtless also this is the reason why many of its assumptions are such as no believer would make on his own account. But there are many roads to truth, and not less various than numerous. Christians have need to remember, and to remember penitentially, how many of the complications between religious and secular thought are due to the negligences and ignorances of the Church in ages past. Yet while confessing with humility the sins of themselves and their forefathers, they are bound to claim, with all the confidence exhibited in Dr. Abbott's book, every fresh discovery of science, every fresh truth of philosophy, every fresh achievement of art, as not only their own, but primarily and pre-eminently their own; 'whether the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are theirs, and they are Christ's, and Christ is God's.

ART. VIII.—ON THE PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND.

Report of Proceedings of the Representative Body, laid before the General Synod of the Church of Ireland at its Seventh ordinary Session, 1877. 8vo. (Dublin, 1877.)

The Irish Church Directory for 1877. 8vo. (Dublin, 1877.)

SEVEN years have elapsed since that momentous change in the constitution of the Church of Ireland, which different persons will characterize in very different terms, some looking upon the legislation of 1869 as a righteous retribution, and an act of national justice too long deferred, or in the figurative language of the prime agent of that exploit, the uprooting of the deadly Upas tree which had long poisoned the ecclesiastical horizon in Ireland; while others, no doubt, consider it an act of injustice greatly to be deplored, or, to speak plainly, a deed of downright robbery and confiscation, the consequences of which can scarcely at present be estimated, though they may not be unmixed with some good effect to the Church even of our own day, and may lead to future benefit and improvement in time to come.

But, although seven years have passed since the disendow-

ment and disestablishment of the Irish Church, it is obvious that that is far too limited a period to enable us with any certainty to prognosticate what may be her future course. Those seven years have been years of great inquietude, of constant agitation and excitement, not only as regards the temporal interests of the Church, but the much more important subjects relating to the Revision of the Prayer-Book, which have been discussed in successive Synods, not without considerable ability, but causing, nevertheless, much pain and distress to faithful Churchmen, whether members of the Synods or not, who were liable to hear, or read, from day to day, almost every Catholic doctrine of the Church in turn fiercely attacked, though eventually it may be triumphantly vindicated.

We propose, therefore, in this paper to consider, as far as our present information will permit, what is the existing condition and what are the prospects of the Church of Ireland? and to this end it will be well to take into account, first, the state of the ecclesiastical buildings, the cathedrals, churches, and glebe-houses; next, the union of benefices as altered since the Act of 1869; thirdly, the nomination system; fourthly, the revision movement; fifthly, whether the Romish hierarchy and priesthood have been more or less aggressive since the disendowment and disestablishment of the Church; and, lastly, what effect that event has had upon vital religion in Ireland, with a glance towards the future prospects of the Church.

1. *Ecclesiastical Buildings.*—Now, were we to gauge the prosperity of the Irish Church solely by the state of its ecclesiastical buildings, we should take a favourable view of the subject, for it cannot be doubted that there has been, during the last seven years, a steady and general progress in this respect throughout the greater part of Ireland, many cathedrals and churches having been rebuilt and restored from the foundations, and glebe-houses generally improved and put in good order; but before we come to particulars it will be well to remember that the commencement of this general improvement dates back from the last twenty or thirty years, and may be traced to the slow but certain development of good taste, founded upon the general enlightenment on the subject of Church architecture, or Ecclesiology, as we now term it, which, beginning in England about the time of the 'Oxford Tracts,' has caused a general restoration of churches and chapels throughout the British Empire.

But to give a very hasty sketch of what has been done

in Ireland of late years. There are, first, the two great cathedrals of S. Patrick and Christ Church in Dublin, each restored, or it would perhaps be more correct to say rebuilt, by the munificence of a princely-minded layman; and although in the case of the former, restored, now some years ago, under the auspices of the late Sir Benjamin Guinness, it might be possible for the ecclesiastical critic to find some faults of detail, it would be much more difficult to do so with regard to Mr. Roe's great works, some of which are still going on, under Mr. Street's direction, at Christ Church, comprehending not only the complete restoration of that venerable church, but the erection of the Synod Hall and the buildings connected with it, and which for the last two years have proved so great a comfort to the members of that assembly.

Of the new cathedral at Cork by Mr. Burgess it is generally admitted that, considering its size, it is one of the grandest recent buildings which have been carried on in the United Kingdom, for it cannot be said that it is yet fully completed, inasmuch as its three spires are only now being built at the cost of a single benefactor. The small but beautiful cathedral of Kilmore, built from the ground from the designs of the late Mr. Slater, ought not properly to be taken into the account, having been consecrated before 1869. But the cathedral at Tuam, just finished, deserves a passing notice. It has been entirely rebuilt, and the beautiful east window and chancel arch of S. Jarlath's Church have been preserved and incorporated in the new structure.

Some progress has been made in the restoration of the Cathedral of Kildare, and the ancient church of S. Canice at Kilkenny, the cathedral of the diocese of Ossory, is being restored from the designs of Mr. Street, who is also the architect for the contemplated restoration of the Cathedral of Limerick, on which a sum of 7,000*l.* must at least be spent. The Cathedral of Lismore is being rebuilt by the Duke of Devonshire, and that of S. Flannan at Killaloe will soon, it is hoped, be in the hands of the workmen, under Mr. Street's careful guidance. Among parish churches in Ireland which have been lately rebuilt and improved, we may mention most of the churches in the city of Limerick, S. Mary's, Kilkenny, the parish church of Tipperary, a new church at Killarney in the place of a very unsightly structure, the restoration and remodelling of the parish church of Edinderry in the diocese of Derry, and Ballymoyer in the diocese of Armagh, the restoration of the church of Killegney in the diocese of Ferns, from the designs of Mr. Fuller, and at the expense of Lord Carew;

and that at Kilbride, in the same diocese, by the same architect; the restoration of S. Coleman's Church, Kilmacduagh, principally through the munificence of Viscount Gough; considerable additions and improvements in the church of Ettagh, in the diocese of Killaloe; a new church at Shannon-Bridge, in the diocese of Meath, chiefly due to the liberality of Captain Charles Dunne, of Brittas; internal improvements in the parish church of Thomastown, in the diocese of Ossory, through the kindness of Captain Blackburne; the first stone of a new church has been lately laid at Killesk, in the diocese of Ferns, by Lady Emily Chichester, on a site given by Lord Templemore, and a church of conspicuous merit is about to be carried out at Parsonstown, Birr, due to Mr. Fuller; new and enlarged chancels are being built in many churches in Ireland, and assistance granted to some of them by the trustees of Marshal Beresford's Fund; near Belfast (where the Church appears to do more than hold her own, and in which Mr. Slater had already introduced them to better forms of ecclesiastical architecture) the same trustees have given much aid to what will be the very handsome church of S. Mark, now building at Sydenham, from the plans of Mr. Butterfield.

But it would be endless to enumerate a tithe of the churches which have been built, rebuilt, enlarged, and improved in Ireland during the last few years; and as far as these works go, they must be taken as showing evidence of prosperity, both as regards the country in general and the Catholic Church in particular. But there are two points which must not be lost sight of—first, the miserable condition, say till within the last twenty years, in which the parish churches were left, notwithstanding the grants made by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the efforts of sundry well-meaning but incompetent architects. The truth is, ecclesiastical architecture was at a very low ebb in Ireland—witness the barnlike structures with wooden sash windows! which even *now* are commonly found in every diocese. It might, perhaps, be said that 'jobbing' was not entirely unknown; and without going back so far as fifty years ago, where at least in one instance, in a northern diocese, the clergyman pulled down a church because he said it would not hold his congregation, and re-erected it within the area of the old building, we may safely affirm that there never was a country in which Ecclesiology was so neglected, or where, therefore, the genius of skilled ecclesiastical architects was so required.

The second point is perhaps not less pertinent to the consideration that too much attention must not be given to

the architectural revival of our own day as the *necessary* evidence of true progress. If the Church architecture has advanced, what is to be said of the much greater improvement to be observed in the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland? A corresponding but much more general re-edification has taken place. Forty years ago, the Roman Catholic chapels were mere barns in most country places, and generally thatched with straw; they are now, thanks in some degree to Pugin's admirable designs, good and imposing buildings, somewhat too ambitious, and generally too high for their length, and it must be confessed still retaining in the interior too much of the old barnlike character, everything being sacrificed to exterior show. But it can scarcely be said that the Roman Catholics are more devoted to their faith, or more obedient to the Church, than they were before the erection of these magnificent structures—indeed, there is not wanting evidence which would go far to establish the contrary position; but without entering into that subject now, it will be well to remember that too much importance must not be given to what may be termed the architectural proofs of ecclesiastical progress, which are certainly not confined, as has been already said, to the Church of Ireland, though, perhaps, more required there than in other parts of the Empire.

In fine, if church building (for the phrase restoration is scarcely applicable to Ireland, where in the country places generally there are no good old churches to restore) has made some progress since disendowment, it is also true that there are landlords who have been deterred by the pauperising influence of that infliction from executing other perhaps long contemplated improvements in the rebuilding of churches; still on the whole what has been done is certainly creditable to the great body of Irish Churchmen, considering the constant burden of other more pressing requirements.

1. *Glebes*.—With regard to the Parsonage-houses, or as in Ireland they are called the Glebe-houses, it is difficult to speak with precision. There are about 900 glebes in Ireland, now vested by the Church Commissioners in the Representative Body, who act as landlords and insure against fire as well as keep the houses in repair. They are being gradually, since the great act of spoliation, bought up by the different parishes to which they originally belonged; the payments, for convenience (indeed, from necessity), being spread over a number of years, the process is slow, rent being in the meantime paid for what is due by each parish, but it is

not unreasonable to hope that the time may come when a moderate-sized house may be secured to the greater number of parishes. One difficulty is caused by the large size of some of these houses, particularly in the north of Ireland, where the clergy were sometimes too apt to affect the squire, and to build larger houses than are *now* certainly required. Many of these mansions must eventually be sold, others perhaps reduced in size, or pulled down; in some places glebe-houses better adapted to the modest wants of the present clergy have been built or are now building. We find from the last Report of the Representative Body of the Church of Ireland that no less a sum than 74,000*l.* has been expended by that Board on the glebe-houses and offices within the last four years. There has also been a judicious outlay of money under the enabling Act of the 38th and 39th of Victoria, chapter 42, by which lands have been purchased for parishes until now without glebes, and houses erected upon them. Upon the whole, the arrangements which have been made with respect to the glebes, by the Representative Body and the diocesan councils, would seem to have been the best that could have been devised under the circumstances, and much credit is certainly due to those who have had the management.

2. *Union of Benefices.*—The union of benefices is also a subject which cannot be touched upon in its entirety at present. It depends in a great degree on the lives of the present incumbents, and therefore will only gradually take place on their decease; the south rather than the north of Ireland will be affected by it. In the diocese of Cork there appear to be twelve such prospective cases, and twenty-six in those of Cloyne and Ross. In the north and north-west thirty-six benefices have been already united, and 120 in the middle and south of Ireland. In the north, in the dioceses of Derry and Raphoe, there have been, however, new subdivisions, the facilities for altering parish boundaries having been extensively used, and in many cases with much benefit, so that the total number of parochial charges is hardly diminished. Most also of those new unions are really re-unions of 'Napier districts' to their original mother parishes; and, considering the poverty of the Church at present, this must be deemed a step in the right direction, particularly as it has been arranged that these unions are only conditional, the parishes having the right to remain apart if they can secure a separate and sufficient maintenance for the incumbents.

As to the south of Ireland, it may be said that, as there

are few parishes which require the services of more than one clergyman, it is only by this plan that the necessity for curates arises. If it were possible to retain the old system, which indeed financial reasons forbid, there would be no means of training young men to succeed the present incumbents; as it is, it is not easy to obtain qualified recruits for the Church. But this brings us to the consideration of one of the principal difficulties connected with the present condition of the Church of Ireland, viz., the Nomination system.

3. *Nomination System.*—The shortcomings of the present nicely balanced theory of nomination to parishes between the diocesan and parochial interest has been much debated in the Synod, and is thus clearly described by a very competent and well-informed clergyman in the south of Ireland.

The claims of the diocese are often lost sight of in deference to the supposed claims of the parishes. Old curates are almost universally passed over, and young—often very young—men selected. Responsibility is diluted, and the sense of it diminished. The bishop can in general effect the appointment of any clergyman whom he wishes, but the power thus possessed is not coupled with corresponding responsibility, as he is nominally but one of a board of seven members. It is almost necessary that clergymen should apply for vacant parishes, as otherwise it would not be known that they were willing to accept them. It is not pleasant to a nominator to write to a clergyman and ask if he will take a parish, which he may find himself unable to obtain for him when the time comes; the best men, however, will not apply, and as a consequence often lose posts which they are better qualified to fill than the persons appointed.

In the north of Ireland these evils prevail, and in addition there is also a tendency, probably derived from Presbyterian practice, towards the pernicious system of 'trial sermons,' in which sometimes it is possible to suppose that what is known as Orange politics may be introduced, for the purpose of conciliating the members of that society.

The parochial nominators, in many places, are quite unfitted by their education and position to be proper judges of what their pastor should be, and are sometimes not free from the influence of the popular voice in its least desirable sense, too often committing themselves to a candidate who has forced himself upon them by an active canvass. In other places the squire in fact selects the clergyman, constituting himself the patron of the parish. In many cases, however, the system works fairly well, and the parochial as well as the diocesan nominators appear only anxious to make the best selection in their power. The experience of the present

system is too brief perhaps to warrant any very decided opinion on this difficult subject, though it appears to be generally admitted that greater influence and responsibility should be given to the bishop, and that possibly the diocesan nominator might be dispensed with.

There are about 1,380 incumbencies in Ireland, including the cathedrals and district chapels, and the incomes under the diocesan scheme vary from 80*l.* to 700*l.* per annum; only 389 exceed 200*l.*, including those appropriated to the deaneries and livings in the large cities and principal towns. Of these there are 146 from 300*l.* per annum and under 400*l.*; 52 from 400*l.* per annum and under 500*l.*; 13 from 500*l.* per annum and under 600*l.*; 7 from 600*l.* per annum and under 700*l.*; and the one solitary fat living of Templemore, attached to the Cathedral of Derry, which is worth 700*l.*

About twenty parishes in all Ireland have no provision whatever. The proposed incomes for the future Episcopate of Ireland, comprehending twelve sees, vary from 1,000*l.* to 2,000*l.* per annum, but the greater part of the necessary capital has still, as in the case of the parishes, to be realised by voluntary subscriptions. The only bishopric which is at present re-endowed being that of Derry, for which 2,000*l.* per annum has been provided out of the present Bishop's composition balance.

It is satisfactory, however, to find from the Report of the Representative Body, published in the present year, that the contributions received for Church purposes from members of the Church residing in Ireland have increased during the year 1876 by a sum of above 11,000*l.* The Stipend Fund, which must be always the basis of the entire system of diocesan finance, has also, the Report affirms, substantially increased. We find from that useful book, *The Irish Church Directory*, that since January 1, 1870, no less than 136 gentlemen have been ordained, who are now beneficed in the Irish Church; whereas the number of curates ordained since the same period does not exceed 196: this will give a large proportion of young men as holding cure of souls in the various parishes. There are no means of learning accurately how many of those who have been ordained since the beginning of the year 1870 are graduates; but there is no doubt that the majority of those who obtain Divinity Testimonials in Dublin go to England, and that a very considerable number of the men ordained in Ireland, including some Dissenting Ministers, have not taken their degrees. This is to be regretted, and the more so as it would appear that the standard has been in consequence

somewhat lowered ; but at present unavoidably so. It has been sometimes said that one reason why the best educated of the youth of Ireland are disinclined to enter the ministry of the Church of their fatherland arises from their dislike to the Revision movement which has obtained so much notoriety during the dissensions of the Synods. There may be some truth in this statement, for generally the rising generation in Ireland are higher Churchmen than their fathers ; but the better prospect of promotion in England than in Ireland, not only as regards the Church, but in all other professions, is perhaps the predisposing cause for this preference, rather than any theological considerations.

4. *Revision.*—This may be the proper place to say a few words on that much vexed subject the Revision of the Prayer Book. After seven years' wrangling in the General Synod, we may at last congratulate ourselves that we have seen the end of this controversy ; and although the old Prayer Book cannot be said to have come entirely unscathed out of the fray, yet we may thank God that no essential part has been touched, and that if the new book is far from an improvement, it is chiefly in the new preface that what good Churchmen will generally agree to disapprove, is to be found ; for it would seem, in the words of the Bishop of Derry, to be there taught, 'that opposite doctrines are equally true, and equally recognised.' We may in this connexion note how deeply the Church is indebted to the wisdom and moral courage displayed by the Archbishop of Armagh in the character which he could have so little anticipated of Primate of the Synod of a disestablished Church. In the book itself the most objectionable alterations appear to be the omission of the Absolution in the Visitation for the Sick, for which that from the Communion Office is substituted, and the omission of any Rubric for the use of the Creed of S. Athanasius ; this last, however, is a minor evil in comparison to what was at one time threatened, and actually passed—the serious mutilation of the Creed itself ! And as it is still to be left in its old place in the Book of Common Prayer, and as the Revisionists prefer to call it the *hymn* 'Quicumque Vult,' one would suppose that there can be no possible objection that the choir should chant it on the great festivals on which it was ordered by the old Rubric to be used.

As to blots of the second order, such as the puerile substitution of the word presbyter for priest, the excision of the texts derived from the Apocrypha in the Communion Service, and many other minor alterations, while no doubt deplorable,

they affect no vital principle; and although no orthodox Churchman can do otherwise than say 'the old ways were better,' still we cannot deny the right of a National Church to use its lawful and newly-constituted powers, and (shall we say?) to amuse itself with the exercise. It must also be admitted that if there are many things to be regretted in the new Irish edition of the Prayer-Book, there are also some to be approved. The service appointed for Harvest Festivals, and for Consecration of Churches, cannot but be gratefully accepted by Churchmen. It is to be regretted, perhaps, that a service in honour of S. Patrick has not also been added to the Irish Book of Common Prayer; it could not, one would suppose, but have been acceptable to an Irish Synod. We cannot conclude without acknowledging the improved tone which has characterised the later proceedings of that assembly. The seven years' debate has not been without this advantage—that laymen, for the most part profoundly ignorant of Ecclesiastical subjects, have felt the necessity of study, and have in fact 'educated' themselves to a somewhat better understanding of the doctrines of their own Church.

Still we cannot but hold with the Archdeacon of Dublin that the laity, while in all matters concerning temporalities they are distinctly in their place, still have no right to interfere in spiritual matters; and that it is therefore deeply to be regretted that the proposal which he made in the General Convention, and afterwards withdrew, 'that every question relating to doctrine, if not discipline, shall be reserved for the consideration and decision of the Bishops and Presbyters of the Church,' was not adopted.

But the new Prayer-Book, such as it is, is now a fact, at least, in *manuscript*, for it is said there are difficulties about the printing; and certainly, considering the innumerable editions of the old book, from the goodly folio to the minutest 48mo., and that it can be had well printed for the sum of 2*d.*, we imagine that this Hibernian volume (which nobody seems really to like) is not a tempting speculation, or likely to be a commercial success, and that the great majority of Irish Churchmen will be content with their old books.

Indeed, it may well be doubted whether there has been at any time much genuine feeling in favour of revision in any part of Ireland. It is true a clique of Ecclesiastical demagogues of the Plymouth Brethren schism, abetted by certain members of the old school, who arrogated to themselves the name of Evangelicals, took advantage of 'the situation,' and thought to eliminate from the Prayer-Book all traces of the

doctrine of Sacramental Grace ; but this, spite of the scars of conflict which the new book bears, they have conspicuously failed to achieve, so that some of them have left the Church in consequence ; a result which perhaps is calculated to strengthen rather than weaken the National Church.

5. *Romish Aggression.*—With regard to the point whether the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland has been more or less aggressive since the Act of 1869, it is to be observed, that although it may have been the dream of some amiable persons that a better feeling would be produced between the discordant elements of Irish society when the Church Establishment was laid in the dust and the Ecclesiastical property confiscated, the result must certainly be disappointing. The Protestants, perhaps, could hardly, in the imagination of any politician, be supposed to be conciliated, but the Romanists might be reasonably thought to be at least satisfied, but it does not appear to be so ; the great bulk of the people has been always indifferent, except that there was a very general impression that after the Church was deprived of its endowments there would be no more payment of tithe rent-charge. Not finding this pleasant result accruing, they now express themselves generally sorry that the clergy have been deprived of incomes which at all events were spent amongst themselves. As to the priests, when the Church was asleep, they were content also to be inactive ; they now keep themselves more aloof from the Protestant gentry, and busy themselves more with local politics, when they find it possible to edge in any Ultramontane influence. They were perhaps not prepared for the vitality which the Church has proved itself to possess, and are many of them certainly disappointed at the result. We say many of them advisedly, for there were, and are, some Roman Catholic priests who take a very different view, and, like a very large body of the respectable Roman Catholic laity, would have been better content to leave the Church as it was.

6. *Vital Religion and Prospects.*—As to the present state of vital religion in Ireland we may venture to speak at least hopefully, though it cannot be said that recent legislation has in any degree contributed to allay the dissensions between Roman Catholics and Protestants. The Church would appear now to be beginning to recover from the shock of 1869, and there are not wanting signs of true progress. Thus the rite of confirmation would seem to be received by the rising generation in all parts of Ireland with increased reverence. The number of communicants has increased,

there are a greater number of services in the churches, the great Church festivals are better observed, more choral and harvest festivals, clerical meetings for the discussion of sacred subjects are held oftener than of yore, and in most dioceses inspectors of religious education have been appointed ; on the whole, there is better organization in Church work, the natural result of Diocesan Synods and Councils. The society of 'Home Missions' is now said to be conducted on Church principles, no mission being allowed in any diocese without the consent of the Bishop, or in any parish without the consent of the Incumbent. The use of the offertory, which, in the absence of poor laws, was in the old days, after a fashion, universal in Ireland, has been of late extended, and made the medium of collections, not only for the poor, but for ecclesiastical purposes, and, as one would expect, with great advantage to the Church ; and there have been not wanting, here and there, attempts to substitute eleven o'clock instead of twelve o'clock, at which time the so-called morning service is generally held in Ireland.

On the other hand, it is to be feared that in some places, in consequence of financial difficulties, pew rents have been resorted to, but are now again generally given up. In those parts of Ireland, especially where Churchmen are sparsely scattered through the country, and where the landlords have not done their duty by subscribing to the sustentation fund, the burden of supporting the Church presses very heavily on her poorer members, for the English reader should remember that, subject only to the life-interest of the clergy appointed before the Act, the Irish Church has been stripped of all that she possessed, with the exception of a sum of half-a-million in lieu of private endowments ; to this sum, it is true, must be added what is received by the voluntary act of these same clergy, who are allowed to compound for the value of their life-interest, leaving one-third of the sum for the future benefit of the parish ; certain portions of the glebes are still to be left to the parishioners, but both house and lands must be bought by subscriptions, or rented until they are paid for. The churches no doubt, were not confiscated, but, considering their origin, and that they had been built and re-built by Protestants many times since the Reformation, it would have been impossible to act otherwise ; and, of course, for the future, the whole expense of their repair and restoration must fall upon the parish. It is sometimes difficult to make the Irish tenant understand that the tithe rentcharge still to be paid by him does not go into his landlord's pocket, but into

the Imperial Exchequer ; while on his side the landlord may perhaps question an arrangement by which, for the next fifty years at least, he must pay the tithe for which he receives no consideration, and at the same time support in a great degree his parish church.

One result of the recent exceptional condition of Church affairs has been that the clergy are more unsettled than of old. There is now and then a jealousy of lay interference, and a disinclination to work heartily with the new system. On the other hand, some are too much, perhaps, occupied with the new machinery of vestries, councils, and synods, and are, as it were, 'playing at parliament ;' perhaps here and there the revision movement has had an injurious influence on the minds of others, and engendered a temper of criticism rather than devotion, and a habit of free rather than rational handling in their use of the Prayer-Book. But these results are from their nature only of a temporary character, and may be considered passing evils. A good work, notwithstanding all drawbacks, would seem to be going on in most parishes ; the principal danger to the Church is undoubtedly the lowering of the religious influence of the clergy in consequence of the inferior culture, which may be apprehended in future ; but we will not dwell on these melancholy anticipations. A new generation, both of clergy and laity, must have grown up before the working of the present system of the Church of Ireland can be fairly tested.

In conclusion, the disendowment, or, to speak correctly, the robbery of the Church of Ireland, must be the cause, for many years at least, of comparative poverty to most of the Bishops and clergy who have been elected since the date of the Act, and from hence the evils inseparable from poverty must be expected to follow. The independence of the clergy may be (notwithstanding the wise arrangements which have been made with respect to the collection of the sustentation funds) to a certain extent affected, and the choice of the electors and nominators restricted. Thus, in the case of a bishopric, heretofore by the piety of former ages richly endowed, the large episcopal residence is vacant. Some one is wanted who will not only wisely govern the diocese, but can afford to live in the palace. Can we wonder should undue weight be given to the last consideration, and the best man, perhaps, not chosen ? The same danger obtains, in a minor degree, in lesser appointments ; in fact, poverty in some shape forces itself into notice in every department of the Irish Church. But by no means in an equal degree, for in

some dioceses they were enabled largely to reduce the number of parishes and clergy, while others were obliged to increase theirs. Some had a much larger amount of commutation capital to deal with, and much younger annuitants on the average, whose life-service was of much greater value, and whose annuities, by judicious promotion, were made the most of; others had a much older average of clergy, a smaller amount of commutation capital to manipulate, and were thrown almost at once on the new system by death, while no advantageous promotion or change was possible. Other accidental circumstances pressed heavily on some dioceses, as, for instance, where parishes large in extent and population prevailed, young men, seeing the impossibility of paying curates, moved to other dioceses or compounded. These were the very cases in which such a proceeding became ruinous; and yet there was no remedy.

It is obvious that, at present, the arrangements which have been made are barely sufficient to carry on, as it were, the everyday working of the Church, and totally inadequate for any extraordinary pressure. There is no provision in the case of sickness of an incumbent, and little help can be expected from the friendly services of neighbouring clergymen, as of old; economy is cut down to the very quick; nothing appears as yet to be done for the widows of the clergy, or for what too surely will be wanted—a superannuation fund. It is perhaps too soon to pay much attention to the rewards for ‘good services,’ but some approach in this direction has been made in some dioceses, by the extra stipends provided for the deaneries, archdeaconries, and canonries.

Under the most favourable circumstances, the dangers to the Church are great, for from the very low amount at which the incomes of the mass of benefices in Ireland have from necessity been fixed, and the great paucity of what may be termed ecclesiastical prizes there, a dead uniformity will be produced, which may lead to mediocrity in the status of the clergy themselves. It has ever been the glory of the Catholic Church that men from the very lowest condition have risen to the highest posts in it; but, on the other hand, noble birth has ever been represented. This was, and where it is possible still is, the policy of the Church of Rome, and so it has ever been in the Church of Ireland (not unaccompanied, it is to be feared, sometimes with very considerable abuse). Still, on the whole, it cannot be doubted but that the Church has benefited from the fact that men of all ranks

and stations have ever been found in her service ; but this state of things is more to be hoped than expected for the future in the Irish Church. Gentlemen of position and family will be unwilling to send their sons into a profession where the general amount of a living is but 200*l.* a year, and where the highest incomes, very few and far between, do not exceed 1,500*l.* or 2,000*l.* per annum. It is, therefore, to be feared in future that the clergy will descend in the social scale, if they do not reach that lower depth which Macaulay has so graphically, though perhaps not very accurately, described in his sketch of the clergy in England at the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Still, with the blessing of God, we believe that young men of sound sense and learning, if not of high lineage, will yet be found to labour in that glorious field, which is in truth the cause of God Himself—the Holy Catholic, Apostolic Church¹ of Ireland ; and although this world's wealth cannot be expected in her Ministry, though a certain degree of anxiety as to worldly prospects must, it is to be feared, somewhat interfere with more congenial work, the very absence of worldly inducements will have its effect upon some noble minds, and we may still hope to see the names of Ussher, Jebb, Leslie, Beresford, Synge, Bagot, Daly, Nugent, Reeves, Kennedy, Stack, Alexander, Fitzgerald, and a host of others dear to the recollection of Churchmen, enrolled among the clergy of Ireland.

What, then, will be the future of this most ancient Church of S. Patrick and S. Columba ? this Church, of which the first foundations are so remote that no one can tell with certainty when they were first laid—this Church of Ireland, to which at one period men came to be instructed in the Christian religion, and to whom a great part of Europe was indebted for evangelists and teachers of the Faith—this Church which in early ages sent forth so many saints and martyrs, that even their names are unknown at Rome, and it requires the learning of a Reeves or O'Hanlon to disinter them from the mists of antiquity—

‘ Saints, who under their grey stones
So long have slept, that fickle Fame
Has blotted from her rolls their name—’

this Church which for so many years, it may be sometimes

¹ An Irish writer would here add “ Protestant,” and we must add, for the benefit of purely English readers, that the term is used in Ireland in a purely local sense, in which it would be denied to Presbyterians.

with very feeble light, has kept the living Faith, almost crushed out by the constant wars and bloodshed of the middle and later ages, and what, perhaps, was of more deadly influence, the formal Erastianism of the eighteenth century, and yet can show at all times a goodly roll of saintly names—this Church, originally not endowed by the State, but by the liberality of Irish princes, nobles, and private persons, stripped and robbed at the Reformation, and afterwards re-endowed by royal munificence; again so entirely plundered in our own times by the State that at least its poverty will for the present ensure it from a repetition of the process? What can be foretold of its future condition? We may answer in faith and hope that so long as she holds to the true foundation of the Catholic faith, the Word of God; so long as she fears not to teach the doctrines set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, Baptismal Regeneration, and the real spiritual presence of our Lord to the faithful receiver at the Holy Sacrament of the altar; so long as she is not afraid of reciting in her services the creeds of the Church, which she confesses in her Articles ‘ought thoroughly to be received and believed, for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture;’ so long as she is not ashamed of the apostolical succession of her orders through the ancient Church of Ireland, which Rome in Ireland does not possess, and which Protestant sectaries treat with contempt; so long may she trust that the right hand of the Most High will still shield her from destruction; and that so long as she shows by the conduct and life of her ministers that these truths are not empty forms, and are after all only means to the end, for the true worship of God is to be found in righteousness and holiness of life, so long will she set both Rome and Geneva at defiance; though plundered of lands and tithes, her hearers will increase and multiply—‘though poor, she will make many rich’—and slowly, but surely, her borders will be enlarged, and the blessing of God continue to rest upon her.

ART. IX.—CONFESSION IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND HISTORICALLY AND LEGALLY CONSIDERED.

1. *Report of the Committee of the Upper House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in the matter of Confession.* July 24, 1873.
2. *Confession and Absolution as taught by the English Church and by her most eminent Divines.* Sermon by the Rev. H. MARTIN, M.A.
3. *Declaration concerning Confession and Absolution put forth by Drs. Pusey, Liddon, and King, and Rev. T. T. Carter and others.*
4. *Dr. Pusey on Confession.* Letter to the *Daily Express*, July 21, 1877.
5. *Address of certain Peers to the Archbishops and Bishops,* August 9, 1877.
6. *The Confessional and the Prayer-Book.* Published by the Association for Revising the Prayer-Book, July 18, 1877.

It is not intended in this article to consider, except incidentally, the spiritual value of Confession, nor in what manner, with what restrictions and safeguards, it should be received, and the grace of Absolution administered. It is intended to consider the subject principally under its historical and legal aspects.

‘Men little think how immorally they act by rashly meddling with things they do not understand.’ So wrote the greatest man of the eighteenth century. To the subject before us Burke’s aphorism of moral and political science is especially applicable. If ever there was a matter which required caution, sobriety of thought and diction, delicacy and tenderness in handling, knowledge of mankind, acquaintance with ecclesiastical and civil history, it is the penitentiary discipline of the Church, and especially that portion of it which relates to Confession.

But it has most unfortunately happened that this question, which touches the very life-blood of the Church, and, though less indirectly, the welfare of the State, has, during the course of this year, been freely, baldly, shamelessly, discussed by many who were wholly wanting in these necessary qualifications.

There has been a repetition of the old Protestant cry—which has done and is still doing such good service to the Church of Rome—which has brought, and is bringing, such disgrace on the Church of England.

What used, at the time of nearly forgotten political riots, to be called the 'brickbat and bludgeon theory,' or the *De Witting* style of certain newspapers, has been unblushingly resorted to, and such expressions as 'the people will not stand it,' 'people will make short work of it,' as if Confession was some building or physical thing which could be caught and strangled, has been again the language of leading articles in newspapers, speakers at public meetings, and furious letter-writers in print. The inimitable humour of Pascal in the first of the *Lettres Provinciales* has been coarsely burlesqued: 'Vous êtes opiniâtre, me disent-ils; vous le disez ou vous serez hérétique, et M. Arnauld aussi; car nous sommes le plus grand nombre, et s'il est besoin, nous ferons venir tant de Cordeliers, que nous l'emporterons.'

This 'solide raison,' as Pascal calls it, overwhelmed the humble inquirer as to the 'pouvoir prochain,' and he ceased to argue. A like method, according to Dryden's vigorous lines, prevailed against poor Martin and his brood:—

'But soon discovered by a sturdy clown,
He headed all the rabble of the town,
And finished them with bats, or polled them down.'

Are we never to get rid of the disgrace of Titus Oates and Lord George Gordon, and, alas! of the more recent Papal aggression tumult?

There is yet another instance to be mentioned, as showing how English history repeats itself on the subject. Confession, it has been said, has long been disused, but now 'Roman Confession is in the midst of us.' Parliament must be invoked to our aid. It is worth while to try the validity of this argument by a test which just and fair minds will not refuse. It so happens that not only did the observance of Confession become nearly obsolete in the reign of the Georges, but the observance of Good Friday also. Archbishop Cornwallis and Bishop Porteus, exactly a century ago, A.D. 1777, determined to revive it, and immediately the cry of 'No Popery' was raised against them.

In the *Restituta*, edited by Sir E. Brydges (iv. 416. See an excellent pamphlet by Mr. Cooke, Vicar of Goreby, A.D. 1858, p. 114), we read:—

'It is inconceivable, the clamour, uproar, and rage which the order from the Archbishop to observe decently Good Friday in 1777 gave to the faction. For many weeks together the Presbyterian newspapers were full of abuse and lies relating to Archbishop Cornwallis and his family; and when one expected it should have subsided, two months after the day was observed, out comes the following long and severe paragraph in the London *Evening Post*, of May 29, 1777:—"On the late announcing a sort of outlandish name, one Porteus, to an English bishopric, I naturally asked what was become of all our old learned and venerable English clergy, of the best families, that they were all passed over with so much *contempt* and *injustice*? I was informed that the young prelate was a man distinguished by His Majesty's own judgment, and exalted by his mere personal favour, as one of the most promising talents and disposition to fill the sacred office in a manner the most suitable to his own pious feelings and sentiments, and the mild and liberal plan of government adopted by him. A countenance and a character so clear of cynical and ecclesiastical pride and austerity could not escape the penetrating observation and the generous sympathy of the Royal patron. A Charles has had his favourite Laud. Similar characters and principles will always attract each other. It has, indeed, been insinuated that, over and above the great merit of Scottish extraction and interest, he has distinguished himself as a ministerial writer in the public papers almost as much as by the stretch of Church power and arrogance in shutting up the city shops on Good Friday, which, as a sanctified, hypocritical triumph over both reason and Scripture—the civil and religious right of Englishmen—could not but be highly acceptable to tyrant and hypocrite of every denomination, particularly at Court. By this experiment on the tame and servile temper of the times, it is thought the Host and Crucifix may be elevated to prostrate crowds in dirty streets some years sooner than could have been reasonably expected, and when a Wedderburne shall be keeper of the kingly conscience and seals, and a Porteus of the spiritual keys, as the *alterius orbis papa*, there is no doubt but our consciences, and our property too, will be effectually taken care of."

The clamour was met by firmness and courage on the part of the Archbishop and Bishop, and it died away, leaving John Bull, in this as in other instances, heartily ashamed of himself.

The manner in which the recent tumult about Confession originated is not a little remarkable. A much respected Peer makes a statement in the House of Lords about a book called *The Priest in Absolution*, belonging to a body called 'The Society of the Holy Cross.' He reads from it various passages which appear to be of a coarse and mischievous character. Whether the context did or did not affect or alter this appearance, we do not know: for we have never seen, and never had heard of the work till Lord Redesdale drew

public attention to it. The House becomes excited, and it is easy to foresee that both town and country will be equally excited when they devour the newspapers next morning.

Where are the Bishops? Do they rise to explain the true teaching of the Church on this gravest of subjects, and especially the teaching of the Catholic branch of the Church in this country? Do they warn their lordships against the use of language which might appear to be an indiscriminate censure of this branch of penitential discipline? Do they remind their lordships, in Hooker's noble and brave language, of—

'that grand original warrant, by force whereof the Guides and Prelates in God's Church, first his Apostles, and afterwards others following them successively, did both use and uphold that *discipline*, the end whereof is to heal men's consciences, to cure their sins, to reclaim offenders from iniquity, and to make them by repentance just.'—(Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.* 6, vi.)

Alas! nothing of the kind. The Archbishop of the Province rose indeed and spoke, unfortunately not in this sense, but in one which, however unintentionally, appeared to confirm the appeal to the *solide raison* of the Cordeliers and the rabble.

It must, indeed, be presumed that his Grace was taken entirely by surprise in this debate, because on a later occasion, in his answer to an address from certain Peers, he referred to a report made in 1873 by a committee of Convocation. It is much to be regretted that his Grace did not adopt and use the language upon this subject of not the least learned and esteemed of his predecessors on the throne of Canterbury, Archbishop Wake, who, in his *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England*, says:—

'The Church of England refuses no sort of confession, either public or private, which may be in any way necessary to the quieting of men's consciences, or to the exercising that power of binding and loosing which our Saviour Christ hath left to His Church. . . . We exhort men, if they have any the least doubt or scruple, nay sometimes though they have none, but especially before they receive the Holy Sacrament, to confess their sins. We propose to them the benefit not only of ghostly advice how to manage their repentance, but the great comfort of absolution as soon as they shall have completed it. . . . When we visit our sick we never fail to exhort them to a special confession to him that ministers to them, *and when they have done it the Absolution is so full that the Church of Rome itself would not desire to add anything to it.*'

Observe that this teaching of Archbishop Wake was inserted

by Bishop Gibson in his *Preservative against Popery* (vol. iii. p. 31).

Ninety-four Peers have addressed the Archbishops and Bishops on the subject of the work that has been referred to. It would be unreasonable to have expected them to have *studied* it, but of course these members of a pre-eminently judicial body had *read* what they condemned. In this respect, we must repeat, they had an advantage over us. They were able to exercise their judicial faculty on the passage, not as torn from, but as connected with the context ; and it was not, to be sure, until after this perusal, which common fairness to absent men, as well as regard for their own high character and position, demanded, that they addressed the Archbishop in terms which not only censured the work in question, but expressed the greatest alarm at 'the introduction of the practice of auricular confession' into the Church. Now one cannot help venturing to doubt whether these august persons did really and accurately know what the doctrine and law of the Church is on this grave and difficult matter. If they did not know them, then they were judging the alleged practice of auricular confession, not by a legal standard, but by one of their own devising,—may we be forgiven for saying ?—by perhaps rather a crude opinion of what the doctrine and law ought to be, not what it is. How earnestly, for instance, would they have condemned the language which we now cite :—

'Now is the receiving the secret, the *auricular* (for the words are in this instance of the same import) confession of the sins of the dying penitent, or of one who is withheld from the Lord's Table by fear of his unfitness to present himself—is the receiving of such confession one of the ministrations of Christ's ministers? *Our Church says that it is.*'

So wrote one of the ablest and best instructed Bishops which have adorned,—we will say,—the House of Lords—Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter. To whom? To the Dean of his Cathedral. On what subject? Confession and Absolution. In what year? 1852.

I cannot refrain from making two more extracts from a letter which, for its knowledge, its reasoning power, its courage, and its eloquence, will long survive its writer :—

'And here,' the Bishop says, 'I must, in the outset, express my regret that your whole discourse, with a trifling exception which I am about to notice, was directed to an exposure of the unsoundness of the doctrine of Rome respecting Confession and Absolution,—

a very legitimate subject of discussion, I admit ; but one which at all times, and especially at the present, requires to be accompanied with a statement of the true doctrine on this point, as it has been always maintained in the Catholic Church, and most expressly in our own branch of it.'

Then let us listen to the just severity of the following rebuke :—

'Why is it that in the whole compass of your argument, set forth at a time when you must know that there is the wildest, the most ignorant, the most presumptuous, the most schismatical clamour from the vulgar of all ranks, against all priestly absolution, whether of the Church of England or of the Church of Rome—why is it that you say not one single word in favour of the former—do not attempt to mark the distinction which separates truth from falsehood, the doctrine of your own Church from that which for three centuries it has ever faithfully renounced—but pour forth all your eloquence and open all the vials of your righteous wrath against a tenet which you tell me in your letter you do not believe that any one minister of Christ in this diocese really holds, though a senseless Babel of ultra-Protestants professes to believe—and some of the number perhaps really believe—is held and practised by many amongst us ?'

Leaving the consideration of the unhappy, rash, and ignorant manner in which this subject has been so recently dealt with, we propose to make some remarks on the history and law relating to Confession, first, generally in Christendom, and then specially in this kingdom, both before and after that epoch generally known as the Reformation. It may be permitted to us to make some prefatory observations on what may perhaps be called the philosophy of the subject.

In accordance with his own moral attributes God has so constituted the moral nature of man that sin is a burthen and a torment to him, because his conscience, the divinely implanted monitor, perpetually represents to him that he is responsible for following the guidance of evil passions, and this whether the sin be done openly or in secret. In the former case he is often visited by the censure of his fellow-men as well as of his conscience, and driven by their joint pressure to attempt an expiation of the sin. In the latter case the pressure is often more severe, the secrecy is found to add to the torment, to sharpen 'the thorns which in the bosom lodge to prick and sting,' and, as it were, to increase the guilt. The secret stripes of the 'animus tortor' are more difficult to bear than the open punishment, and well said the heathen moralist—

'Ne tamen hos tu
Evasisse putes, quos diri conscia facti

Mens habet attonitos et surdo verberare cædit,
 Occulto quatiante animo tortore flagello.
 Pœna autem vehemens, at multo sævior illis
 Quos et cædicius gravis invenit et Rhadamanthus,
 Nocte dieque suum gestare in pectore testem.'

The sinner has always in his ear the dreadful notice that perfect concealment of his sin is impossible ; to God it must be known, and again the heathen says—

*ἀνθρώπους μὲν σὺ λήσεις, ἁτοπὸν τι ποιήσας,
 οὐ λήσεις δὲ θεοῦς, οὐδὲ λογιζόμενος.*

Then comes the natural desire for pardon ; reason suggests that this must be obtained by some kind of expiation, and this expiation seems to require revelation of the sin, and, as far as possible, satisfaction for the injury done by it to other persons. The voice of Revelation confirms and directs the craving of nature.

The Jews had every year a day of expiation for all Israel, on which confession was made severally by each individual, and by the High Priest for all.

He made confession for the sins of the whole nation, for his own personal sins, for those of his family and of his order. The Jews had also voluntary confessions accompanying or preceding the abandonment of an evil course of life. Moreover, their law imposed upon them the obligation of a special confession, for which there was a distinct Hebrew name, of particular faults. The words of their law are as follows :—

'When a man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit, to do a trespass against the Lord, and that person be guilty, then they shall confess their sin that they have done.'—Num. v. 6.

'And it shall be, when he shall be guilty in one of these things, that he shall confess that he hath sinned in that thing.'—Lev. v. 5.

Joshua exhorted Achan :—

'My son, give, I pray thee, glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession unto Him, and tell me now what thou hast done ; hide it not from me.'—Josh. vii. 19.

And we read of S. John the Baptist, who, not improbably, had in view this custom of the Jews, that the inhabitants of the 'land of Judea, and they of Jerusalem, were all baptized of him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins.'—S. Mark i. 5.

The teaching of our Lord may be, with reverence, shortly stated to be that, as Baptism had restored fallen man to

that union with God which inherited sin had broken, so for sin committed after Baptism, pardon and reconciliation were to be obtained through Repentance, which included Contrition and Confession, and was followed by Absolution. For our Lord tells his disciples :—

‘As my Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. . . .’

‘Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.’—S. John xx. 2.

This is the great text upon which the Church has always rested the authority of her priests to remit the sins of the penitent and retain those of the impenitent.

Passing on to the period of the Church when governed by the Apostles in person, we find that multitudes resorted to them for the purpose of confession :—

‘Many that believed came and confessed, and shewed their deeds.’
—Acts xix. 18.

And we find a very remarkable instance of their exercising the power of retaining sin in the case of Simon Magus (Acts viii. 18-24).

And here it may be well to observe that the necessity of a confession preceding the reception of the Lord's Supper became at a very early period the doctrine of all branches of the Church, and so continues to be up to the present time. The controversy has been, and is, as to the character and circumstances of that confession.

Turning to what is called the sub-Apostolic period of the Church, we meet almost directly with the expression *exomologesis*, denoting a full and open confession of sin in the ecclesiastical assembly, and designed by Tertullian to be a discipline of humiliation: he complains that men would rather their sores should fester in silence than be revealed and healed; his words are very apposite to the whole question which we are considering :—

‘Pudoris magis memores quam salutis: velut illi qui in partibus vercundioribus corporis contractâ vexatione, conscientiam medentium vitant, et ita cum erubescentiâ suâ pereunt’—(*De Penit.* c. 10, cited by Hooker, b. vi.).

This ordeal of public confession appears to have been preceded by a private confession to a priest, though the *exomologesis* was necessary for obtaining Absolution. We learn from a letter of Saint Cyprian (*Ep.* xxvii. 11) what the steps of this penitential discipline then were. In this letter he

rebukes certain priests for communicating with the *lapsi*—those who had fallen off from the faith—without the regular process of penitence having been undergone, for he says—

‘In minoribus delictis, quæ non in Deum committuntur, pœnitentia agatur justo tempore, et exomologesis fiat inspectâ ejus vitâ, qui agit pœnitentiam, nec ad communicationem venire quis possit, nisi prius illi ab episcopo et clero manus fuerit imposita.’

As time went on, the Western Church, both in Europe and Africa, but chiefly in Rome, placed the authority as to confession in the hands of the Bishops. ‘Les évêques,’ Fleury (l. 19) truly says, ‘en étoient encore les ministres ordinaires en Occident’ (this was about 390 A.D.), ‘car on n’avoit recours à ce remède que pour les grandes péchés qui n’étoient pas frequens entre les Chrétiens.’

The penitential system of the Eastern Christians was a little different. There was a Priest Penitential (*πρεσβύτερος τῆς μετάνοιας*, *presbyter penitentiarius*) in every diocese, to whom the Bishop confided the examination of penitents. It was his duty to prescribe the penitence proper for each offence.

It happened that in 390 A.D., when Nectarius was Bishop of Constantinople, a certain woman of quality, in her confession, accused a deacon of guilty conduct towards her. A great scandal was created, and Nectarius, under the advice of Eudemon, abolished the office of Priest Penitential, and public confession was abandoned in the Greek Church, while as to private confession men returned to their former liberty, noted by Origen, of having recourse, or not, as they thought best, to a spiritual physician. To this day confession is voluntary and optional in the Greek Church.

Leo I., who became Pope A.D. 440, wrote a remarkable letter to the Bishop of Fréjus (Fleury, l. 29, f. 15) A.D. 452, in which, and, in a subsequent letter, A.D. 459, to some Italian Bishops, after speaking of Confession, Satisfaction, and Reconciliation as the necessary parts of that Penitence which restored the penitent to a participation of the Sacraments, and after dwelling on the scandal of public confessions, he said it sufficed if the penitent confessed first to God and afterwards to a priest secretly. Hooker justly and beautifully says with regard to these public confessions that ‘the love’ which in former days ‘kept all things in tune’ was gone, schisms, discords, dissensions had sprung up, and the consequence of public confessions had become ‘faults, not corrected in charity, but noted with delight, and kept for malice to use

when the deadliest opportunities should be offered'—(Book vi.) There is no evidence that Confession was treated at this time as a Sacrament. But as we advance towards mediæval times we see that the subject of Confession has undergone that process of development which Rome has found always, but especially in modern times, so necessary for the maintenance of claims which she knows have no warrant from history or primitive use. At the date of the fourth Lateran Council, A.D. 1215, which ordered (Can. 21) confession to be made at least once a year to the parish priest, the *pœnitentia sacramentalis* (the sacrament of penance) had become established, and a new Sacrament created, which, as subsequently moulded by the Council of Trent (Ses. 14) and the Roman Catechism, took this form. The *materia* of the Sacrament is Confession (*confessio*), in a sense which includes Contrition (*contritio cordis*) and the enumeration of certain graver sins (*peccata mortalia, graviora et mortifera*), for which, unlike the lessersins (*peccata venialia*), without this special confession, the Sacrament was inoperative. It includes also a satisfaction (*satisfactio*) through outward penitential acts; for the opinion prevailed that, apart from the duty of making restitution to injured man, the penances ordered by the Church might be considered as *satisfaction* made to God. The term *satisfactio*, Tertullian, in his work *De Pœnitentiâ*, had borrowed from the Roman Law, with which he was conversant. These elements are declared to be requisite to perfect the *matter* of the Sacrament (*ad integritatem sacramenti*).

The *form* of the Sacrament is supplied by the minister when he pronounces the words 'Ego absolvo te,' and this Penitential Sacrament, being an act of spiritual jurisdiction, can only be administered by a beneficed parish priest, or some person specially authorised by the Bishop, who may reserve difficult cases for his own consideration and control.

The Greek Church adopts the precatory form of Absolution; the language of their Prayer-Book on this subject is so beautiful and so little known, that we set it out at length:

ΕΥΧΗ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΟΙΣ ΟΝΤΩΝ, ΚΑΙ ΕΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΟΡΚΩΔΕΣΜΟΥΝΤΩΝ.

Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁ πάντα δεσμὸν ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν τῷ σὺ πάθει διαβρῆξας, καὶ ἐμφυσήσας εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν Ἀποστόλων, καὶ εἰπόν· Λάβετε Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον· ἂν τινων ἀφῆτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἀφίενται αὐτοῖς· ἂν τινων κρατῆτε, κεκράτηνται· σὺ Δέσποτα, διὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου Ἀποστόλων, ἐχαρίσω τοὺς κατὰ κυρὸν ἱερογούσιν ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ σου Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐπὶ γῆς ἀφίεναι τὰς ἁμαρ-

τίας, καὶ δεσμεῖν, καὶ λύειν πάντα σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας. Δεόμεθα οὖν καὶ νῦν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν (τοῦ δεινός) τοῦ παρεστηκότος ἐνώπιόν σου. Ἐπιχορήγησον αὐτῷ τὸ σὸν ἔλεος, διαβρῆσων αὐτοῦ τὸν δεσμόν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἴτι ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἢ ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἐλάλησεν, ἢ ὑπὸ μικροψυχίας ἔπραξεν, εἰδὼς τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν, καὶ, ὡς φιλόανθρωπος καὶ ἀγαθὸς Δεσπότης, πάντα τὰ ἐκούσια καὶ τὰ ἀκούσια ἁμαρτήματα συγχώρησον αὐτῷ· ὅτι σὺ εἰ ὁ λύων τοὺς πεπεδημένους, ὁ ἀνορθῶν τοὺς κατεβράχυνμένους, ἢ ἐλπίς τῶν ἀπηλπισμένων, ἢ ἀνάπαισις τῶν πεπτωκότων, καὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τοῦτον ἐλευθέρωσον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσμοῦ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων.

“Ὅτι δεδόξασαί σου τὸ πανάγιον ὄνομα, σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ σου Πνεύματι, νῦν κ.τ.λ.—(‘Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μεγα’). Ἐν Βενετία, 1869.)

We have now given a sketch, necessarily imperfect, of the law and practice on this important question, so far as primitive usage, the Greek Church, the early Latin Church, the Mediæval Church, the Tridentine Church, are concerned; and upon this part of the subject, in the sober and weighty words of Hooker—

‘To conclude, we everywhere find the use of Confession, especially public, allowed of and commended by the Fathers; but that extreme and rigorous necessity of auricular and private confession, which is at this day so mightily upheld by the Church of Rome, we find not. First, it was not then the faith and doctrine of God’s Church, as of the Papacy at this present. Secondly, that the only remedy for sin after baptism is sacramental penitency. Thirdly, that confession in secret is an essential part thereof. Fourthly, that God Himself cannot now forgive sin without the priest; that because forgiveness at the hands of the priest must arise from confession in the offenders, therefore, to confess unto him is a matter of such necessity, as being not either in deed, or, at the least, in desire performed, excludeth utterly from all pardon, and must consequently in Scripture be commanded wheresoever any promise of forgiveness is made. No, no; these opinions have youth in their countenance, antiquity knew them not; it never thought nor dreamed of them’—(*Eccles. Pol.*, Book vi. p. 183.)

We will now consider the position which the doctrine of Confession has attained in the English branch of the Catholic Church. This part of the subject admits of three divisions: 1. From the introduction of Christianity to the Middle Ages. 2. From them to the Reformation. 3. Since that period to the present time.

With respect to the first division, the practice of the Catholic Church in England did not differ in any material circumstance from that of the Roman or Greek Church.

With respect to the second division, the practice of the Church in England became identified with that of the Roman, and not with that of the Greek, Church.

To this period belongs some notice of a remarkable instrument of penitential discipline.

The *Libri Pœnitentiales*, or *Penitentials*, were a collection of orders or directions in accordance with which certain spiritual punishments were inflicted upon notorious sinners. Some such orders are to be found in the early Councils of Elvira (310 A.D.) and Ancyra (314 A.D.) They are also to be found in the answers of Bishops to questions put to them in letters, afterwards collected in a separate volume. Many were furnished by Fathers and divines of the Greek Church. In the Latin Church S. Cyprian was the author of a treatise or collection on the subject, which has been lost. But the great work on the subject, and practically the model upon which subsequent works of this kind were framed, was the *Pœnitentiale* of Theodorus, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was consecrated 668 A.D., and died 692 A.D. It was adopted by Egbert, and was promulgated by repeated copies as late as the end of the eleventh century. It was freely used by later Bishops, who are, however, accused of burying the original under the variations which they introduced. This extraordinary work, if it ever attained its end of penitential discipline, had ceased to do so before the end of the eleventh century.

The minute specification of various degrees of sin, the severity of the punishments, the attempt to graduate the penance, led perhaps irresistibly by their own nature, but aided by the analogy of the Saxon civil law, to the substitution for the spiritual penance of commutations in money payments or assignments of lands; men became accustomed to rest upon this substitution as a complete satisfaction for their sins. It is, moreover, scarcely possible that the enumeration of almost every imaginable grade of sin, in thought or deed, should not tend to defile the consciences of the administrators of the system. It may be true that the coarseness and simplicity of the natures which Theodorus had to deal with might require a mode of treatment which, as civilisation advanced, became useless or mischievous. It is true that the tendency to gloss over vice, to soften its evil, adorn or render less repulsive its natural features, is the plague-spot of later times, and perhaps essentially of the present; it is true that modern modes of obtaining the end which the *Pœnitentiale* had in view may be open to grave objections: nevertheless experience seems to fortify reason in condemning the system upon which this great work was built.

The injunction of the 20th Canon of the fourth Council

of Lateran (A.D. 1215), 'omnis utriusque sexûs,' which appears to have been speedily received in England, and to have been commented upon by John Athon in his gloss upon the *Constitutions* of Otho about A.D. 1290, was stringently enforced in England by a synod holden at Lambeth A.D. 1378, and there is no doubt that, for a long time before the reign of Henry VIII., the general teaching of the Church in England had been that Confession was a necessary part of the Penitential Sacrament, obedience to and observance of which were necessary for salvation. The same inference is to be deduced from the language of John de Burgh's *Pupilla Oculi*, written about A.D. 1385, and from the *Commentary* of the celebrated Lyndwood, dating about A.D. 1446. The statute 31 H. VIII. c. 14, declared that 'auricular confession was expedient and necessary to be retained, continued, and used in the Church of God.' The Ten Articles of A.D. 1536, the *Institution of a Christian Man*, and the later revised form of it, *The Erudition for any Christian Man*, do not substantially vary the mediæval doctrine on this subject.

The Western Church had, therefore, made forgiveness of sins dependent on private confession to a priest. For this restriction of Divine grace in Absolution there was no warrant in Scripture, or in the Primitive Church, as evidenced by her practice, her rituals, or her penitential books.

The Eastern Church, as has been shown, did not fall into this error. We now approach the third division, or that era when the Catholic branch of the Church in England purged herself from this as from other Roman innovations, and returned to the true Catholic usage and teaching on this subject.

The Order of the Communion, the Exhortation, A.D. 1548, contains these words:—

'And if there be any of you, whose conscience is troubled and grieved in anything, lacking comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other *discreet and learned Priest*, taught in the Law of God, and confess and open his sin and grief secretly, that he may receive such ghostly counsel, advice, and comfort, that his conscience may be relieved, and that of us, as a minister of God and of the Church, he may receive comfort and absolution, to the satisfaction of his mind, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness: requiring such as shall be satisfied with a general confession, not to be offended with them that do use, and their further satisfying, the auricular and secret confession to the Priest; nor those also, which think it needful or convenient, for the quietness of their own consciences, particularly to open their sins to the Priest, to be offended with them which are satisfied with their humble confession to God, and the general con-

fession to the Church, but in all these things to follow and keep the rule of Charity ; and every man to be satisfied with his own conscience, not judging other men's minds or acts, whereas he hath no warrant of God's word for the same.'—(*Liturgical Services of Edward VI.*, Ed. 1844.)

In the first Book of Common Prayer, A.D. 1549, the Exhortation to the Communion contains, with a very trifling exception, this same passage.

In the Order for the Visitation of the Sick in the same book, the Rubric says :—

' Here shall the sick person make a special confession, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession the Priest shall absolve him after this form : and the same form of absolution shall be used in all private confessions. Then follows this prayer :—

' Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to His Church to absolve all sinners, which truly repent and believe in him, of His great mercy forgive thee thine offences ; and by His authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.—Amen.'

In 'The Form of Ordering Priests' in the same book :—

' The Bishop with the Priests present shall lay their hands upon the head of every one that receive Orders, the receivers humbly kneeling on their knees, and the Bishop saying—

' " Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven ; and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained ; and be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God and His Holy Sacraments,"' &c.

In the second Prayer-Book, A.D. 1552, the language is the same on this matter. In the last and present Prayer-Book, A.D. 1661, the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, it is said :—

' Here shall the sick person be *moved* (this word here inserted first time is not unimportant) to make a special confession of his sins if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession, the Priest shall absolve him, if he humbly and heartily desire it.'

In the Homily, A.D. 1562, which has the Sermon on Common Prayer and Sacraments (Part i.), it is said :—

' Absolution is no *such* Sacrament as the Baptism and the Communion are . . . but in a general acceptation the name of a Sacrament may be attributed to anything whereby an holy thing is signified.'

This is consistent with the twenty-fifth of the Thirty-

nine Articles, which affirms that Penance is not to be counted for a Sacrament. In the Sermon in the Homilies of Repentance (Part ii.), Confession and Absolution are said to be not generally essential for the pardon of sin.

The 113th Canon (A.D. 1603), which is binding on the Clergy, is as follows:—

‘ 113. Ministers may present.

‘ Because it often cometh to pass, that the churchwardens, sidemen, questmen, and such other persons of the laity as are to take care for the suppression of sin and wickedness in their several parishes, as much as in them lieth, by admonition, reprehension, and denunciation to their Ordinaries, do forbear to discharge their duties therein, either through fear of their superiors, or through negligence, more than were fit, the licentiousness of these times considered ; we ordain, that hereafter every Parson and Vicar, or, in the lawful absence of any Parson or Vicar, then their curates and substitutes, may join in every presentment with the said churchwardens, sidemen, and the rest above mentioned, at the times hereafter limited, if they, the said churchwardens and the rest, will present such enormities as are apparent in the parish ; or if they will not, then every such Parson and Vicar, or in their absence, as aforesaid, their curates, may themselves present to their Ordinaries at such times, and when else they think it meet, all such crimes as they have in charge or otherwise, as by them (being the persons that should have the chief care for the suppressing of sin and impiety in their parishes) shall be thought to require due reformation. Provided always, that if any man confess his secret and hidden sins to the Minister, for the unburdening of his conscience, and to receive spiritual consolation and ease of mind from him ; we do not any way bind the said Minister by this our Constitution, but do straitly charge and admonish him, that he do not at any time reveal and make known to any person whatsoever any crime or offence so committed to his trust and secrecy (except they be such crimes as by the laws of this realm his own life may be called into question for concealing the same), under pain of irregularity.’

The Irish Convocation of A.D. 1634, when Ussher was Primate and Bramhall Bishop of Derry, by their nineteenth Canon ordered that:—

‘ The Minister of every parish shall the afternoon before the said administration (of the Lord’s Supper) give warning by the tolling of the bell, or otherwise, to the intent, that if any have any scruple of conscience, or desire the special ministry of reconciliation, he may afford it to those that need it. And to this end the people are often to be exhorted to enter into a special examination of the state of their own souls ; and finding themselves either extremely dull, or much troubled in mind, they do resort to God’s Ministers to receive from them as well advice and counsel for the quickening of their dead

hearts and the subduing of those corruptions whereunto they have been subject as the benefit of absolution, likewise for the quieting of their conscience by the power of the keys, which Christ hath committed to his Ministers for that purpose.'

The sixty-fourth Canon charged all Ministers not to reveal offences communicated to them in private confession.

A very important and interesting incident to the subject of Confession is adverted to in the foregoing references, namely, the sacredness of the disclosure made to the Priest, *sub sigillo confessionis*, and its inviolability even in a court of justice. There is no doubt that in England, before the reign of Henry VIII., this inviolability was a recognised privilege of Confession. No court of justice would have compelled the confessor to reveal the communication of his penitent.

By a statute of New York it is enacted that—

'No Minister of the Gospel, or Priest of any denomination whatsoever, shall be allowed to disclose any confessions made to him in his professional character in the course of discipline enjoined by the rules or practice of such denomination'—(Phillimore's *Ecc. Law*, v. i. 704.)

And Bonnier, in his *Traité des Preuves*, § 179, speaking of the recognition of the principle by the French law, says most truly :—

'Le système contraire détruirait la confiance qui seule peut amener le repentir, en donnant au prêtre les apparences d'un délateur, d'autant plus odieux qu'il serait revêtu d'un caractère sacré.

Nevertheless, the judicial, or, perhaps, rather the *extra-judicial* opinion in England, has been adverse to the claim of inviolability ; but the reasoning of Mr. Best, in his work *On the Principles of Evidence* (p. 690), and the very careful and learned treatise of Mr. Badeley (A.D. 1865), may not improbably, should the question ever be raised, lead the English courts of justice to decide in favour of the inviolability, and bring the English law on this point into harmony with that of other Christian States—(Walter's *Kirchenrecht*, § 286, citing 'The Catholic Question in America.' New York, A.D. 1813).

That Hooker confessed to Saravia is well known ; as, it would seem, Evelyn did to Jeremy Taylor. The following extract is from *Evelyn's Diary* :—

'March 18, 1655. Went to London on purpose to hear that excellent preacher, Dr. Jeremy Taylor, on Matt. xiv. 17, showing

what were the conditions of obtaining eternal life ; also concerning abatements for unavoidable infirmities, how cast on the accoupts of the Crosse. On the 31st I made a visit of Dr. Jeremy Taylor to conferr with him on spiritual matters, using him from thenceforward as my ghostly father. I beseech God Almighty to make me ever mindful of, and thankful, for his heavenly assistances.'

The office of Confessor to the King's household (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, A.D. 1625-6, pp. 133-149) existed till a very late period. It was holden, we believe, by the predecessor of the present Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal at St. James's. We are not certain whether the present Sub-Dean does or does not hold this office.

As to the lawfulness and, in certain cases, the expedience of private confession, and as to the power and duty of the Priest to absolve, the authority of a long *catena* of English divines, from Hooker to Keble, might be cited. We will be content with two citations from a source which no English Churchman can gainsay :—

'Moreover,' says the great Barrow, 'if persons, having committed notorious enormities, adjudged of a deadly and destructive nature ("sins unto death" S. John calls them), inconsistent with the state of grace, and scandalous to the Christian profession, are therefore justly secluded from communion of the Church ; when upon submission to the penances enjoined, and satisfactory demonstrations of repentance, they are resumed into the body of the Church, we may be assured that (according to the Catholic resolution against the Novatians), supposing the repentance true and real, *their sins are remitted, and they are restored to a state of grace.*

'The Church (to which the public and ordinary dispensations of God's grace, according to the dispositions and conditions which He hath declared and required in order to men's becoming capable thereof, are *committed*) hath sufficient warrant to receive such persons into a state of grace and reconciliation with God. *So that we need not doubt but whose sins they shall thus remit, shall in effect (according to our Saviour's word) be remitted ; whom they shall thus absolve on earth, they shall be absolved in Heaven.*'—(Barrow, *Power of the Keys*, vol. vi. p. 426.)

'1. They do remit sins *dispositivè*, by working in persons fit dispositions, upon which remission of sins, by God's promise, is consequent—the dispositions of faith and repentance.

'2. They remit or retain sins (*declarativè*) as the ambassadors of God, in His name pronouncing the word of reconciliation to the penitent, and denouncing wrath to the obstinate sinner.

'3. They remit sins *impetrativè*, obtaining pardon for sinners by their prayers, according to that of S. James : "Is any man sick among you ? let him call the elders of the Church, and let them pray over him ; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord

shall raise him up ; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him."

'4. They remit sins *dispensative*, by *consigning pardon* in administration of the Sacraments, *especially* in conferring baptism, whereby, duly administered and undertaken, all sins are washed away ; and in the absolving of penitents, wherein grace is exhibited and ratified by imposition of hands, the which S. Paul calls *χαρίζεσθαι*; and bestow grace or favour on the penitent.'—(*Ib.* vol. vi. p. 56.)

We have set before our reader all the material formularies of our Church on this matter of penitential discipline, with the object of inducing him to form an honest judgment from them as to what really is the teaching of our Church. The subject has been so obscured by men's passions in controversy that we think, even by the placing these formularies in their historical order, and using their own language, we do a service to the cause of truth. It is, of course, one thing to say what the plain teaching of these formularies is, and quite another what, according to some men's opinions, it ought to be. We understand the desire of the Society for Revising the Prayer-Book—to whose Report we have referred at the head of this article—to get rid of the language, which is in direct opposition to their wishes on this subject, and to strip the Church of its Catholic character ; but we do not understand how this Society can, while this language does remain unaltered and the Church does remain Catholic, think it just or right to censure and abuse those who act in accordance with the language taken in its natural sense, of which, because it does justify them, the Society complains, and which, on this account, it strives to alter.

It is, however, no new thing that passion, and especially in religious matters, should be illogical. The truth is that such opinions are plainly founded upon the venerable fallacy of begging the question. 'I am right, and you are wrong,' said the Inquisition, and 'I will torment and burn you for your good, mind, if you differ from me.' So it is with these Societies ; it is the same language of persecution, though the milder and circuitous form of depriving a man of his house and home, and reducing him and his family to beggary, be substituted for the readier and rougher expedient of physical torturing and burning.

We will end by a succinct statement of the conclusions to which we think the foregoing authorities legally and judicially lead us :

1. That the Catholic Church in England does not, as a general rule, advise or encourage private confession.

2. That there is no authority in this Church, any more than in the Eastern Church, to enforce private confession in any case.

3. That the priests of this Church are bound to receive the confession of the penitent who desires to confess. That the layman has a right in this matter ; the priest a co-relative duty. It is not the law that 'therein the patient must minister to himself.' He is entitled to the aid of the spiritual physician 'to cleanse the stuffed bosom of that perilous stuff that weighs upon the heart.'

4. Lastly, that the duly ordained priest has received power to forgive and to retain sins of those who are 'subjectos ejus.'

ART. X.—THE PLACE OF CONFESSION IN THE CHURCH'S SYSTEM.

1. *The Freedom of Confession in the Church of England.* A Letter to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. By the Rev. T. T. CARTER, Rector of Clewer, Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. (Rivingtons, London.)
2. *Confession in the Church of England.* A Sermon preached in Llandaff Cathedral, July 29, 1877, by J. J. STEWART PEROWNE, D.D., Canon of Llandaff, Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, and Hon. Chaplain to the QUEEN. (Macmillan and Co., London.)

THE history of the Anglican Revival is a continuous illustration of the difficulties which beset the resuscitation of neglected truths. It is also a continuous illustration of the difficulties and the dangers which wait upon that restoration of disused practices which follows on the reception of the truths in question. Happily, we may add that in it we see also abundant examples of the way in which time and the gradual growth of better understanding work in aid of those to whom Providence has assigned the task of resuscitation.

At first everything seems arrayed against the courageous few who lead the way ; and too often their fate, so far as their temporal fortunes are concerned, is but too similar to that of the best and bravest of a forlorn hope in war. This is most conspicuously true in those cases where the truths are deepest and most wide-reaching, and especially where they affect the motives as well as the minds of men the most

profoundly. A proposition of Euclid rouses no passions either in attack or defence. It touches no motive ; it rests in the mind alone. But let a truth be ever so dimly felt to be a call to moral action, and then its promulgation at once acts as a trumpet-call to the vast mass of inertia which pervades mankind, and which for the nonce throws off its character of *inertia* to support with might and main whatever arguments or advocates can be found to challenge or to combat the unwelcome intruder.

But it is not only the champions of neglected truths on whose first steps peculiar dangers wait. The resuscitated truths themselves, together with the correlated duties and practices, come in for their share as well. They too have to run the gauntlet of risks and dangers which, unless the truths are truths indeed, and as such may be regarded as under the real though unseen guardianship of the God of Truth, might well be thought only too certain to prove fatal. A truth or a doctrine may in itself be absolute truth, but it has to be presented to mankind through the not infallible medium of the human intellect, and by the not inerrant agency of human character. The deeper the truth, the more sure it is to be many-sided, and therefore not taken in at first in all its bearings by the minds of its earlier advocates. The greater its potency as a motive to action, the more surely it rouses to eager, and not always balanced, zeal, the characters which first fall under its power. It is only after time and reflection have done their part that men may (if ever) be said to possess truths. Until then it is more true to describe them as being themselves possessed by the truths, and subjected to an impulsive force which at first transcends their control. There is often something quasi-Pentecostal (would that there were also the Pentecostal grace!) about the way in which a new, or—which comes to the same thing—a newly resuscitated truth comes down upon the souls of those whom it selects as its first recipients. It comes with a wafture and a swoop, it seizes upon them, it carries them away, it makes them its apostles and missionaries, they speak new thoughts in words not always accurately fitted to ideas as yet only half familiar and partially comprehended, so that unless there were a Providence at work, either to guide the tongues of men, or to guard the truth from the consequences of unwary utterances, its peril would be great indeed. And if it is thus with the men of larger soul and generous self-surrender, what shall we say of the dangers to a new manifestation of latent truth from the

shallower-hearted many? There is ever—especially in days of superficial culture and restless movement—there is ever a class of men to whom any novelty is welcome, because of the notoriety which can accrue to its self-constituted advocates. There are men who have no *vie intérieure*, men whom truth does not *awe*, whose souls truth does not penetrate, but to whom it is not so much a reality as a topic to be tossed to and fro, in debate and discussion : and who can wonder if a heedless world often fails to feel the awfulness of the most solemn verities, when we remember that it is the surface current of debate, not the deeper waters of conviction, which meet its observation? So it is well indeed if the first launching of such truths incurs no worse mischief than some touch of minor exaggeration, such as in the case of religious truth may find ready adjustment by ‘the analogy of the Faith.’

Prominent among the illustrations of these remarks which the Anglican Revival affords, stands the instance of Confession. In practical abeyance for generations, whether we regard the doctrines on which it rests or the practice which is the outcome of the doctrines, it has, during the last thirty years, been taking fast hold of hearts and consciences among the serious and the devout. It could not be otherwise. The deeper views which have been steadily making their way, first, as to the nature and reality of sin and the counter-reality of holiness, and next as to the divinely appointed, provisions for the counteraction of the one, and the promotion of the other, have borne their fruit. The cold morality which pervaded the public teaching of the Church during the latter portion of the eighteenth century, as it did little to probe the conscience, so it did little to rouse the sense of sin or to exhibit its nature. Of sin as a deadly reality in us, as a real power inevitably ruinous to the soul unless supernatural forces were brought to bear for its counteraction, little was said in the popular theology. The Evangelical Revival insisted abundantly on human corruption, but was conspicuously defective in its exhibition of the ‘means of grace’ divinely appointed, not merely for the counteraction of sin, but for the promotion of holiness. Personally excellent, as were the Evangelical leaders, their theory of religion—let us be pardoned the expression—narrowed itself down to a doctrine of faith, which eventuated, as all testimony shows, in the development of an Antinomianism which practically fostered the very corruption which they denounced. Fixing their whole gaze on the doctrine of

Grace, they overlooked the means of grace. Defective in their moral philosophy as well as in their theology, they even seemed to imagine that to insist strongly on the means of grace was to disparage the sovereignty of Divine grace itself; much as if an engineer were to think that the care bestowed on the mechanism of his locomotive showed an inadequate appreciation of the expansive force of steam.

The doctrine of the Anglican Revival was larger, wider, more comprehensive. As contrasted with the Evangelical its peculiarities were these. First it taught not merely the doctrine of human corruption, but of sin as a potent ever-acting force, requiring definite agencies to counteract its operation—agencies strictly supernatural in respect of the forces which were at work, but strictly natural in this, that they must work according to the laws of that human nature on which they operate. Next it held up to view the whole order of the Church as a divinely organised system for applying those supernatural powers to the quelling of sin and the development of holiness. It exhibited the Church in all its ordinances and rites, its sacraments and its ministry, as a system specifically adapted to our human nature, working by methods germane to the nature it had to influence, but at the same time charged with virtue from a higher world, and of a divine and spiritual order, since nothing less could avail for the counteraction of original corruption, for the suppression of actual sin, and for originating, sustaining, and fostering a new and divine life within the soul. It set forth the Church system as very complex and varied because it had to enfold the whole complex being and life of man, to touch it not only at its centre, but at every point in its circumference and every stage of its probation. And it set it forth as one in which the visible agencies were of necessity of the human order, while the powers acting through those agencies were of the Divine. In a word, the Anglican Revival supervened upon the Evangelical with the exhibition of the full-orbed round of the ancient doctrine of the Church and the means of grace, with all that those words involve of Christian sacraments, Christian priesthood, authorised forms of worship, stated means of communion with God, all of which should have the double force both of *reminding* the Christian of his privileges and of affording him the means and occasion of their participation.

Consider for a moment the contrast between the two systems. You seem to pass into a new world. Not that the latter is contrary to the former, but that in it you seem to enter—

may, rather you actually do enter—a divinely ordered kosmos, a kosmos divinely ordered for the effecting that of which the Evangelical Revival had confessed the need while it failed to recognise the supply. For the weak point of the Evangelical Revival lay in this—that it did not sufficiently recognise that God had not merely vouchsafed His Personal graces to individuals, but also surrounded them with a system adapted to draw out into force and action the results of His secret operation—in a word, the Kingdom of Grace. It would be strange indeed if a doctrine so powerful and so far-reaching as this, coming among us after long suspension and answering to the felt needs of tens of thousands of souls—a doctrine so many-sided, and therefore affording so many points of misapprehension—should take its place without causing some disturbance in the mental and moral atmospheres, without suffering exaggeration at the hands of those who welcomed it, untold misrepresentations from those who rejected it. Far otherwise has been the experience of the last thirty years. But the experience has not been a discouraging one. Men who are not yet old can recognise not merely the wider area over which these truths are accepted, but what we consider to be at least of equal consequence, the larger number of aspects and departments of truth which are accepted, and the diminution of unhealthy excitement about the way in which they are regarded, in proportion as they have settled down among the everyday factors of Christian thought and life. Where now is the furious clamour about the true doctrine of Baptism, with the corresponding outcry at its taking its proper place in the service? Where now the confusion between the Church and the Establishment, and the passionate frenzy which was aroused at the bare idea of the Church uttering her voice in her own Synods? We need only refer to the revival of the true doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, accompanied by augmented reverence in its celebration, as well as an unparalleled increase in celebrations, to the revival of daily common prayer, to the restoration of churches; and, indeed, the reference would be needless were it not desirable for the younger among us to be reminded that each and all of these in turn have been the subjects of angry clamour and wild misrepresentation, while in every case the great secular world outside was prompt to range itself on the side of those who opposed the advancing truth. It is only natural, therefore, and in the natural progress of things, that the Doctrine and the Practice of Confession, as one of the agencies conducing to the subdual of sin and the increase of holiness, should become in its turn the object

of heated attack on the one side, and of an indiscriminating advocacy on the other.

We have already pointed out that the whole course of the Anglican Revival has been characterised by the effort at bringing back to their normal use and efficiency those means of grace whereby the soul of man is divinely aided in the struggle against sin and towards holiness. It was with perfect logical accuracy that the first great battle was on the subject of the initiatory Sacrament, that, namely, in which the soul is new born, in which the man becomes a child of God, in which, therefore, the barrier set up by Sin between God and the human soul is done away, and the privilege of sonship, *right of access to the Father*, is actually conveyed to that individual soul. We most of us remember the astounding caricatures of the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration by which it was sought to prejudice people's minds against the Church's doctrine and the Scriptural truth of Holy Baptism. But all was to no purpose. It was of small avail that the Judicial Committee pronounced a judgment which needs no characterising here. The doctrine made its way, and probably there has been no period since the Reformation during which the truth of Baptism has been so widely and so intelligently held as since 1851. We pass over the Eucharistic controversy, and we come to our own immediate subject. The air is full now of angry vituperation and of heated misrepresentation, both of the doctrine and the practice of Confession, just as it was five-and-twenty years ago of that of Baptism. There are thousands and tens of thousands among us who know its value as a most powerful means of grace, but in the absence of authoritative definition, there is or may be almost as much (in reality we think far more) danger to be apprehended from a heated advocacy of it than from any, however violent, denial of its worth. An unjust *attack* on what is good always recoils upon itself, and benefits the cause it sought to crush, and its mischief passes away. An unbalanced *advocacy* leads to erroneous views and to erroneous modes of using the ordinance, and so leaves a permanent wound to the abiding injury of its usefulness for the end for which it was ordained. Its mischief lasts. On all grounds, then, first because of the popular excitement on the subject of Confession; next because of its holding a definite place in that economy of Grace of which we have thus far been speaking, and which place cannot be left unoccupied without damage to those for whose benefit it was divinely ordered; and then, thirdly, because of the mischief which may

accrue if a rash and insufficiently instructed zeal leads to false views of its nature or to wrong modes of its use—on all grounds we feel called upon to contribute what in us lies to a calm judgment on the subject.

Confession, with its correlative Absolution, has a definite place in the Christian system. In the language of the day, it 'supplies a want.' It is one of those 'means,' one of those 'Christian privileges,' by which souls are helped to appropriate to themselves and to utilise the divine help which God places at their disposal in order to enable them to overcome sin and to grow in holiness. The Church's system is a system of such helps, in which God has ordained certain things, persons, and rites to be—(1) witnesses to truths necessary to be believed, and (2) channels of His Spiritual help and strength which are necessary for our spiritual vitality. If men were all spirit, it might be that no such institutions could be required. In that case the regenerated soul once new born (as in Baptism) to be a child of God might draw its help and sustenance direct from God its Father. We do not say it would, we only say that, conceivably, it might. The specific privilege of sonship, as we pointed out above, is *right of access*, and accordingly were men all spirit, the child of God once made a member of Christ might conceivably communicate so directly with Christ its Saviour and with God the Father of spirits as to need no *media* whatever. We only put the case as a thing conceivable and in order to set what follows in a stronger light.

But we are *not* all spirit. To us ideas come and influences filter through the innumerable *media* which stand between us and that spiritual world whence flows that stream of spiritual force and influence which sustains our spiritual being. Consider the multiplicity, the endless variety of the *media* through which, under the existing conditions of our earthly life, influences filter in into our souls, and by which these influences are liable to be modified or obstructed as the case may be. There is our bodily organisation with its constant interference with our spiritual development; there is our mental constitution; there is the framework of society around us with its enormous influence on character (and our character is our *self*); there is the mysterious power of sympathy, by which man acts on man, by which the person or persons we live with modify our character and affect our being without effort, and without either their consciousness or intention. All these things are realities, and from the first commencement of what we may term Organised Religion it has been the Divine method, not only to act directly by the power of the Spirit on our human

spirits, but also to occupy these channels of influence, and (so to speak) to supplement and support His more immediate central action on the soul by the infiltration of Divine Grace and help through these ordinary channels of influence. Does the weight of the world's *inertia* as regards things spiritual, with its intense devotion to things temporal, oppress our souls and infect them with its own deadness? God plants His children in a Church, the spirit of whose citizenship is the exact counterpoise to the danger, and the ennobling influence of our fellowship with the saints in the Kingdom of God, with all its sense of mutual loyalty to that kingdom, stands over against the mundane influences around us. The principle is of universal application, it is this which lies at the root of all visible institutions of worship, it is this which regulates and justifies the employment of art and poetry and music in the service of God, and it culminates in the palmary examples of the Sacraments of the Gospel and the Priesthood of the Church. For what is this principle but that God has chosen to take of the things and the beings He has made and consecrate them to a second and higher service unto Himself, and thus make them not merely declare His Glory, but also convey His Grace. All that exists is God's making, whether in external Nature, or in the nature of Man and of Society; and God is only claiming to use His own when he thus acts. It is mere Manichæism to regard such *media* either as beneath God's using or essentially unfit for His employment. And to speak plain truth, we believe that one lesson to be learned from the religious history of England is that the chief obstacle to the full acceptance of this doctrine lies in that touch of Manichæism which we find in all the more Calvinistic forms of opinion, and which indeed strikes responsive chords in the very nature of many of us. Fanaticism takes kindly to that which is extreme and fierce and gloomy, and Fanaticism after all is but the religion of the untaught and the vulgar. There is much which appeals to the taste for spiritual dram-drinking in the view that

‘Nature’s corrupt *throughout*,¹

A gaudy snake which must be crushed not tamed,
A cage of unclean birds deceitful ever,
Born in the likeness of the fiend, which Adam
Did at the Fall, the Scripture saith, put on.’

¹ Thus the Calvinistic alteration in 1643 of our Ninth Article, made in order to render its sense ‘more express and determinate in favour of Calvinism,’ defines Original Sin as that ‘whereby man is *wholly deprived* of original righteousness’—not merely ‘very far gone from’—as the Article expresses it.

And thus the genuine doctrine of the Church has had in this country to struggle with a double enemy, first the natural antagonism of worldliness and inertia, and secondly that spurious spirituality to which we have just alluded. But now it would seem that the old Calvinistic leaven has largely spent its force, and that the larger, truer, nobler, and more Scriptural view is once more in the ascendant.

The doctrine of Priesthood is an illustration, a special instance, of the principle we have just laid down. That God has employed a Priesthood in His Church merely means that He has chosen to utilise the powers of human nature as He originally created it in Adam, and turn them to account in the work of restoring human nature on the basis of its new creation in Christ. Chief among those facts of human nature stands the power of influence, the influence of mind on mind, of soul on soul, the power which we all know so well, whereby the strong conviction of one is capable almost as if by a mechanical law of passing into and sustaining the other. It is not only that men's minds are channels of ideas the one to the other: the same thing holds good in the moral and spiritual spheres as well. We catch goodness, we catch conviction, we catch spiritual energy from one another by the very law of our being; and this being so, the existence of a Christian Priesthood is, as we said above, only a special case of the employment of the laws of Nature in the service of Grace.

Turn we now to some aspects of that work of Grace. How shall we define it? How shall we describe it? What does it consist in? Does it not, to put it succinctly, consist in (1) the *restoration of union* between God and man, this as a *fact*; (2) the provision for man's obtaining the benefits of this restored union with God, this as a *process*? Man is essentially a dependent Being. Created originally in the Image of God, his *goodness*,—in other words, his continuing to realise the ideal of his Being,—was contingent (1) upon the avenues between his soul and God being kept free and open; (2) upon the communication between God and the soul through these avenues being continuous and unbroken. So, and so alone, could man be and remain what God meant him to be. The Fall marred the union. Sin was a barrier to the free communication. Henceforward the way of access to God was impeded. Man *could* not of himself approach God. And not only so, but the instinct of man told him so. An accusing conscience is no figment of divines. It is a fact in human nature. And what we mean by an accusing con-

science is the witness within man's self that there *is* this barrier which stops the way and would bar the access to the Father of his spirit. Religion, in whatever form we find it, is the universal witness to this want of the soul, viz., the want of restored access. The history of all humanly devised religions is but the history of the ineffectual attempts of the soul to reopen the way to the fountain of health. The history of revealed religion is the history of God's own way of restoring this access, and the *institutions* of revealed religion are the apparatus, the divinely supplied and divinely sanctioned apparatus, of means and methods whereby the soul of man is helped, encouraged, strengthened, and enabled to avail itself of that restored access to the one Fountain of spiritual well-being—in other words, to avail itself of the blessing of actual communion and communication with God. For, next, it must not be imagined that restoration of access is in itself enough. The Fall of Man was not an event in the history of the human soul which stood alone. It had its terrible *sequelæ*. Chief among those *sequelæ* we must no doubt reckon a positive indisposition to be cured of the disease which characterises mankind at large. But what to our minds is perhaps more painful still, we see that even when the sense of sin is roused, there still remains (1) a terrible incapacity for communion with God ; (2) a difficulty in realising that the way really is open—that owing to God's goodness the sin to which conscience bears witness is not allowed to stand in the way of the soul's free access to Him for divine strength to overcome the sin. Sin is a terrible fact. The soul knows it, feels it, realises it. And with the sense of sin comes the *dread* of God—*dread* as distinguished from holy fear. God seems far off. The sin is close to. And besides this *natural* effect of sin upon the soul of which we speak, there is doubtless the supernatural action of the Evil One as well to be taken into account—he, the Evil One, stirring up conscience to morbid action and bringing the soul to feel or fancy that, whatever may be the case with others, in *its* case at least the barrier stands unremoved, and that the free communion with God by which spiritual health may be restored is out of the question. It is the simplest fact in spiritual pathology that perhaps *the* greatest difficulty of all is to satisfy the soul which is already roused to the need of spiritual healing, the soul which sees and knows that none but God can heal it, the soul which has learned that Divine help is offered to those who seek it—to satisfy that soul that its own case is no exception to the universal scope of God's goodness. The normal action of a roused

conscience is of course to drive man to God the Healer, and of course the first effort of the enemy is to prevent conscience being roused at all. But if, spite of all his efforts, conscience *has* been roused, then like an enemy trying to capture a battery, he tries to seize on conscience and turn its guns against yourself. In actual practice, we repeat, one never feels so bitterly or so keenly what a barrier sin has set up between the soul and God as in the difficulty of bringing the penitent soul to avail itself of that free, open, loving, trusting childlike communion with the Heavenly Father, by means of which alone that daily renewal of its being in which the Christian life consists can be effected. Whatever it be which keeps the soul apart from God, which shall break—we do not fear to use the term—its *contact* with God, whether it be mere human forgetfulness, or slavish dread, or the morbid action of diseased conscience—whatever it be that effects this result, does, so far forth, render the Divine remedy inefficient, Divine grace of none effect.

Feebly and poorly have we tried to speak of bitter and trying realities ; realities known and felt in all their bitterness by thousands of souls ; realities seen, watched, mourned over, and prayed over by hundreds of faithful clergy ; but what then ? It is not alone the sufferers who know these things. It is not only clergymen who have to guide and help them, who know and feel them. God, Who first made and constructed our human nature knows every turn and winding of the complex spiritual being which is His own devising. Christ, who bore our nature, and who re-created it, as well as removed the great sin-barrier we speak of—He knows it inconceivably better than we can describe it. And it is these and kindred needs which supply *one* of the group of reasons why He did not send His message into the world merely as a message, but committed it to a Church with organised institutions, and with an organised ministry, so that each separate soul should *not* stand alone and unaided with the terrible realities of its position holding it back from its well-being, but that it should be encompassed by helps adapted to every kind of human need, helps specifically adapted to its human nature. From this point of view the whole Church system may be described as the multiplication of points of contact between the soul and God, through which the quickening Spirit may act through the avenues of natural means as He acts supernaturally by direct action on the soul. From this point of view the institution of the Priesthood may be described as the way in which God utilises the enormous force which the personality of one human being exercises over another,

whether in the way of carrying conviction to the mind, or of stimulating spiritual energy, or of moulding moral character. Of course, in all that we now write we never forget, and it must be borne in mind throughout that we never forget either the direct central action of God the Holy Ghost upon the human soul, or the fundamental verity of the sole mediation of the ascended Saviour, which, of course, involves the further conception of His unapproachable priesthood. But the whole question before us is that of the organised means by which God has ordained that men shall be brought to realise and to profit by these realities. And chief among these, inasmuch as the influence of man upon man is the greatest force existing in the present state of things,—chief among these is the institution of that human priesthood whose function is to speak of and for Christ, to bring men to Christ, to take of the things of Christ and show them unto men, even as Christ was sent to manifest God to men and to re-unite them to Him. “*As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you.*” The functions of the human priesthood are so manifold that it is as difficult as it is dangerous to speak of one as more important than another. We may, however, perhaps without blame, assign a *central* position to the duty of keeping alive in the minds of men the sense of the reality of what our Lord, in His office of our Priest and Sacrifice, has effected for us, *i.e.*, our reconciliation with God. We have already spoken at some length of the *practical* difficulties which beset individual souls in this particular. Let us now turn to the operation—the normal operation—of the human priesthood in the Church of Christ.

The Church of Christ, then, is an organised system, of which every portion dovetails into another, and the whole contains a complete presentment of the whole orb of truth. We cannot speak of the function and the place of the human priesthood towards the members of the Church without recurring to the question—In what position do the members of that Church stand towards God and Christ? and we cannot answer this question without recurring to the initiatory sacrament of Baptism. For it is obvious that the functions of the human priesthood towards the baptized must be consistent with the position towards God in which the baptized are placed. Otherwise there would be a want of harmony and co-ordination between the several institutions of the Church's Head. Now, in Baptism the human being is placed in the full enjoyment of that right of access to and communion with God which is the sole condition of spiritual vitality, the

sole condition of recovery from sin and sinfulness. In other words, the central 'benefit of Christ's Passion'—the removal of the barrier of sin which barred the communion of the soul with God—is definitely conveyed to the soul. As the specific privilege of a child is that of access to and help from its parent, whatever barriers may stand in the way of others, so with the baptized child of God. *There is no barrier.* Is he the inheritor of a fallen nature? God no longer regards the defilement of that nature as a barrier, but only desires His child to come closer to Him that His divine influences may have full play in daily renewing him until the work of his sanctification is complete. Does he still commit sins, as indeed he must so long as that fallen nature is not utterly eradicated which in this life can never be? God pledges himself not to regard these actual sins as barriers to His loving intercourse and influences, provided the regenerate soul does not make them its own, and thereby *re-build* by its own act that barrier which Christ has removed. But how can we speak of the regenerate soul *not* making them its own, when it has itself been guilty of them? Here comes in the idea of Repentance, and anxious as we are to avoid every theological technicality, and to write in the most popular language, we are compelled here to use the technical word Repentance as summing up in one word that whole act of the soul by which it *repudiates* the sins by which, if *not* so repudiated, it deliberately rebuilds the barrier and so impedes the flow of Divine help to grow good again and become what God meant man to be when He first created him, and what Christ meant to enable him to be when He died and rose again for him. For this *act of repudiation* is itself a complex one; it involves inward sorrow for the sin; and the most ordinary common sense, apart from all revelation, would dictate that it must involve also the overt and outward act of confessing the sin.¹ And the position in which the baptized stand is this—that they are guaranteed that, for the merits of Christ, and as united with Him and thereby God's children, actual sins, when repented and confessed, are not allowed by God to reconstitute the barrier between Himself and them, or to stop the flow of His healing influence into their souls. We quote S. Augustine when we conclude this statement by asserting

¹ We have here omitted the technicality by which the term 'satisfaction' is applied to something subsequent and additional to the confession of the sin, inasmuch as in the primitive church the word applied to God's satisfaction with the inward penitence and change of the person's spiritual attitude towards Himself, rather than to any completion of the penitent's repentance.

'that by its [*i.e.* Baptism] one only ministration it comes to pass that pardon is secured to the faithful of all their sins both before and after their regeneration.'¹ And, immediately after, he speaks of the Lord's Prayer as being 'our daily cleansing,' through our use of its petition 'Forgive us our debts.' Such, then, is the central core and kernel of the truth upon this subject. Subject to the condition of genuine repentance, which to be genuine postulates full and free confession of the sin and prayer for pardon, sins committed by God's children are not allowed by Him to interrupt the filial access to Him on the one hand, or the flow of Divine help on the other. They are not allowed to break that *contact* of the soul with God which is the indispensable means of its daily renewal in God's image. In other words, all such sins are 'forgiven.' Then comes in the consideration to which we adverted some pages back, when we spoke of the *difficulty* experienced by the timid and the fearful—those who, whether from native fearfulness, from disordered conscience, or through those spiritual terrors which Satan knows so well how to handle—in appropriating to themselves this free forgiveness. It is far from being every man's case at once to realise the boundless love of God. Men realise their own sins. They realise them as barriers. They don't so easily realise,—*i.e.* such persons as we have been describing do not realise,—the fulness of the paternal relation of God to their own souls on the one hand, or the fulness of their own filial relation to Him on the other; and thus the direct action between their own soul and God is impeded. What, then, remains? In our view, as Churchmen, clearly this—that God in this, as in almost every other department of Religion, has *not* limited himself to direct action, but has availed Himself of secondary and subsidiary means of influencing the human soul for its own welfare. It seems to be almost *too* elementary a truth to be here adverted to, but really the way in which people ordinarily speak provokes us to repeat it, that while all the benefits of religion are on man's side, all the effort to make men profit by those benefits is on God's side. Is it, therefore, anything surprising that, since God knows all the difficulties we have touched on with a knowledge inconceivably more thorough, and therefore with a pity inconceivably more tender, than ours, He should have availed Himself of the agency of a human priesthood to aid in *convincing* the penitent soul of its acceptance with Him? The penitent *doubts* the genuineness, the thoroughness, the particu-

¹ *De Matrim. et Concupis.* lib. i. cap. xxxiii. T. and T. Clark's Translation.

larity of his secret confession to the Unseen God. He cannot,—his spiritual being is not as yet robust enough,—lean direct upon the Unseen Saviour. The eye and ear of faith are too dim, through long disuse, to see the face, to hear the voice of the pitying and pardoning God. It is in this need that a human voice, a human agent may—by that power of human sympathy, that power of human influence which is natural between man and man—succeed in conveying to the suffering soul that help which it requires, and by the absolving words spoken under the authorisation of the One Priest may give the weak soul that *dead lift upwards* towards God its Father which it cannot get any other way. In fact, in one way or another, the whole ministry of Christ's ambassadors revolves round this central need, and its varied functions either converge into it or radiate from it. To get the soul into direct contact with God, and to take advantage of such contact: this is the one work of all religion, and if it did not seem over-bold, one might say that it would be strange indeed if Jesus Christ set up a Church at all, if He sent ambassadors at all, that they should not be empowered to declare this forgiveness to souls who, though penitent, could not without some help realise their own penitence and His pardon.

Now it is manifest that it is on this principle that the Church of England acts in her official dealing with the subject. Look, first, at her daily offices. In those offices we speak to God and God to us. We address Him with praise and prayer. We hear His voice to us in the reading of His written Word. But before this mutual interchange commences, the office prescribes a Confession, in which each worshipper repudiates those sins which, if not repented and confessed, would bar him from true spiritual participation in the commencing service. Then follows an Absolution, in which, through the commissioned priest, God accepts the confession of each several soul which has duly shared in it. So in the Eucharistic office, of which the very essence consists in the closest contact of the soul with God. Here, again, Confession and Absolution open the way, and the soul whose spiritual health and strength is equal to the appropriation of the absolving grace, the soul whose faith is strong enough to enable it to rest directly upon God so dealing with it, need have no fear as to the absolving grace flowing freely into its being. But, as we have already pointed out at such length, there is not in all men either sufficient confidence in the completeness and adequacy of their own confession or sufficient realisation and grasp of God's full and free forgiveness. The

consequence is, that the Church provides something more. Over and above these *general proclamations* of pardon after general Confession, the Church has its *particular Absolution* after particular Confession, to the intent that no soul's need should be overlooked, but that all should be provided for. And surely, if the spirit of the Gospel is to be consulted, and it is the little ones of Christ's flock for whom He cares for most, this provision of particular Absolution, ministered to such after particular Confession, must be most according to His mind and purpose.

Now it is a universal rule that a practice which is a true application of a sound doctrine will have many collateral advantages circling round its central use. We cannot here so much as sketch the outline of a treatise on Confession; our space and our specified subject—the *Place* of Confession in the Church's System—alike restrict us. But we may step aside for one moment to speak of what we may call the double action of this particular Confession and Absolution as distinguished alike from the general Confession and Absolution in Church Services and the private Confession made to God alone in private devotion. There is not only the gain, to many minds enormous, arising from the assurance they win that their repentance really *is* repentance, but look also at the gain to untaught souls as to what it really is to confess sins at all. With regard, perhaps, to those who have been thoroughly and carefully trained in childhood and in youth, and who have gone forward steadily in the Christian life all along, the remark may not apply. But who that has had to receive those who have been brought before him through a mission, or who through any other cause have had recourse to him after a life of carelessness preceded by a youth destitute of individual teaching, does not know how much there is to be done in the way of training such persons in the very sense and perception of sin, and of what repentance of sin and confession of sin really mean? 'Why not teach them then by conversation?' we fancy some one says. True, but there is no mode of teaching an art so sure as the actual practice of it; add to which, that the deep solemnity of actual confession ensures an amount of reality and thoroughness which is simply inestimable. There is, we know, a time for all things, and as there are things which may be better dealt with in informal conversation, so there is a time for less formal and official treatment. But this does not detract from the value of the remark we have made; rather it leads us on to say that the Church's guarded and solemn mode of dealing with

such cases in official Confession and Absolution is infinitely *safer* than many of those informal spiritual conversations and interviews between pastor and penitent where there is nothing but his own tact, sense, and firmness to prevent aimless digressions, and that self-pleasing talking about themselves to which some people are so prone. Confession has its dangers, as we all know. Strange would it be if it had not. Whatever is committed to the administration of fallible men is liable to abuse, is liable also to mistakes in the way of using it. *Corruptio optimi pessima*, and just because this is the last and keenest and most potent weapon in the Church's armoury for dealing with souls, therefore also it needs that those who use it should be the wisest and the most devout, the most thoughtful and the most experienced of her ministers; men most deeply skilled alike in the things of God, in the knowledge of men, and in the working of the human heart.

That in its recent revival among ourselves everything has been done wisely we should be the last to assert. Indeed at the very outset we distinctly stated that it would be contrary to all experience for any newly revived truth or practice to get itself into play without having to encounter risk and damage from the inexperienced eagerness of some at least of those who are the first to take it up. Why, you cannot even discover a new remedy for some bodily disease without people running wild about it, exaggerating its action, applying it to everybody and to every ailment, until the reign of sober sense returns, and it is limited to the class of cases for which it is appropriate. That something of this kind has happened in the case before us may well be admitted; but the blame must ultimately rest not so much on those who may have made mistakes as on those who let it fall into desuetude at all. In this as in so many other things true Catholicity has been diverged from on the one hand by the cold system of Calvinism, and on the other by the over-methodising system of Rome, so that at every turn the army of the Church has to fight with a double front and defend our system from running into the exaggerations of the one, or from being withered by the negations of the other. Yet how few English Churchmen of the average amount of information are aware that both Rome and Geneva stand alone in their respective positions with regard to Confession. No Church, save that of Rome, has ventured to make private confession compulsory as a universal need for the spiritual life. No body of men professing the Christian faith save the Calvinists (including of course those English Dissenters who took their rise after the great influx of Calvinism among us) has ever ventured

to dispense with it ; and we all know how the Wesleyan Revival tried to make up for the want of it. The Eastern Church retains it in its original voluntary form. The Lutheran body retain it. Whether you turn to the Augsburg Confession, or to the defence of it by Melancthon, to the *Catechismus Major* or the *Catechismus Minor*, or to Luther's own writings, it is all one. Luther's own language, indeed, in its eager impulsiveness, would seem to many to be somewhat exaggerated in its tone :—

'We teach then how excellent, precious, and comfortable a thing Confession is, and we admonish accordingly that such a precious treasure be not despised considering our great necessity. If you are a Christian, neither my compulsion nor the Pope's commands, nothing in fact but your own self should constrain you thereto : but rather you, instead, would beg of me that you might become a partaker therein. . . . If you are a Christian you will think gladly that we are always at your bidding without ceremony and not accounting distance. The compulsion becomes inverted. We come to you by request, you to us of your own free will. We constrain no man, but suffer that you should constrain us in this matter, even as we feel ourselves constrained in the matter of preaching and administration of the Sacraments.' ¹

We quote this merely as illustrating the tone in which the subject is handled by one outside of our own Communion. With respect to the teaching of our own Divines, it has been so lavishly and abundantly brought into prominence of late years, that it would be an altogether superfluous waste of our not very abundant space to dwell upon it here. Chillingworth did not represent what would be regarded as a very "high" school of doctrine, and his opinion is well known. Bishop Vowler Short, of S. Asaph, in recent times, would not be suspected of Romanising or enthusiastic views, and he too, as is well known, has left his judgment on record. We are exonerated also in the present article from the duty of examining either the history of the practice in earlier times, or the terms in which the Church of England speaks officially on the subject. These points have been dealt with in the preceding article. What we have felt to be specially needed just now is to show once more that in any complete Church system some such ordinance has its natural place, so that when we come to the doctrine and practice of the Church of England upon the subject, we do not approach it as any arbitrary or artificial arrangement, or as one which need surprise or startle us, but as, on the contrary, one more example of the adaptation

¹ Luther's *Works*, vol. x. pp. 340, 341. Ed. Perthes : Hamburg, 1826.

of the Christian system to human nature and to human needs. That the Church of England then *has* a doctrine and a practice of Confession we do not here dwell upon. That neither in her doctrine nor her practice of it, does she regard it as necessary for all men or under all circumstances, is a question which, for the purposes of this paper, we take as already proved. An omission which we regret far more is that we have now neither space nor time to illustrate the position that from the fifth century onwards, private Confession, such as we now understand it, was nearly the only substitute for the lost public discipline which the Church had previously struggled to maintain. But we must add a word or two more as to what we consider the distinctly *special* position which private Confession holds in the system of the Church of England, that, namely, as aiding the soul which feels its need of it, as contrasted with the Roman view, which treats it as of actual necessity for all. Such necessity, if really existing, must rest either upon one of two grounds: it must rest either (1) upon authority, or (2) on some convincing reason derived from the nature of the case. As to authority, the Roman system fails utterly to adduce sufficient proof either from Scripture or from primitive antiquity. The whole effort of the early Church was to perfect a system of public Confession for grave offences, such as by their visibility, their scandal, or otherwise might be considered as affecting the *whole Body* of the Church, and the whole idea of a *discipline* of Penance was connected with grave and open sins. The action of the Roman Church in the fourth Lateran Council, A.D. 1215, was a novelty. Then as to the nature of the case, we cannot but think that it is sufficient to say that a supposed necessity, of which no hint is given, either in the inspired writings or in the practice of primitive times, must rest upon a foundation so slender as to excuse us from its consideration. The Roman rule seems to us to stand as a warning rather than as an example, and a warning which it is especially necessary for us to heed now at a time when the reaction from past neglect involves the danger of excess. We do not suppose that any instructed clergyman or layman in the Church of England could maintain the *necessity* of private Confession. There is more danger of persons speaking of it so as to convey the impression which may be summed up in the common expression, 'no compulsion, only you must.' Perhaps, after all, the truest way of regarding it may be as a privilege rather than a duty; and a privilege branching out widely into many unexpected ramifications of help and blessing; helps and blessings so manifold

and various that it may be no wonder if those who know them should be somewhat over-eager that others should share them. But just as Confession of sin made directly to God without that movement of the will which we describe as repentance is a barren thing, upon which no dews of Divine Grace descend, so also it would seem that private Confession made without that impulse which we have described above, is in terrible danger of degenerating into a formalism which may work disastrously upon the soul's health. The whole ordinance seems to us to postulate *the sense of need* as a condition of its usefulness. It is of no use to reply that we teach and train children to confess sins to God. There *is* reason for that; for the whole Christian life depends on the formation of the habit of personal communion with the Father of spirits. The sense of need in the case of private Confession arises when, from whatever cause, this personal communion with God is so impaired or the faculty for it so weakened that some *special* help is wanted to restore and to invigorate it. We by no means mean to overlook the secondary use and value of Confession in the case of those who voluntarily have recourse to it as a means of discipline which they find useful to their own souls, and of practical advantage in deepening their own self-knowledge, in deepening their repentance, in deepening the reality of their spiritual life. But this is a separate and subordinate department of the subject and falls rather under the head of the collateral advantages than the primary intention and idea of the ordinance; and in any discussion of the subject the two ought to be kept jealously distinct. There is also another reason why at present we decline this branch of the subject; namely, that it would lead us into the discussion of 'Direction,' on which there would be much to say, and in which the danger of exaggerated action is perhaps the greatest of all. Such a pamphlet as Canon Perowne's, named at the head of this article, shows that even a strong opponent can recognise *some* good in Confession, and we may therefore hope that the true Church doctrine may gradually make its way. But while even opponents may thus be gradually owning that it is good thus to minister to a wounded soul, we have nothing but evil to fear from a priest allowing himself to stand in the place of Conscience to another. This must be not only wrong, but deeply injurious both to director and directed, and the danger is not imaginary.

Here therefore for the present we must pause. We cannot but feel that we have only touched on the multitude of topics to which the main line of our discussion has introduced us,

and that perhaps owing to our profound feeling of the solemnity of the subject we may have been deficient in our presentation of that brighter side of it which unquestionably exists—the mighty uplifting of the soul's whole being towards its God and Saviour, which results from its due administration and its faithful use, the restoration to full and conscious communion with God which thousands have been privileged to obtain, who might otherwise (humanly speaking) have remained in their previous separation and distance from Him. These things are realities, and it is the knowledge of this brighter side which made us write what we did just now, when we said that to regard it as a mighty privilege was, perhaps, after all, the truest way of looking at it. There is the bright side as well as the darker and the graver, as both priest and penitent know full well, when, through the human ministration, Divine peace once more visits the storm-tossed soul, or when, through the counsel of the experienced guide, the clouds of doubt are dispelled, and the one pole-star once more shines clearly before the spiritual gaze.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Via Media of the Anglican Church. Illustrated in Lectures, Letters, and Tracts. Written between 1830 and 1841. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, of the Oratory, sometime Fellow of Oriel College. In two volumes, with a Preface and Notes. Vol I. (Pickering, Piccadilly, 1877.)

THERE is a story told of some monkish controversialist during the middle ages who had the reputation of being an adroit disputant on the orthodox side (and was afterwards suspected of heresy notwithstanding), that after some unusually dexterous feat of orthodox logic, he cried out in his glee, 'O good Jesus, as easily as I have proved Thee, so easily could I disprove Thee, if I pleased!' Can any one help attributing something of this feeling to the writer before us? It has occasionally been known for a writer's controversial works to be re-issued with a refutation from some other hand. But surely it has seldom happened for a writer endowed with a degree of power and culture seldom entrusted to man, deliberately setting to work as an aged man to confute the arguments which he had constructed in the plenitude of his powers, between forty and fifty years before? It has the look, indeed, of an act done in obedience to superiors; we can hardly conceive it to have been entirely voluntary. Anyhow, here, whether it be voluntary or involuntary, is such a case. Dr. Newman, in re-publishing his *Lectures on the Prophetic Office of the Church*, has prefaced them with ninety pages of refutation.

It would be an act probably of considerable temerity should we

cross swords with so redoubted a champion as Dr. Newman. But at all events it will be edifying to observe how Dr. Newman, *haud omni parte virium impar*, advances to cross swords with himself.

When then we have perused these ninety pages of subtle distinctions, of brilliant theories, of demurrers to matters of doctrine, we arrive at one conclusion, and but one: that the Dr. Newman of 1830 is just the Dr. Newman of 1877; as dexterous in his logic, just as sure never to be found at fault for want of a theory. The general scheme upon which this rejoinder to himself is arranged is this, that Christianity is at once a religion, a philosophy, and a political power; that in each of these capacities it has separate and, in some ways, dissimilar interests; and that the peculiar line of action prompted by each will be checked and 'modified' by the others, nay sometimes in a particular case the necessity of the others converted into a rule of duty for itself, *i.e.* as we take this impenetrable ambiguity to mean, its own principles practically negated in action, and others substituted.

To the abnormal action of one or other of these principles, *i.e.*, its unchecked and disproportionate working, he would refer those instances of tolerated superstition, of selfish action, of theological lapse, which have been so constantly objected to the rulers and official heads of the Roman Communion by those who do not acknowledge its claims; and we do not know that to such an apology we have any rejoinder to make. It is possible that some Roman apologists might object that a good deal more is conceded here than is convenient; but with that we have nothing to do.

What surprises us, however, is that Dr. Newman should apparently suppose that his mode of tracing to their cause, or supposed cause, these actions objected to, is equivalent to justifying, if not them, yet the Church which permitted or approved them. He may be able to show that the massacre of S. Bartholomew was due to the 'Regal function' of Catherine de Medicis, working, however ignorantly, upon the 'theological element,' or, in other words, the conscience of her son Charles IX., and so extorting his consent to the murder; and, further, that it was the 'imperial policy' of Gregory XIII. venturing 'beyond the lines of theology,' which caused a *Te Deum* of thankfulness to be sung, and a medal to be struck to commemorate it. But when he has thus shown *how* these things came to take place, does it make them any the less wicked?

We have not space to do more than just indicate the heads of the rejoinder which we think ought to be made. But we would suggest to Dr. Newman whether his apology for his Church in doing these things does not rest on the tacit¹ assumption, that being inevitable, they are right after all, or, at worst, are venial offences, mere errors of judgment as to the limits of conflicting duties, on which no person of candid mind will hereafter found a charge.

Specific allegations in the course of the argument are still more

¹ Not altogether *tacit*; see p. 83, where he says, 'No act could be theologically an error, which was absolutely and undeniably necessary for the unity. . . . of the Church.'

astonishing than the fundamental assumption. Thus the author sees his way to put forth a sort of apology for the peccant Popes ; saying, on p. lxxxii., 'acts simply unjustifiable, such as real betrayals of the truth on the part of Liberius and Honorius, become intelligible and *cease to be shocking* [italics ours] if we consider that these Popes felt themselves to be head rulers of Christendom, and their first duty as such to be that of securing its peace, union, and consolidation,' which were, we suppose, to be served by duplicity and disregard of doctrine !

But, in fact, there is a sense in which this excuse may be not unnaturally made. Pope Liberius, for example, fell under the stress of persecution ; a thing whose cogency this generation knows very little about and probably does not appraise at quite its full value. Honorius seems simply to have erred with the best intentions. And it would be the cruellest thing to

' Drag their failings from their dread abode,'

to make them the subject of disparaging comment, as has been done so often of late, *were it not for the claim to infallibility* set up on behalf of the occupants of the Roman See. Nothing is gained by showing that an individual theologian, however high in station, on some particular occasion made a mistake. He was a man ; and 'to err is human.' But he who claims infallibility, official or personal, challenges criticism ; and whether he be alive or dead, will be sure to be criticised.

It is an ill turn, therefore, that the pro-infallibilists have done to these unhappy Bishops, whose ashes might otherwise be suffered to rest in peace, and the fault which doubtless they each repented bitterly enough, be quietly forgotten. Of all the apologies that have ever been made for them, surely that made by Dr. Newman is the strangest. 'The principle on which these two Popes *may be supposed* to have acted,' as he says (and a very unlikely supposition it is), is one that does not at all *remove* the blame of this heresy or this apostasy ; but only *shifts* it on to the original scheme or constitution of things. For we are shut up to two alternatives. Either the Popes were wrong in these two cases, and are to be condemned for them, in which case they (or at all events Pope Honorius, who delivered *ex cathedra* the Monothelite heresy) cannot be infallible ; or they were justifiable ; which they can only be on the ground of an original antinomy or incompatibility between what Dr. Newman calls the 'regal function' and 'the rigorousness of a logical theology,' as he phrases it on p. 79.

But this would be to make the Founder of the Church the author of an imperfect or ill-contrived work ; the claims of theology rightly understood and of a wise and far-seeing expediency can never be really incompatible ; and hence our conclusion must be that Dr. Newman is trying to cover a weak place in his defences by a very ingenious theory that cannot be sustained. In fact this is the general purport of the new preface. *Habemus confitentem, reum.* The facts reflecting discredit on the Roman Church are not denied. 'I begin by admitting,' says Dr. Newman, 'the general truth of the facts

alleged against us,' and then he proceeds to defend them virtually on the principle that 'the end justifies the means.' Our impulse is to cry, 'How are the mighty fallen!' for we do not think that the John Henry Newman of 1835 would have gone so far as this.

But what shall we say of the language which Dr. Newman uses about a theory with which he was much enamoured for a time, the theory of a *via media*, or third term between Romanism and popular Protestantism? We are constrained to say this, that whilst true in the letter, it is *not true* in the sense which the argument demands; which renders Dr. Newman's treatment of it practically beside the mark. But we have forgotten that our readers probably have not, as we have, Dr. Newman's 'Preface' before them. Here is (a part of) what he says:—

'I cannot allow to the Church of England itself what is true of much of its teaching and many of its teachers, for that teaching and those teachers, who are so effective, know nothing of the *via media*.

'However, this innate persuasiveness, as he considered it, of the *via media*, was in truth the writer's chief stay in the controversy. He did not set much by patristical literature or by history. He frankly allows that his theory had never been realised, and that for 1800 years the true Gospel, as regards his special aspect of it, had never been preached to the world. "The doctrines in question," he says, in the mouth of an objector, "are in one sense entirely new, as Christianity was when first preached. Protestantism and Popery are real religions. . . they have furnished the mould in which nations have been cast; but the *via media*, viewed as an integral system, has scarcely had existence, except on paper." He adds, "It cannot be denied there is force in those representations, though I would not adopt them to their full extent"—(pp. 16, 17.)

'As to the ante-Nicene period, made so much of by Anglican divines, he limits himself to the task of ascertaining "what is the *nearest approximation* to that primitive truth which Ignatius and Polycarp enjoyed, and which the 19th century has virtually lost?"—(p. 7.) It was almost enough for him that the Fathers did not contradict him, and that he was not obliged absolutely to part company with them; for, as matters stood, he felt the Anglican hypothesis could shoot up and thrive in the gaps between the trees which were the pride of the Eden of primitive truth, neither choking nor choked by their foliage. And he hoped to be able to retain Origen and Cyprian, though he held by Laud'—(p. 24.)

Now it may be very true that the idea of the *via media*, in the precise form in which the present writer conceived it, never had an existence until it issued from his teeming brain; *i.e.*, there never was a religious system or branch of the Church professing to govern itself upon the principle there announced. In that sense Dr. Newman's statement is strictly accurate. But he must know that the Caroline divines meant, not this, but something very different; and we appeal to his own candour, whether he did not himself mean something far more reasonable, and far more available as an argument, when he originally put forth this treatise as an Anglican. He is wanting to take the mere shell of his former argument; to take his old self (in fact) at a disadvantage; and we must make it our business to see fair play.

It is sufficiently evident that a system professing to mediate be-

tween two other and widely different systems cannot so act, and therefore cannot acquire the name of *via media*, until after those other systems have come into existence to be mediated between. But that does not prove that the mediating system was not actually in existence long before either of the others. It may acquire new relations and a new justification from the new divergence of other systems. It may even express, under a new name, the new *raison d'être* which circumstances have given it; but it need not vary its principles in the least from what they were. It may remain primitive in essential truth, while becoming *via media* by the force of events merely.

That is, as every student knows, the claim that was made on behalf of the Anglican Church; made, we do not at this moment say, successfully or the reverse; but made deliberately and honestly by the Caroline divines; and, assuredly, it is not invalidated by the fact that *the claim was not made before the circumstances that made it needful occurred!*

It has sometimes been said that the *via media* theory has broken down. If so, that has been because too much was asked of it. But in any case it has not always been remembered that the Anglican position neither rests upon a theory nor is affected by its collapse. A dispassionate examination of the remains of primitive antiquity will show a substantial identity between it and the Anglican position, not, indeed, in external worship, nor in matters of discipline, which have varied infinitely from time to time since then, but in fundamental principles, *i.e.*, in such matters as touch the life of a Church. We must content ourselves in this and in the former instance with merely indicating our line of argument, the necessary space to work it out being wanting to us. Nor can we even touch upon the many other questions raised by Dr. Newman, as he endeavours, with more or less success, to disprove his former conclusions. Generally they show plainly enough that it is not always true that 'second thoughts are best;' and we do not know that any mode could have been taken to exhibit the original argument to greater advantage than to put it side by side with these later glosses.

Christian Evidences viewed in relation to Modern Thought. Bampton Lectures for 1877. By Rev. C. A. Row, M.A. (London: Norgate.)

It would be a very interesting preliminary inquiry to an argument of this kind, whether the lapse of time rightfully affects the worth and validity of Christian or any other evidences, and, if so, to what extent? It is an inquiry which the present lecturer has not apparently deemed it needful to enter upon. But the reply which an apologist would probably deem it sufficient to make, would be that evidence is purely relative in its nature, and must therefore vary accordingly with the class of minds to which it may be from time to time in relation. Given an African Negro, a Brahmin from the schools of Benares, and a German professor, all equally ignorant of Christianity, and it will probably be conceded that they will each ask different questions

about it, and demand a widely different class of evidence to its truth. We may even go so far as to lay down that not merely each age, but each generation has its peculiarities of mental temperament, which will lead the individual to accept one class of apologetic arguments, and to reject another as insufficient. Who does not know, *e.g.* how the idea of forensic or legal justification is ingrained into the theology of the early part of the present century? Is there a single writer who would maintain it now? We doubt it. Two generations at most have sufficed for a complete revolution of thought on the part of a considerable and rather active school of theological writers.

It would seem, therefore, that while the formal validity of apologetic arguments may remain untouched, their worth and value to a particular generation may entirely disappear, because of a certain gradual and almost impalpable change in the religious conceptions to which they were originally adapted. They are like entrenchments *which have been turned*. They have been valuable before, they may be valuable again, but for the present need they are unadapted. For every defensive work of our ancestors the enemy has devised a counter work. For the argument from prophecy he has the 'organic or dynamic view' of Kuenen and his school; to arguments founded on the inspiration of the Scripture he replies by applying his critical solvent to book after book, until a mere heap of fragments lies under his hands; he disposes of the Resurrection by means of the "Vision Theory," which is the latest addition to the agnostic equipment; in short, we have a rationalistic parry for every thrust. A time will unquestionably come when the essential unlikelihood of many of these cavils will be clearly recognised, and then the old polemic may come back into use; at present, they convince, and it is the part of the Christian apologist to convince his own contemporaries.

Of the abstract lawfulness upon religious grounds, therefore, of the course taken by Prebendary Row, there can be little doubt.

Nor can there, we imagine, be much hesitation as to the great value of the detailed argument with which we are presented in these Lectures. In one word, the writer offers here the *historical* proof. 'The essence of the Christian revelation,' he says, 'consists, not in a body of formulated dogmatic truth, but in a personal history.' Throwing aside details, which, however important, are separable, he takes his stand argumentatively upon the single fact of the Incarnation of the Divine Son, and, further, upon the series of facts which can, by a process of historical inquiry, be shown to have resulted from that original and causal fact, in every age, until the present day. It is obvious that the present lecturer is not the first by a great many to have formulated this line of argument, or even to have drawn it out into some degree of detail. To give but one instance, if our memory serves us (for it is years since we have seen the book), one of the chapters of Archbishop Whately's *Evidences of Christianity* is substantially the same as the one before us.

But the difference is this, that by the displacement of defensive arguments which were formerly put first, this particular argument has

gradually come to the front, and instead of being a subordinate branch of the argument has become the principal one; and demands, what it has in these lectures received as it has never received before, a complete and elaborate treatment in all respects worthy of the weight it has now to bear, and of the prominent position among Christian Evidences which it has now to assume!

This thesis then is what, *pro hac vice*, the Lecturer undertakes to defend; and only this. He puts aside for the moment even the questions of the inspiration of the record, postulating for the Gospels and Epistles merely ordinary historical accuracy, of the Divine Nature, of the Atonement, and other truths of the first order:—

‘In determining the extent of the position which must be occupied by the defender of Christianity, it is of the highest importance that we should keep clearly in view the distinction which exists between revelation on the one hand, and inspiration and theology on the other. On this point great confusion of thought has prevailed; and the result has been that the line of our defence has become dangerously extended. The wide extent of the position, to the defence of which the Christian advocate is supposed to be committed, forms one of the strongholds of popular unbelief. It is also undeniable that theology has in former ages claimed, as its legitimate domains, whole provinces of thought, from which it has had to beat a retreat before the steady advance of scientific knowledge. It will probably have to retire further still before it occupies its rightful position. Such retreats have been attended with disastrous results; and with the experience of the past before us, I must claim the right—it is in fact our duty—to separate the defence of Christianity from every question which is not vitally connected with the Christian position, and to confine it to the historic facts, which form the foundation on which the Church has been erected, and the inner life of Christianity, as a great moral and spiritual power, is based. The consideration of the inferences deducible from these facts is the proper function, not of the Christian advocate, but of the scientific theologian’—(p. 14.)

And he confines his defence to this one point, the establishment of the historical truth and supernatural power of the Incarnation and Life of Christ.

It follows that the entire series of lectures are occupied more or less remotely with a single position. But that one is of altogether incalculable importance. If the defence should have failed there, it may as well fail everywhere. Whereas if it be established it affords a fundamental *πρὸς ἑαυτὴν* and logical justification for the theological inferences which go to make up the body of Christian doctrine. We should observe that the lecturer appears to have somewhat transgressed the limits he had laid down for his argument, when he virtually implies the whole body of the Jewish theosophic conceptions antecedently to the appearance of Jesus, in order to reach at one step the conclusion that the Divine Creator is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and that it was the *Divine Son* who was thus manifested in the Person of Jesus Christ. The truth is, that the conditions of the argument require that we should reach this conclusion *a parte post*, but not a *a parte ante*, on pain of a charge of *petitio principii*, i.e. implying the thing to be proved.

There seems to us a weighty objection to making theology, as Mr. Row does on pp. 16-20, a purely human science, viz. that it at once, and by one blow, destroys *inspiration*. If you reduce revelation, that is to say, to a certain number of historical facts, and suppose those facts to have been thrown down upon the world-arena for the human intellect to make what it could out of them (and this is the lecturer's absolutely fundamental position), then the *function* of inspiration has utterly vanished. Inspiration is not at all indispensable for the correct recording of current events, however marvellous. Contemporary historical testimony is perfectly adequate for that if the witnesses be fairly honest and unprejudiced. It is, indeed, the *very highest* form, speaking from the standpoint of historical criticism, of witness to facts. It is not clear how the value of a witness to a particular fact could be increased to later ages by his inspiration; because the distant spectator wants to be assured of the inspiration of the particular witness in question, and must have an independent attestation of that. There is nothing in the result (*i.e.* the correct report) to guarantee inspiration *ipso facto*, or even necessarily to require it. How would the reports of two witnesses, the one correct *with* inspiration, the other correct *without* it, differ from each other?

It appears to us, on the contrary, that the function of inspiration comes in just where Mr. Row is disposed to deny it, *i.e.* in the way of commentary upon the facts and for the purpose of constructing a theology. A body of writers may conceivably report correctly, without the help of inspiration, the facts of which they were witnesses; they can hardly draw out an entire system of dogmatic inferences without such help; or, at all events, they will need it much more. The human mind requires to have facts set in their proper connexion and grouping, to begin with, and to be itself *started* on the right lines of inference. That is exactly what the Epistles do with, or, rather, *for*, the great facts of religion. Mr. Row is apparently shut up to admitting that the great outlines (at all events) of theology are of the essence of revelation, or of denying the inspiration of the Epistles of S. Paul, upon which he grounds so large a part of the later portion (Lect. vi. with Supplement) of his argument.

This point is not one, however, that it is safe to push too far. That there is a human element in theology no wise divine would wish to deny. It would seem to have been part of the Divine purpose in revelation to bring truth after truth above the horizon of the Church's consciousness, as the faithful grew more and more able to appreciate them. We should be the last to deny that the sanctified intellect has had, and still has, a providentially ordained part in the evolution of Divine truth; a fact upon which, indeed, rests the prophetic office of the Church. It may well be that otherwise the various Divine truths, difficult and transcendental as they are, might have failed to enter into the consciousness of the race, and to be wrought into its fibre; that only by the solitary study of unnumbered obscure religious, and by the persevering catechizing and teaching of the venturesome missionary, and by the heated debate and sharp

collision of minds in Council and Synod,¹ could the lineaments of Truth be graven deep into the human mind, light and incurious, carnal and worldly, as it is in all ages.

We think, therefore, that the Christian Religion itself and the great truths of abstract theology will stand (we will not say, or fall) together ; that it is futile to attempt to separate them, and that Mr. Row has in fact failed in the attempt so to do. We think farther, that if it were conceivable they could be thus separated, and if it were possible to demonstrate a Christianity with (so to speak) a *blank* creed, it would not be worth doing. There have been systems calling themselves Christian which were far worse than paganism ; and whilst we do not mean to say that Mr. Row should have taken under the protection of his argument the entire circle of dogma, we think that he vitiates his argument to a certain extent by professing to exclude it altogether from his consideration.

Another point of the argument, which we accept with some reservation, is that concerning miracles. Let us first illustrate what this is by a quotation :—

‘The whole theory that miracles must be contrary to nature, and that their performance must involve violations or suspensions of its laws and forces, arises out of a practical denial that God is everywhere, every moment energising in nature ; in fact it involves the assumption that the universe is a huge machine, out of which the Creator, if there be a Creator at all, exists, a machine which He has once contrived and set in motion, and which will go on for ever grinding out results by the never-ceasing activity of its forces, without any further exercise of His power. In such a conception of the universe a miracle becomes a special intervention of the Creator, interrupting the order of its working, and consequently an indication of His presence in that from which He had previously retired. Such a conception of God differs wholly from the God of the Bible, which contains the only worthy theistic conception of Him, not only as the Creator of the Universe, a skilful mechanist and chemist, but the Father of those beings whom He has created. Christian theism affirms that God is not only a Being who exists independently of the universe, but that in Him we live, and move, and exist ; that the earth is the Lord’s and the fulness thereof, the compass of the world and they that dwell therein ; and that all its forces and energies are the manifestations of His ceaseless activity. What we designate the forces of nature and miracles are alike manifestations of God, the latter differing from the former, not in the degree of power which they exhibit, nor in the fact that He is more present when he works a miracle than He is in the active energies of those forces in the midst of which we daily live, but in the fact that a miracle is an event fitted to awaken attention by a special manifestation of intelligent purpose and stamped with the indications of it’—(p. 71.)

This is a clear and intelligible theory of miracles, and not without considerable attractiveness ; unfortunately it is likewise a destructive one. While it leaves particular miracles intact as historical facts, it destroys them altogether *as miracles*, and empties them altogether of any *evidential* force. If every sequence of material facts is significant

¹ ‘Progression by antagonism,’ as the late Lord Lindsay so happily termed it.

of a divine interposition, then the particular sequence in question will be nothing out of the common; and it will be difficult to import a special moral purpose where all the purposes are special. Here again we must, as it seems to us, fall back on the *relativity* of evidence. A miracle may be convincing to one mind and not to another. And it is evident that the lecturer has not fully appreciated the weight of his argument. It is not merely, as he says, that 'miracles ought to occupy a less prominent place among the evidences of Christianity' (p. 73), but that if his contention is to be granted to its full extent, they have *no place at all* as proofs, but are, on the contrary, occurrences far more difficult of proof than the truths which they are supposed to guarantee. In such a view we cannot acquiesce. Yet we do *not* see how the lecturer can do otherwise than accept it. In fact, he says later on (p. 129), 'neither abstract nor moral truths can be attested by miracles, viewed merely as marvels or exhibitions of power.' And this amounts to a complete denial of their evidential function; for if 'abstract and moral truths' be removed, what class of truths remains to be guaranteed? Would a miracle be a suitable proof of a 'physical and concrete' truth, as, *e.g.* the law of gravitation?

The fact we take to be that the lecturer has got hold of a *half* truth; that miracles *taken alone* will guarantee nothing—nothing, that is to say, beyond the power of him who works them. But to deny them all evidential value seems to us going far beyond the warrant of reason. At some periods of history they convinced everybody. At *all* periods of the world they are or would be convincing to large classes of people. Can any one doubt for an instant that if a religious teacher should appear now, say in the Highlands of Scotland, working striking, unequivocal, unmistakable miracles, that he would speedily convince the large majority of the population of these islands of his supernatural claims, provided his conduct and teaching were not such as to disprove them? He would not convince the *doctrinaires*, but then who or what would?

Want of space, however, limits our further discussion of this question, and, indeed, of these remarkable lectures. With the general tenor of their line of thought many of our readers will have made acquaintance in earlier works of the writer, who, devoted to the consideration of these questions, is perhaps apt to repeat himself sometimes. But they are striking lectures, and evince an intimate acquaintance with the most recent utterances on both sides. The lecturer has deserved well of the Church. It would be well if all apologetic literature evinced in so large a degree vigorous and masculine ability, and unmistakable orthodoxy, as this latest addition—no unworthy one—to a magnificent series.

The Resurrection of Jesus Christ. An Essay in Three Chapters. By REGINALD W. MACAN, M.A., Senior Student of Christ Church, Oxford, and late Hibbert Travelling Scholar. (Williams and Norgate, 1877.)

AMONG the very many sayings of Our Lord which the present generation is in a fair way to verify to our own experience, the present

volume induces us to rank that most pregnant verse, 'If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, *though one rose from the dead.*' For though it seems to be a paradox, the supernatural can only be really known by experience, by communication with it; the only really serviceable proof of it is subjective, and what we believe the Wesleyans call 'experimental.' External evidence, however powerful, and however cogent, enters not 'within the veil' of man's inner being. If a man's inner disposition and will be not mastered, he can, and we fear frequently *does*, resist any array whatever of historical and logical evidences.

This essay, as we have said, seems to us a case in point. Here we have a man who, starting with a disbelief—unmistakably implied, if not expressly asserted from the first—in the supernatural genesis of any fact, comes to the consideration of the resurrection of Jesus with a determination from the first to discredit it.

For he sees, as all the world has always seen, that this fact, if it be a fact at all, must belong to the supernatural order; 'it must be a miracle' (p. 18). That he is predetermined not to admit, on any evidence whatever; and he intimates as much, not obscurely (pp. 18, 19). He exactly realises the case which our Lord contemplated in the passage already quoted from S. Luke—that of a man, or a class of men, in whom the ordinary faculty of verification *works backwards*, and to whom the crowning evidence of the 'Christian revelation'—the Resurrection of Christ—is not a verification of the entire scheme, but itself a difficulty and a stumbling-block.

Yet, although the essayist is predetermined to reject the evidence for this supernatural fact, whatever it be, and to whatever amount, there it is, and it is enormously strong. It could not be overlooked by any one even pretending to examine the question. In truth, to a considerable extent, it constitutes the question; and, accordingly, the present essayist deals with it after a fashion. What he does is to pass along the array of evidence, and comment upon one thing after another in a petty, carping spirit, referring from time to time to alleged canons of evidence, existing probably in his own mind, to whose requirements the proofs he is handling do not, for one reason or another, come up. Much of this is the weakest imaginable juggling with forms of proof, and cannot, we should imagine, delude any moderately intelligent reader into acquiescence. Here, for example, he is arguing that the dogma of the Resurrection rests on a kind of *petitio principii*, and that the dogma preceded the alleged fact, and not the fact the dogma. And then he proceeds:—

'To apply this principle to the Resurrection it must be remarked that it is hardly possible even to allege the fact without taking, as we have seen, some doctrine for granted. If the assumed doctrine be true, then the Resurrection may have happened, and supposing the alleged fact to be then confirmed by plausible historical evidence, we must modify or enlarge our opinions in accordance with the indications of the fact. To know whether the assumption be true we must verify it; but is the ultimate assumption of a personal God verifiable? Is His existence reducible to experience? We know very well, without any revelation to assure us of the fact, that it is not; we know that this dogma has itself a

history like all other dogmas, and has passed through diverse phases before arriving at the contradictory *ne plus ultra* form in which it is generally stated to-day, viz. the existence of one absolute personal being. But even were this alleged fact verifiable, we should not be very much nearer the proof of the Resurrection—(p. 20).

A moment's consideration will show that this line of criticism will apply to any fact whatever, and, if accepted as final, would render it impossible to demonstrate any historical fact whatever to be true. Suppose that the dogma of the Resurrection does make certain presuppositions; as long as it does not presuppose *its own* truth, it is no *petitio principii*, and we are unable to see how such presuppositions necessarily affect its credibility. If they can be proved untrue, that is another thing; but the essayist does not even allege that to be the case. The truth of a fact may be proved *a parte post* as well as *a parte ante*; by subsequent events, as well as shown to be antecedently possible. The existence of the planet Neptune was rendered at all events very highly probable *before* it was seen, and it has been verified a hundred times since. The endeavour which follows to destroy the evidence of the Gospels to the fact of the Resurrection, because of the difficulty of combining their statements into a continuous narrative, is not of the least importance.

The persistent hostility of the sceptical school to the fact in question has invented a far more ingenious method of attack upon it. Seeing that the risen Jesus was seen not only by His confidential followers, but by great numbers of people (above five hundred at once, S. Paul assures us, and he had the best means of knowing), and this for nearly six weeks, and seeing also that He also appeared afterwards to a certain Saul of Tarsus, as he attested many times over, and worked upon him a moral miracle; no better means of breaking the force of all this evidence occurred to their minds than to assert that these were all *visions*; that a sudden access of enthusiasm among His followers generated an abnormal mental condition, in which they saw visions of Him; and we suppose heard Him speak, and, finally, that all their senses were in so perverted and unhinged a condition that they thought they saw Him ascend into heaven; whilst all the while He (*nefas dictu!*) was lying in a dishonoured grave, and their beliefs were the offspring of phantasy and delusion!

Such is the so-called vision theory, which (though it is by no means attributable wholly to him) the present essayist has learned from Dr. Holsten, of (we think) Copenhagen, and expounded in these pages. Surely it is sufficient to reply, in brief, that the Apostles were one and all in intense depression, disappointment, and fear for their own lives, and that it is not under such conditions that men would be likely to see visions at all, and especially of the Master whose entire mission had (*ex hypothesi*) just been utterly discredited; that, even if they had done so, they would not have united in all seeing the same vision at the same time; that the instant and rapid growth of the Church in Jerusalem itself and its vicinity utterly discredits the theory, unless the delusion was shared by the entire population; and, finally, that if the disciples had an enthusiasm for the

cause of their Master, S. Paul had not, but began with the exact reverse. The theory is, in fact, the last effort of sceptical hostility. It has apparently traversed the entire circle of possible objections, and must henceforth repeat what it has said before. Want of space forces us to take leave here of Mr. Macan. We have by no means done with him; and his last chapter, 'Fact and Illusion,' is, indeed, a series of headlong *dicta*, in which he sums up his hostility to the dogmatic basis of the Christian faith, and to which we take objection at every sentence. But our space is limited, if Mr. Macan's heterodoxy is not; and probably our readers have had enough of the book.

The Independence of the Holy See. By Cardinal MANNING. With an Appendix, containing the Papal Allocution of March, 1877, and an English Translation. (London: Henry S. King and Co.)

POPES were independent, without temporal power, when the secular arm was hostile in early days. It is not quite evident why they should not be independent without it now. And we have somewhere read that so keen an observer of things as the late M. Thiers was of opinion that the loss of the temporal power would only make the Papacy more arbitrary, more Ultramontane, and more powerful. Nor do we see our way to adopting Cardinal Manning's distinction that the temporal power is not indeed necessary to the spiritual, 'but is necessary to the free, independent, and peaceful exercise of that spiritual power' (p. 5); it appears to us that our Lord could never have rendered the Church dependent for the adequate discharge of its functions on a temporal dominion, *which He did not give it*, and whose administration, if obtained by His ministers, would be tolerably sure to secularise them, and to level the Church among the crowd of temporal sovereignties with which it would naturally and necessarily come to be ranked.

Nor does the actual history of the Papacy go to negative these unfavourable presumptions. For while the causes which first brought about the temporal power continued to be powerful, and while the exceptional difficulties of the period lasted, it was not only a blessing, but a very great blessing. But who that reads those dreary records of the middle ages, and finds the Pope immersed in the temporal interests of his States, making treaties and not keeping them; levying troops, and as often as not, heading them himself or by a Cardinal; making dynastic or family wars, just like any other secular prince, but must acknowledge that the Church had developed into something very unlike what it had been at first, and surrounded itself with new duties and obligations, some, no doubt, in harmony with its original objects, but some, as certainly, the reverse; and all, or most, of this by means of the temporal power? And we must take leave to say that Dr. Manning neglects numerous facts of history of which he can hardly be unaware, in putting forward the plea he does upon this point.

But though many of the pleadings here are mere rhetoric—*argumenta ad ignorantiam*—which will not stand the slightest scrutiny, we

consider that there is a considerable amount of substantial truth in the contention itself. Pius IX. is one—and the most respectable—of that group of dispossessed monarchs, whose case calls for more pity than that of others, because he had given absolutely no pretext to the invader for assailing him; had in no way provoked his fate; and therefore may claim whatever sympathy is due to unmerited misfortune. It is, however, a pity that this sympathy is not claimed upon proper grounds, instead of such as are somewhat fantastic, and arouse incredulity by the statements made. But we have learned to expect these highly idealised views in everything Archbishop Manning writes. It is Dryden's 'Hind and Panther' over again.

A Dissertation on the Epistle of S. Barnabas. Including a Discussion of its Date and Authorship. By the Rev. WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM. Together with the Greek Text, the Latin Version, and a new English Translation and Commentary. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1877.)

THE so-called Epistle of S. Barnabas, though not without a certain antiquarian interest, has never been at all equal to other admitted remains of the Apostolic, or sub-Apostolic ages, in the degree of study given to it by divines, or in admitted usefulness to the congregation. It has a certain value as showing us something of the general habits of thought and reasoning which were current among the contemporaries of the Apostles. But any conclusions we may derive from it are rendered at best uncertain by the strongly marked individuality of character which every page displays. We may be taking the characteristics of one mind for that of the age. That which is undoubtedly distinctive is the *subject*, viz. the religious significance of portions of the Jewish and Christian ritual and system, which could hardly have been chosen, and treated as it is here, in any but an age of transition from the one to the other. But in proportion as it is distinctive of that age, it fails in application to other ages; and so the Christian consciousness of later times has uniformly decided, though by no formal act.

Probably the Epistle has always owed much to its title, and to the authority of S. Barnabas, to whom it was so early attributed. Modern criticism, however, throws serious doubt upon its authenticity. The external testimony to which it appeals is indeed strong. We may give a fair idea of the position when we say that all the *external evidence* is in favour of the traditional title, and all the *internal* against it. The present editor, Mr Cunningham, takes decidedly the latter view, in common with the great majority of critics of all schools. He adds some evidence to the disproof of the Barnabæic authorship by supposing that some weight should be attached to the statements of the *Acta et Passio Barnabæ*, so far as to render it probable that the death of the Saint took place in A.D. 62 or 63, or, at all events, before the destruction of Jerusalem; whilst it appears certain, from internal evidence, that the Epistle was written *after* the destruction of the city. This argument is not new, having been brought forward by Hefele (*Patr. Apost.*), but Mr. Cunningham has developed it anew with much ingenuity and skill. It is certainly

dismissed too curtly by Professor Milligan. The notes are very helpful, and much care and pains have been bestowed upon the edition, which is in every way creditable.

Sayings of the Jewish Fathers. Comprising *Pirke Aboth*, and *Pereq R. Meir*, in Hebrew and English. With Critical and Illustrative Notes; and specimen pages of the *Mishnah Jerushalmith*, from which the text of *Aboth* is taken. Edited by CHARLES TAYLOR, M.A., Fellow and Divinity Lecturer of S. John's College, Cambridge. (University Press, 1877.)

PIRKE ABOTH, i.e. chapters or sayings of the Fathers, is a tract from the Mishnah division of the Talmud, and its great superiority over the bulk of that stupendous monument of misdirected industry, led to its being excerpted from the Talmud and used liturgically in the synagogues from very early times. Even now, the present editor assures us, the six chapters are found in prayer-books of the Ashkenic (i.e. German, Polish, &c.) rite, and are recited publicly on six successive Sabbaths between the festivals of Passover and Pentecost. 'From the use made of them in inculcating the Rabbinic rules of piety, they were also styled *Mishnath ha Chasidim*, a course of instruction for the pious.' It has many maxims of wise and elevated teaching, and includes the greater number of such maxims as survived, by their intrinsic worth, the test of a long period of oral teaching, during which the mass of the ordinary glosses perished. Here and there occurs a beautiful phrase. Thus, in ch. v. 30 :—

'R. Jehudah ben Thema said, "Be bold as a leopard, and swift as an eagle, and fleet as a hart, and strong as a lion, to *do the will of thy Father which is in Heaven.*"'

How strongly this reminds us of the Lord's Prayer. It might almost be a quotation. Or again :—

'R. Shimeon said, "There are three crowns : the crown of Torah, and the crown of priesthood, and the crown of royalty ; but the crown of a *good name* mounts above them."

All the maxims are not of this character ; but there is a dry and sententious acuteness tending towards cunning, which is strongly marked. No contrast could possibly be stronger between the ethical tone of our Lord's discourses and of the New Testament generally, and these pretentious maxims, which look so magnificent at first sight. A reader will understand after looking into its pages, better probably than ever he did before, how it came to be said that He taught 'not as the scribes.' We ought to mention that the Hebrew text is given, and that to students who have mastered the first elements of the language, and are beginning the study of *Rabbinic Hebrew*, the book will be a useful one.

Parish Sermons. By P. G. MEDD, M.A., late Rector of Barnes, and Senior Fellow of University College, Oxford. (London: Rivingtons.)

By accident our notice of this book has been delayed. Both lay and clerical readers, who appreciate devout and serious thoughtful-

ness, will thank us for directing their attention to it. Mr. Medd's volume contains thirty-two sermons, chiefly concerned with the leading dogmas, both in faith and morals, which form the basis of the Christian religion; and we can truly assert that the further acquaintance with it caused by delay, has intensified our sense of its value. The reason of this is not far to seek. It would be easy to name specimens of more showy discourses, which on reperusal fail to awaken the interest and afford the satisfaction, which was caused by the first hearing or reading. Mr. Medd's sermons are not of this cast. They are quiet, solid, and, though by no means deficient in plainness of speech, more likely to disclose their merits to the patient student, than to one who reads them, perhaps hastily for the first time. The following is a fair specimen of our author's manner:—

'On all, therefore, let me press the necessity of cultivating the practice of really *meditating*, and that as a regular practice, and in some systematic way, as a religious duty, on the great truths of Faith. We know that *Prayer*, at least morning and evening, is a necessary practice, without which a man cannot even pretend to be a Christian. And we know that we ought to find time to read our *Bibles*; and that the rest from worldly business on Sunday is given us to secure time and opportunity for these needful duties.'

'Let that reading be careful, thoughtful, meditative. Let it be especially in the New Testament; and within the New Testament, especially in the Gospels. Alone, in silence, and in solitude, on your knees, after prayer for the promised illumination of God's Holy Spirit, put yourself in presence of the stupendous truths and facts of the Christian creed. You will never know how grand, how solemn, how sublime, how practical and powerfully constraining they are, until you approach them thus. But when you do approach them thus, you will, by God's grace, discover, if you never discovered it before, that the knowledge of them is not the third nor the second, but the first and most precious thing in life. You will find they are the real treasure, to secure which, if need be, it is well worth while to part with every other possession; truths to live by, truths to die by, truths (if need be) to die for, as they did in days of old, without whose passionate devotion to them we had never been where we now are, in respect of either this life or the next'—(p. 276).

It is, perhaps, right to add that those who are looking for utterances—often very needful, no doubt, at a proper place and time—concerning the controversies of the hour will not find them in these pages. One exception, indeed, may be named, an excellent discourse upon the Athanasian Creed. But in general Mr. Medd has evidently aimed at producing an uncontroversial volume, and has shown himself eminently successful.

Not Tradition, but Scripture. By the late PHILIP NICHOLAS SHUTTLEWORTH, D.D., Warden of New College, Oxford, afterwards Bishop of Chichester. Fourth edition. (Rivingtons.)

THE author of this very ably reasoned work was able to persuade himself that 'the whole body of proof or of objection to which it is fairly open, has ever appeared to him to lie within a very narrow compass. The real point at issue is, whether we have any reason for supposing that in the Apostolical age and that which immediately

followed, any doctrines were taught us of divine authority, independently of those expressly comprehended in the page of Scripture.'—(*Advertisement to the First Edition.*)

One is tempted to cry out, *O sancta simplicitas!* as one reads. We, who live forty years later, do not find the matter quite so simple. For, granting, as we of course do, that Scripture and tradition entirely coincide, it is to be noted that the Apostles always, as far as we have any means of following them back, speak boldly and independently, like men conscious of direct inspiration, and do not base their teaching directly upon Scripture. We do not find S. Paul or S. John 'taking a text' as preachers do in our day. Nor, indeed, is it altogether easy to see how they could have done so, seeing that *Scripture was not then written*; or, if written, not generally accessible. In fact, the tradition which was in process of formation then, is indispensable now. The Scripture would not be more unintelligible, if we imagine ourselves unacquainted with its *words*, than if we were destitute of any clue to the sense to be attached to its *ideas* and *conceptions*. This last clue is afforded by the consciousness of the Church, *i.e.* by its inherited traditions. Writers of Bishop Shuttleworth's school really divide entities that ought not to be divided, and are comparatively useless if either of them is taken alone. The formula is 'Tradition *and* Scripture;' neither without the other.

But this had not dawned on the present writer's consciousness. He really held to the Christian tradition, though he was not aware of it, in nine points out of ten. At the tenth he stumbled; because no man, however able, can pick out the whole of theology by the light of nature; and that was what he sets himself here to do.

Thereby he demonstrates, upon his own person, the need of Tradition, which was far enough from his intention, we may be sure.

Parish Sermons on the Holy Eucharist. By the Rev. J. R. WEST, Vicar of Wrawby. (J. Masters and Co.)

A SMALL volume of plain sermons, which are in many respects models of what parish teaching about the Holy Eucharist should be. Mr. West has, if we remember rightly, already published a formal treatise on Eucharistic doctrine. These sermons are rather familiar and hortatory; but difficulties are not ignored. On the contrary, they are acknowledged and turned into exercises of faith. In the comparative fewness of sermons on this very important yet difficult subject, this volume is very welcome.

The Life of Prayer. A Series of Lectures. By the Rev. W. H. HUTCHINGS, M.A., Sub-Warden of the House of Mercy, Clewer. (London: Masters and Co., 1877.)

NOTHING can be more delightful than the way in which the author of these lectures has treated a devotional subject of the very first rank, and absolutely needful for every Christian. The work, we are told in the preface, embodies the substance of a series of lectures delivered at All Saints, Margaret St., in which the nature, the necessity, and the conditions of prayer are successively treated.

Lecture III., in which the author deals with the quasi scientific objections to prayer, is perhaps hardly as satisfactory as the others. It is surely a very inaccurate description of a miracle as 'a conspicuous deviation from the ordinary course of nature,' though we know that it is not an unprecedented one.

The History of Confirmation. By WILLIAM JACKSON, M.A., Queen's College, Oxford; Vicar of Heathfield, Sussex. (Oxford and London: James Parker and Co., 1877.)

INNUMERABLE pens have been exercised upon the subject of Confirmation, and it might have been thought, beforehand, that it would not be possible to say anything at all novel about it. Nor, indeed, has Mr. Jackson said anything particularly new in these pages, but he has put many things in a new light. What he says about the 'origin of Confirmation' is unusually complete and convincing. Chapter II., on the 'Grace,' while strong on the historical aspects of the subject, is rather weak and general on the doctrinal; and goes off, as is, we must say, lamentably the habit among us, into figurative expressions, which obscure the truth rather than express it. Much of the remainder of the book, on the 'Rites,' the 'Minister,' and the 'Titles' of Confirmation, is of an historical nature, and is very painstaking and complete.

There is, apparently, some error on p. 53, in the reference to the 'Second Spanish Council' (A.D. 657), for this was in A.D. 619. The Tenth of Toledo was held in A.D. 656; but neither of these had any such Canon as is referred to here.

The Prayer-Book: With Scripture Proofs and Historical Notices. By A. THEODORE WIRGMAN, M.A., Rector of S. Mary's, Port Elizabeth, and formerly Scholar of Magdalen College, Cambridge. (Bemrose, London.)

A THOROUGHLY excellent manual, short and compact enough for rapid use, and so perfectly sound in its doctrinal teaching as to deserve every Churchman's attention. We know no such handy book of which we can speak so highly. And the historical notes are remarkably clear and good.

The Altar Manual. New Edition. (G. J. Palmer, London.) A THOROUGHLY revised edition of a well-known book, and one which is much enlarged from various sources. It is designed of course for the use of persons accepting the highest Eucharistic doctrine, and we may add that of all such manuals it is certainly the best, fullest, and in diction the simplest.

Spiritualistic Madness. By L. S. FORBES WINSLOW, M.B. Cantab., D.C.L. Oxon. (Bailliere, Tindall, and Cox, price One Shilling), is quite a pamphlet to be read and taken note of. The author endeavours in it to show that the habitually dwelling upon what are known as spiritualistic doctrines produces in time a special type of madness, caused directly by this baneful preoccupation. It would probably be a mere cavil to reply that all of the many startling cases which the author adduces belong to past times and not to the

present, and that they must be referred to types of so-called supernaturalism, different in various ways from that which unhappily obtains so widely now. We are no apologists for table-rapping, and are quite willing to sit at the feet of one so competent as Dr. Forbes Winslow unquestionably is, to learn what he has to teach on matters about which the public is very much dependent on professional men for information. But knowing a little of logic, we may suggest to Dr. Forbes Winslow that his pamphlet leaves it not altogether clear whether the spiritualistic delusions *caused* the subsequent madness, or whether they were only the premonitory symptoms of it and were really caused by it. Dr. Forbes Winslow naturally rules this point in favour of his thesis, but we are not at all sure that a 'medium' would. And it evidently goes to the root of his entire argument.

History of England, principally in the Seventeenth Century. By LEOPOLD VON RANKE. 6 vols. (Macmillan and Co.)

THE reputation of Professor Ranke stands deservedly high among modern historians, and has procured for the work before us the singular honour of being translated by an entire syndicate of Oxford Tutors 'for the use of Students in Oxford.' It is unquestionably in many points well worthy of their attention. But we shall not do full justice to the learned author's labours unless we throughout bear in mind his principal object, and his own views of what is the most important province of history. These he sets before us with careful precision in his preface. As he has devoted the chief portion of his volumes to the elucidation of the stirring events of the seventeenth century, he not unnaturally alludes to the well-known works in which M. Guizot has travelled over a portion of the same field. And, while he argues that the cause of truth is served by 'epochs of great importance' in the history of any nation being investigated by foreign as well as by native authors, since 'it is surely good that we should possess foreign and independent representations to compare with those of home growth' (xi.), he also points out that writers of different nations will naturally regard and describe the occurrences of such epochs with different feelings and aims. 'Frenchmen will hold more to the constitutional point of view, and look for instruction or example in political science; the German will labour (after investigation into original documents) to comprehend each event as a political and religious whole, and at the same time to view it in its universal historical relations.' And the translators, adopting his view, speak of the entire series of his historical works, his *History of the Popes*; of the *Reformation in Germany*; of *France*; his work on the *Ottomans and the Spanish Monarchy*, &c. &c., as having one uniform aim, that of delineating the international relations of the States of Europe (*Transl. Pref. xv.*). And they are unquestionably right in thinking that it is this which constitutes their principal value for English students, inasmuch as it is the view of our history which has been least regarded by our native historians. To these, to the penetrating sagacity of Hume, not less than to the picturesque brilliancy of

Macaulay, the chief importance of the events of the past has seemed to lie in the way in which they bear on our present condition—the degree in which the struggles of our ancestors against despotism, whether that of a legitimate king or an usurper, laid the foundations of the liberty which we enjoy now. But what Professor Ranke rather seeks to set before us is the connexion between the affairs of England and the Continent—the extent, for instance, to which the outbreak of the Thirty Years' war in Germany affected the relations of our own Royal family and Government with those of France and Spain; the degree in which Mazarin's policy in the earlier years of his administration was influenced by the progress of and the views developed by the leaders of the rebellion in England; and, at a later period, the extent to which the all-grasping arrogance of Louis XIV., and, on the other side, the rising pretensions of the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Great Elector, the embarrassments of the Empire, and even the operations of the Turks in Hungary, by turns exasperated, encouraged, or disheartened the different parties in England. And his narrative of these transactions, which, if somewhat dry, is nevertheless most careful and minute, is supported by a copious collection of original documents, which have been exhumed by the Professor from the archives of different Continental Courts, and in some instances from our own. Many of these are of great historical value, not only from their authenticity, but also from their novelty; while others are of a touching interest, such as those written by Charles I. himself to the French Envoy Bellièvre from his captivity at Holmby. The importance of some indeed we must take on trust. It is not quite easy to divine why those who thought the history required a translation formed a different judgment as to the Appendix. It may not be wholly unreasonable to make an exception in favour of French; but fashion, which regulates even study, has of late, by one of its most unfortunate caprices, caused Italian to be very generally disregarded; so that comparatively few readers will derive much advantage from the correspondence of Contarini; while, though the translators eagerly endorse the author's assertion of the value of the correspondence between William and Hemsius, if they understand the 130 pages of Dutch of which it consists, we greatly doubt if they can find eight other gentlemen of similar erudition in the whole kingdom.

Even while fully appreciating the importance of the additional light thrown in these volumes on our foreign policy during the era of which they treat, we cannot subscribe to all our author's opinions of the abilities and character of some of the most influential individuals in England and France. When he would have us regard Buckingham as a man who, though selfish and unscrupulous, was nevertheless statesmanlike in his conceptions, and steady in pursuit of his objects, he certainly differs widely from all those of our own writers who have described his career. We are equally unable to agree with him when he attributes to Mazarin the same large and lofty views which animated Richelieu; and we confess to a feeling of profound surprise when he would have us look on such worthless court favourites as Concini

and Luynes as inaugurators of a grand system of domestic policy for France, and Richelieu himself as only the follower and imitator, 'carrying into effect with a strong arm what they had begun'—(i. 547). Nor can we forbear to point out that our author's view of the paramount importance of elucidating the connexion of England with foreign countries and foreign politics has led him into one or two strange slips, and some equally strange omissions. He attributes the imprisonment and death of Sir John Eliot to his refusal of the payment of shipmoney (ii. 38), though that great orator was in his grave before the impost was thought of, and though he might have learnt from Hallam that it was for 'words uttered in the House' (of Commons), that Charles pursued him with what we must confess to have been unkingly rancour. He makes an equally curious mistake about Lord Bolingbroke, whom he represents (v. 400) as after his return from exile voluntarily abstaining from re-entering Parliament, when it is notorious that Walpole's refusal to restore his seat in the House of Lords was always resented and denounced by him with the bitterest indignation. And he commits an error of still greater importance when he denies the possession by the House of Peers of criminal jurisdiction over members of the House of Commons; though he might again have learnt from Hallam (*Const. Hist.* c. xii.) that the House of Commons itself, by a formal resolution, asserted their own 'undoubted right to impeach any peer or commoner before the Lords in Parliament.' Some of his omissions are equally singular; such as, to take a single instance, his silence respecting the atrocious measures of James's Irish Parliament, its acts of confiscation and attainder, which Macaulay truly characterises as unexampled alike for their folly as for their cruelty. We have said that the style of the work is dry; and to the heaviness of the original the translators have added a fault of their own which should not have been found in a book printed in the University Press for the use of Oxford students. The whole eight seem to have agreed in the adoption of that worst of Scotticisms the use of *will* for *shall* and of *would* for *should*. The division of labour has produced no difference on this point, for there is not one of the volumes free from the error.

Still these blemishes cannot be put in the balance against the solid merits of the Professor's work. It is not indeed a complete history of this kingdom even in the seventeenth century; but in its careful elucidation of our foreign policy, it fills up for English readers a space which has been only partially occupied by our own writers. Nor, in view of the strange fashion of eulogising Cromwell, which has lately prevailed in some quarters, will it be of small service to both English and foreign students, from the plainness with which it repeats and enforces Hallam's exposure of his unexampled tyranny, and of the detestation with which, before his death, his government had come to be regarded by all classes of his countrymen—(iii. 222). The lesson may perhaps be not quite so much needed now as it was a few years ago; nor, we hope, has it ever been so much required in this as in some other countries. But, amid the general fermentation of spirits, and the temptations afforded by the convulsions and com-

plications which agitate all Europe, we fear it will be long before it is wholly superfluous anywhere.

De l'Ultramontanisme et du Gallicanisme, point de vue Providentiel dans la Question Romaine. Par l'Abbé VALIN, Ancien Curé de Lissieu. (Lyon, 1877.)

THIS tract exhibits, in a degree even beyond what is usual, the stringency, we might almost say the ferocity of Vaticanism in the business of repressive discipline, where it is not restrained by fear. A great Prelate like Bishop Strossmayer, strong in character, in talent, in the high dignity of his important See, and in the love of the people of a vast diocese, can brave the thunderbolt; but the case is very different even with an illustrious Professor such as Döllinger, and yet more different with a French Curé. But the case of the Abbé Valin is touching as well as instructive.

He was deposed by the Cardinal de Bonald, Archbishop of Lyons, in 1868, when he had held his place for thirty-five years, and in despite of an affectionate address from the Mayor, with Municipal Councillors and other inhabitants of Lissieu, giving him the support of their highest testimony. The present Archbishop promised him restoration in 1872, and gave him the following testimonial:—
'Testificamur C. M. Valin *esse pietate, samâ et bonis moribus conspicuum*, verâ et sincerâ fide ac religione probatum, et nullis pœnis ecclesiasticis innodatum. Quocirca illum plurimum in Domino commendamus, cum paterno et sincero affectu.' Together with this, full powers as to preaching and confessing were at once conferred; but the Ultramontane faction,

'Ever, like a subtle beast,

Lay couchant,'

and forbade, or at least prevented his restoration to his cure. While his fidelity to the older religion, and his adorning it by his life, were unquestioned, he found in the neo-Romanism of 1820 something that he could not digest.

The tract we have named constitutes the *corpus delicti*. We are not aware of any specialty in it which enhances the capital offence of declining to accept a new article of faith eighteen hundred and seventy years after the date of the old. If there be such a feature of aggravation, it probably is found in his view of the true method of Catholic reunion. He is bold enough to believe that this can be had, if only the Pope will cast aside (p. 53) his absolute supremacy, and his factitious infallibility. When, he says, Ultramontanism shall fall like rotting fruit from the tree, then Russia and the East, then England and Germany, will fall in.

What gives a peculiar character to the expulsion of this pious pastor after a ministry, as he tells us, of nearly half a century, is that he decidedly adheres to the temporal sovereignty of the Pope in the States of the Church. The children of Pius IX., he says (p. 50), as in the time of the Crusades, hastened, in our own day, to assist the Roman Pontiff, head of the Catholic religion, unjustly despoiled of a crown to which ages have given their sanction. 'Noble et

sainte cause ! bien digne de la protection du ciel, si elle n'eût été l'auxiliatrice de l'Ultramontanisme.' It is to us matter of regret that M. Valin should not perceive, how little religion and morality can give their sanction to political slavery ; and nothing less than political slavery is meant by the maintenance of the civil power of the Papacy through foreign arms, against the deliberate and permanent convictions of his subjects. Yet we should have hoped that this bad but honest opinion might have cancelled in the eyes of the dominant party the offence committed by M. Valin in his adhesion to the primitive and catholic doctrine of the Church. It is not so. Nothing short of absolute exterior submission will do. How long the existing tension will continue, and whether it will end in an explosion, or in the silent suppression of life, or in what other strange and mournful issue, it is not ours to say.

The Schools of Charles the Great, and the Restoration of Education in the Ninth Century. By J. BASS MULLINGER, M.A., S. John's College, Cambridge. (Longmans, Green and Co.)

THIS brilliant essay, written for the Kaye Prize, which it was successful in gaining, has the fault, inseparable from its comparative brevity, that it is *disappointing*. It gives so much that is valuable, glimpses into so many important fields, outlooks into byways of history as yet unexplored, that the hope suggests itself that the writer will some day make the present mere sketch the groundwork of a completer monograph of the subject upon a more adequate scale.

It is not without reason that the reign of Charlemagne is reckoned as the dividing line between the ancient and the modern world. From the fall of the Western Empire in A.D. 476 to the accession of Charles was not so much a period of transition from the old to the new, as one of wild confusion, of endless and purposeless warfare, of the paralysis of law and authority. With the accession of Clovis a process of gravitation towards the new centre became visible ; with the accession of Charles, in 768, the new crystallisation began its rapid progress. All things—political, social, and ecclesiastical—had partaken of the universal disorganisation. The political system was the first to right itself, and when, in the first lull of submission to his authority, the great Emperor had leisure to look about him, it was the deplorable spectacle of a corrupt episcopate, an ignorant priesthood, a cruel and licentious nobility, that met his eyes :—

'Such were the circumstances under which the first of the Carolingian monarchs assumed the supreme authority. That rich, fertile, and populous land which had so long sustained the traditions of Roman culture, even when these had well-nigh vanished from Italy itself, was in turn overshadowed by the darkness of barbaric conquest. The voice of the teacher was silent in the city and in the monastery ; the treasures of ancient literature lay mouldering in neglect ; while no inconsiderable portion was irrevocably disappearing from the possession of man'—(p. 39.)

The subject, then, of these pages is the history of that brilliant though temporary renewal of learning, both in Church and State, which the power and the determination of the great Emperor brought

about for the period of his reign. The method adopted by Mr. Müllinger is to treat separately the life and labours of each of the great scholars by whom this age was adorned. There is no question that their history is virtually that of the revival of learning. It was the heroic age of knowledge, before it passed, in the next period, into scholasticism. Chapter I. gives sketches of the monastic founders of that and the preceding period—S. Columban, the representative of the Irish monasteries; S. Boniface, who came from some monastic school in southern England; Alcuin, the glory of the great Cathedral school at York. Of each of these men, intelligent notices, only too brief, are given. The two great schools—that under Alcuin, first in the palace of Charlemagne, and afterwards in the abbey at Tours, and that under his greater scholar, Rabanus Maurus, Abbot of Fulda, and eventually Archbishop of Mainz—occupy nearly three chapters. The writer evidently regards Rabanus as the foremost scholar of the age; a scholar, too, of that peculiarly encyclopædic type which in these days of specialists we hardly perhaps estimate highly enough.

We need not speak of the concluding chapters, which do not, indeed, belong in strictness to the subject, though they continue it in a direction full of interest.

The work is, on the whole, full of merit, and of promise for the future, which is even more valuable. We hope that Mr. Mullinger will not abandon a subject which is so congenial to him, and in which he has given such fair earnest of good work. There is still ample room for a work on the Revival of Learning more full of warmth and earnestness than Milman's, and more complete than Dr. Döllinger's. There are abundant materials in Waitz's great work, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, to which we observe Mr. Mullinger does not refer.

The Suppression of the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese Dominions.

By the Rev. ALFRED WELD, of the Society of Jesus. (London: Burns and Oates, 1877.)

It can hardly be matter of surprise to anybody that a Society so active, so powerful, and so unscrupulous as that of the Jesuits, should have been at different times expelled from every country in Europe to which it had gained admission. It is of course possible that it has never deserved any one of these expulsions, and has been, all through its history, the innocent victim of unmerited suspicion. But such a conclusion cannot be called probable. Hence the work before us has an unfavourable presumption of considerable weight to combat. Nor, although F. Weld's narrative is written in a very proper spirit, and with marked vigour and ability, can we see that he rebuts these presumptions, otherwise than by repudiating them personally, and *saying* that they are unfounded. Such an apology for the Society must be regarded as quite inadequate which emanates from one of its members, and is published *permissu superiorum*. No one doubts that there are high-minded and religious men in the Order, who act habitually on the highest motives. But what is the use of denying that the principle that the *end justifies the means* is found in the institute, 'or that any

member ever taught it,' when every treatise of casuistical divinity contains it? It would seem that F. Weld is not so well acquainted with the works of the Jesuit Fathers as he might be. Or can he feel any surprise at the hostility evinced towards the Society in almost every State, after the publication in 1599 of the work of the Jesuit Mariana, '*De Rege et Regis Institutione*,' which bore the *imprimatur* of the authorities of the Order, and taught that the murder of bad Sovereigns by their subjects was not only permissible, but praiseworthy and glorious? This work was supposed to have instigated more than one attempt upon the lives of various Kings. It is not surprising that the preface does not refer to it.

How much was true and how much false in the charges made against the Jesuits in Portugal, under the auspices of Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal, has always been a matter of great doubt, and is so to this day. We have no reason, however, to pronounce F. Weld's work to be other than a fair statement of the case, though it is naturally throughout strongly favourable to the Society. But much of what he brings forward as exculpatory evidence consists of letters or memorials from persons interested, and are properly pleadings, not facts.

Hinduism. By MONIER WILLIAMS, M.A., D.C.L., with a Map. (S.P.C.K., 1877.)

HERE is a book, small in size, and unpretending in every way, which, nevertheless, is worth many books for its special purpose. So clear and able an exposition of the religion and philosophy of the Hindus we have seldom seen. Prof. Monier Williams was fitted for his task by an extensive acquaintance with the languages and literature of Hindustan, and has shown a remarkable faculty for seizing and expressing the often obscure conceptions which lie at the base of Brahmanism and its offshoot Buddhism. In issuing works of this class the S.P.C.K. in its publishing character is rendering a great service to that considerable and important class of Englishmen who are officially concerned in one capacity or another with the Hindus. They will all be able to learn much from it.

Non-Christian Religious Systems. Islam and its Founder. By J. W. H. STOBART, B.A. (S.P.C.K.)

THIS is one of a new series of works which for originality and real worth do the Society credit. There is not much originality about Mr. Stobart's sketch of the life of Mahomet; probably one could hardly expect there should be. And a good deal of his comparison between Christianity and Mohammedanism seems to us weak and uncritical. The account of modern sects also is very brief and inadequate. But the enumeration of Mohammedan usages is particularly painstaking and useful; and for these the work may be consulted.

An Archaic Dictionary: Biographical, Historical, and Mythological. From the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Etruscan Monuments and Papyri. By W. R. COOPER, F.R.A.S., Secretary to the Society of Biblical Archæology. (Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1876.)

IT is probably simply because of the difficulty and inaccessibility of

the materials needful for such a work as this, that it has not been attempted before. Every one interested in Biblical archæology has felt the want of some such index to the chief results of those modern researches into inscriptions and papyri, which are fast adding a new branch of knowledge to the old stock. These facts and names do not belong to the Greek or Roman period, and therefore very few of them are to be found in the classical dictionaries.

Mr. Cooper's Dictionary is therefore a work of considerable utility. It will probably be the first of a series. The articles in by far the greater number of instances are merely skeletons of their subjects; there are numerous omissions. The work is in fact a first tentative sketch of a difficult branch of knowledge. With all the defects which are apparent in the work, the compiler has done a thing worth doing, and made a beginning which will serve as a foundation for future and more matured editions. Henceforth we may hope to see the advances in this branch of knowledge marked by the growth and improvement of successive issues of this Dictionary. The process may begin with 'Assyrian Canon,' 'Cuneiform,' 'Eponym,' 'Moabite Stone' (there is a fair article on 'Rosetta Stone'), 'Daniel,' 'Chronologies,' 'Zendavesta' has a mere mention, and not an article at all; and there are other omissions.

Mr. Cooper certainly deserves the thanks of all scholars for what he has done. But in a new edition we shall hope to see a vast advance in the work.

1. *Sister Natalie*. By MRS. AUGUSTUS CRAVEN. Translated by Lady G. FULLERTON. (Bentley.)
2. *Life of Augustin Cochîn*. By the Count DE FALLOUX. (Chapman and Hall.)

WE have been so long accustomed to take for granted all that comes from the pen of Mrs. Augustus Craven, that we think it fair to warn our readers that, in writing *Sister Natalie*, she is not so much a Catholic as a Roman Catholic. It is not a novel, as its appearance might lead us to expect, but a biography of a young Russian girl who became discontented with the Greek Church, joined the Roman, and lived and died as an exemplary Sister of Charity. There are a good many letters from her, not very distinctive, gentle, pious letters to her sisters and friends, with little anecdotes of the orphans and of the other sisters; but with nothing well worth publishing. Some of the details are—we cannot help saying so—weak and puerile to our notions, *i.e.* the story of novice Laura, who, when told that she might retain her name, replied, 'I had resolved to make my name a sacrifice to God;' and again, the little devices by which Sister Natalie herself was always avoiding partaking of the nourishing food prescribed for her when in failing health. Such things occur in all stories of conventual saints, but may be to the good women themselves a sort of sportive piety and self-denial, but to us it seems that it would be much more obedient, not to say Scriptural, to 'eat that which is set before' her, rather than do what the secular English mind would call 'making a fuss.'

But our real objection to the work is in Mrs. Craven's arguments, which come to her naturally as an honest Roman Catholic, and therefore are put forth with an air of conviction which the unstable or ill-informed may not be able to resist. These are, of course, the ordinary pretensions to exclusiveness of Catholicity and truth. The words contradict one another, but nothing else will express the claim of Rome *versus* the Greek Church, which is accused of being dead both in devotion and missions. We could show an account of the conversion of the Aleutian Isles by the present Archbishop of Moscow, telling a very different tale. Anglicans come in for the like hits, and we are told that we try to rest upon a chain with a missing link—by which we imagine the lady refers to the Nag's Head fabrication, which she has probably been taught to believe. Altogether it is a book we had rather not see in the hands of the young.

We feel very differently about the other book we have to mention. M. Augustin Cochin was the modern representative of the admirable *gens de la robe*, who stood up so staunchly against the flood of evil in the old days of the monarchy. His family was an old one among the *bourgeois* of Paris; both his grandfather and father had been mayors of one *arrondissement* of the city, and he himself held the same office for many years. Born in 1823, he lost his mother in infancy, but grew up under a good and devout father's care, which preserved him, in spite of the ordinary French public education, from ever losing his faith or his innocence. There is a charming little note from him before his first communion, asking pardon from his father and the servants for any offences against them. His father died when he was only seventeen, leaving extensive works of charity on hand. Augustin was resolved not to let them drop, and gave his time, his care, and means to them while pursuing his course of legal studies. His sense of responsibility made a man of him at once. He found a like-minded wife early in life, and had a perfectly peaceful and happy home. He was an excellent man of business, and was chosen director to various companies—in especial the Orleans Railway and to some great plate-glass works. He used his influence to establish classes, schools, clubs—everything that could conduce to the well-being, spiritual and temporal, of the people employed. He was also one of the chief managers of the great Paris Exhibition, but even then, so sensible was he of the hollow foundation of all the splendour of the Empire, that when he stood watching the distribution of medals, it seemed to him, amid the full magnificence, that he saw the handwriting on the wall like that at Belshazzar's feast. His friends were Lacordaire, Montalembert, Perreyne, Gratry—his politics were like theirs, Catholic and Liberal. In a most striking letter to Thiers, which he dictated on his death-bed, he says he was never either Imperialist or Republican—he was only for Jesus Christ—but it was the Monarchy to which he gave his last wishes as the best hope for his country's restoration. Under the Empire he did his work loyally to his country, and was a constant and valiant writer in *Le Correspondant*, never failing to defend the cause of the Church, and seek the good of the country, above all, of the working classes.

There is a curious episode about the stamping out of the 'Conférence de S. Vincent de Paul,' a sort of layman's guild for promoting piety and good works, because it was reported that at a village lottery photographs of the Count de Chambord had been distributed.

M. Cochin seems to have been the one Frenchman who feared instead of hoping at the outbreak of the war. He was shocked at the swaggering and irreligion of the men who went forth to fight the battles ; but he was one (as indeed he looks in the noble portrait in the frontispiece)—

‘ His spirit calmed the storm to meet,
Feeling the rock beneath his feet,
And tracing through the cloud the eternal cause.’

His eldest son at nineteen was in the army, and was made prisoner. The second was with him in Paris, where he was of course foremost in the various works of mercy during the siege.

Afterwards the Commune intended to seize him as one of their hostages, but he was saved by a warning from the men who had been employed under him, and quitted Paris in time. Finally, he was actually appointed mayor of the central district of Paris, but Thiers feared the Radicals too much to appoint a man so known for his religion, and made him mayor of Versailles.

The vast toil of restoration and reorganisation proved too much for him after the year of acute suffering which had aged him ; he caught typhoid fever, and died in his 50th year, in 1872. The Sister of Charity who was nursing him told him when he lamented taking her from the poor that she was bound to attend, not only the poor, but their benefactors. ‘ Benefactor of the poor,’ he said, ‘ that has always been my chief desire !’ And he was verily a benefactor, not in the old demoralising, indiscriminate fashion of his country, but by teaching them religion, self-reliance, and self-respect. May his works yet bear fruit !

The Rector of Oxbury. A Novel. By JAMES B. BAYNARD. (Tinsley, London.)

THE subject of this novel, which in all its main points looks much more like an actual than a fictitious narrative, is the career of a Dissenting minister from the time of his completing his education for the ministry to that of his quitting it for the Church of England. How he fared, and how he was worried, how he gradually overcame the manifold difficulties of his position, and then, at the moment of success, abandoned that position, may be read at full length in the book itself, which we heartily recommend to all our readers, clerical not less than lay.

THE
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—THE ANGLICAN FORM OF ORDINATION.

1. *The Question of Anglican Ordinations Discussed.* By E. E. ESTCOURT, M.A., Canon of S. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham. (London, 1873.)
2. *Anglican Orders. A few Remarks in the form of a Conversation on the recent work by Canon ESTCOURT.* (London, 1873.)
3. *The Validity of Anglican Orders Examined.* By the Very Rev. P. R. KENRICK. (Philadelphia, 1841.)
4. *The Ordinal of King Edward VI.* By Dom WILFRID RAYNAL, O.S.B. (London, 1871.)
5. *Shall we alter the Ordinal? A Paper originally submitted to the Revision Committee of the Church of Ireland.* By CHAS. PARSONS REICHEL, D.D., Archdeacon of Meath. (Dublin, 1872.)
6. *Quarterly Review*, October 1877. Art. 'Ordination and Confession.'

THE works above named come from very different quarters, and agree only in this, that they are attacks upon the Form of Anglican Ordination. The pamphlet of Archdeacon Reichel assails it from the Protestant side. The gist of his argument is this: that the sentence which we use for the Ordination of Priests does not appear to have been so applied in the Primitive Church or in any Ordinal up to the twelfth century, and that it was then adopted because of the countenance which the words 'whosoever sins thou dost remit they are remitted

unto them' were calculated to give to the mediæval practice of confession. The English divines, who adopted this form for the Ordinal in the reign of Edward VI., did so, he imagines, under an erroneous impression derived from the schoolmen that this use of the words was primitive, and that they were necessary to valid Ordination: if they had possessed the information concerning the ancient Ordinals which the researches of Morinus made known, it may be supposed they would not have made such a selection at all. And should we now alter them we should, according to the Archdeacon, only be doing what the Reformers would have done had they possessed our knowledge. These arguments have been replied to in Ireland, and have there failed in effecting the change at which they aimed. And it would be quite unnecessary for us to refer to them now if it were not that, to our great surprise, they have made their appearance on this side the water exactly in their old form, and evidently also with their old object, of preparing the way for a revision of the Ordinal, although the circumstances of the Church of England do not permit so explicit a statement of that purpose as we find in the Irish pamphlet.

But this supposed Romish origin of our sentence of Ordination by no means conciliates to it the approval of Romish writers. On the contrary, the work of Canon Estcourt is an elaborate indictment of the validity of our form. Some of his co-religionists appear, if we may judge from the Conversation above named, to be far from easy as to the soundness of his reasoning, and prefer to cling to the old Nag's Head story or to the imagination that Barlow was unconsecrated. But in fact his work shows very plainly that the personal succession of our bishops cannot be impugned save by a captious historical criticism under which the Apostolic succession of any See in Christendom must be declared unproven.¹ The only hope which Rome possesses of invalidating our claim to the possession of a true priesthood lies in objections against the form of our Ordinations.

To this question of form then we apply ourselves. He is

¹ It is not remarked either by Canon Estcourt or his critic that the Irish succession is not subject even to those poor objections which the Nag's Head story and the cavils regarding Bishop Barlow furnish to the English. Even if all Dr. Brady's arguments were allowed to be well founded, the Irish succession through Archbishop Curwen, consecrated in 1555, is unimpugned. See the *Irish Reformation*, by W. M. Brady, D.D., 5th ed., p. 187.

widely mistaken who supposes that an inquiry into form in the sense in which we here use the word concerns anything formal, minute, or merely fitted for theologians. The very reverse is the case. All being agreed that laying on of hands is the action necessary in Ordination, reason and common-sense require that the action should be accompanied by some words expressing an intelligent appreciation of its meaning. The Lord has given all His gifts and instructions to reasoning beings and not to machines. And it would be formal and mechanical in the extreme to contend that the mere doing of a certain act made a priest unless some words at the same time expressed a sense of what a priest is, and how he is made, and an intention of using the action with this sense and meaning. This is but the same principle which prevails in arranging all the forms of procedure in State affairs and in the law.

Following out the same line of thought, we are bound to allow that words which constitute a valid form when used in a certain sense may yet be invalid if used in a different sense. If the king were in mere joke to use a word which purported to endow a man with some dignity or office, it would be an extreme of formalism to argue that the office or dignity was thus really conferred. And even if this were allowed in secular affairs, which deal only with the outward life, the same principle could not be extended to a proceeding so essentially spiritual as the making of bishops or priests. At the same time reason demands that where a form is used which is under any circumstances allowed to be valid, a strong presumption should be allowed in its favour, and very weighty arguments demanded of any one who impugns it.

It is of course necessary that we should defend the validity of the form, both in the state in which it was used for a century after 1549 and in its present condition. But let us observe at the outset in what sense we call the Sentences of Ordination the Form at all. We shall see that prayer and the laying on of hands were, according to all ancient precedent, the sole requisites. These sentences, then, not being strictly precatory, cannot, by themselves, be called the forms of Ordination in that sense in which the word is used when it is said that the form together with the matter make the sacrament. But it is highly reasonable to regard these sentences in combination with the prayer which has preceded. There has been prayer in the 'Veni Creator;' prayer by the consecrating or ordaining bishops for those 'called to the office of priesthood,' or 'called to the work and ministry of a bishop;' prayer in the

silent supplications asked from all present ; and in the collects which immediately precede the laying on of hands ; and the sentences conclude the prayers and furnish additional evidence as to what the Church meant in them and with what amount of certainty she looked for an answer. Thus these sentences are a very important part of the form and, had they been different from what they are, would have given a wholly different meaning to the whole transaction.

The author of Holy Orders is God : and the laying on of hands signifies the communication of His Grace for the purpose of conferring them. It is natural, therefore, that prayer acknowledging the Divine source of the grace which is sought, and claiming it, should be, with imposition of hands, the essential requisite for a valid form. And so we find it in every Ordinal and in every historical record of Ordinations through every period of Christian history. Prayer and the laying on of hands are the essentials of the rite. Now, in the most ancient forms which we possess, the prayer accompanies the laying on of hands, and its words have then a double aspect. They are in the first place an address to God demanding of Him the grace, and in the second place they have, as regards the person ordained, a sacramental character, sealing or conveying to him the grace which is sought for, and which it is known God has covenanted to grant. And this is not at all unnatural. It is in fact the form in which every benediction runs. The words, 'The Lord bless you,' and all the numberless variations in which the same idea is expressed, involve both an address to God in prayer and an address to men in blessing. But though this be quite natural, yet it is plain the character of the transaction would be more clearly brought out by the utterance of a prayer to God in the first place and then the use during the imposition of hands of some words which, directly addressed to the person ordained, should be fitted to make him conscious of the powers and duties which are being imparted to him. Thus our form runs. And in the New Testament (Acts xiii. 3) the prayer seems to have distinctly preceded the laying on of hands ; the words by which the imposition was accompanied, if any such they were, have not been preserved to us.

One can see the operation of this obvious way of reasoning, though clumsily applied, in the different parts of the *Roman Pontifical*. First we have a silent imposition of hands ; in continuation of this an extension of hands over the heads of the ordinands, accompanied by a prayer. And this, beyond doubt, is the most ancient part of the office, and by

this imposition of hands and prayer the best authorities in the Roman Church agree that the priest is ordained.¹ But after this, the delivery of the vessels, with power to offer sacrifices, has been added; at which point the rubric of the Pontifical begins to call the candidates *ordinati* instead of *ordinandi*. But still further on come the words, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum, quorum remiseris peccata remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueris retenta sunt*, accompanied by another imposition of hands. Now this Ordinal has plainly come to be what it is in the course of ages by a very natural process of aggregation, but without any care to incorporate the successive additions so as to make a consistent whole. If the moderns be right that the second (better called, the first) imposition makes the priest, it is nothing less than a denial of her own orders by the Church of Rome, that she should afterwards call him *ordinandus*. However, he is certainly made a priest *either* by this second imposition *or* by the delivery of the vessels, as Eugenius IV., in his *Epistle to the Armenians* (very erroneously, in spite of his infallibility), laid down; an opinion which the rubric reflects. At all events, the priest being, by one or other of these acts fully made, has received all the powers of the priesthood, and it is utterly anomalous to use the words which are meant to endow him with those powers at a period of the service so very much later as that at which the *Accipe* occurs. The whole form for ordaining priests in the *Roman Pontifical* is in the very utmost confusion: full of beautiful elements thrown together with a want of harmony and arrangement which actually involves serious doctrinal misstatement. And Dr. Dollinger at Bonn was very well justified in quoting to Roman impugnors of Anglican Orders the proverb, 'They who live in a glass house should not throw stones.'

Such as it is, however, the form came into the hands of the schoolmen imposed by an authority from which there was no appeal, and, making the best of it, they wove their theories about it: theories so various and inconsistent as to attract the derision of the Protestants, who mocked them for not being able to discover how the priest was made.² But we must not confound their theories as to how the priest is made under their own Pontifical with their conception of what is absolutely necessary under all circumstances for the making of a priest. Archdeacon Reichel has convinced himself that

¹ Perrone, *Prælect. Theol.* Ed. Migne, ii. p. 480; Scavini, *Theol. Mor.* iv. p. 351; Kenrick, *Ang. Ord.* p. 182, note.

² Tyndale, *Doctrinal Treatises*. Par. Soc. ed. p. 258.

there was so strong a body of opinion among the schoolmen in favour of the doctrine that a priest was made by the repetition of the words of S. John xx. 23, that it may have been expected to influence the Reformers even after these had broken with well nigh every other Roman belief. But in the first place he does not make it clear that anybody held such a theory without being also possessed by the preconception that, as this was the form enjoined by the Church of Rome, all were bound to adopt it. Now, if what the schoolmen meant by their assertion of the effect of the words of S. John xx. 23, in Ordination, was its effect under the Roman form, and because enjoined by the authority of the Roman Church, their theory cannot be supposed to have had the least influence on our Reformers, who had cast off all regard for that authority. Again, Archdeacon Reichel is mistaken in supposing that Bellarmine asserts Ordination to be effected by the repetition of these words alone. His doctrine is quite different; namely, that it is effected *by the two acts* of delivering the vessels and reciting the Lord's words with imposition of hands. Now a belief that Ordination is effected by the two forms cannot reasonably be supposed to have had a constraining influence in favour of retaining one of these, the *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, upon persons who were utterly casting away the other supposed essential (in which, as a glance at the rubrics must have shown them, the real force was supposed to lie), namely, the delivery of the instruments.

The decree of the Council of Trent, when fairly considered, does not go even so far as Bellarmine. It merely anathematizes those who say that the *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum* is said in vain. But this is quite as consistent with the supposition that the words express the nature and power of the Orders previously conferred, as that they are supposed to confer the Orders.¹ Accordingly, the approved opinion among Roman theologians, even so extreme as Alphonsus Liguori, is that Orders are conferred during the second laying on of hands before either the *porrectio instrumentorum* or the *Accipe*. They could not entertain such an opinion if the Council of Trent had decided otherwise. And the *Acta Genuina* of the Council, as published by Theiner,² afford proof that the wording of the decree was deliberately adopted to avoid pledging the Council to any theory on the subject. For there we find that drafts of decrees were proposed, which should declare, 'Si quis dixerit unctionem *non requiri* in sacramenti ordinis traditione,

¹ See Kenrick, *Ang. Ord.* p. 178.

² Vol. i. p. 646; see also vol. ii. p. 152.

anathema sit :’ and ‘si quis dixerit episcopum, *dum ordinat*, frustra dicere, Accipe Spiritum Sanctum, anathema sit.’ The decrees as passed contain no assertion that unction is required, nor that the bishop says the *Accipe* while he is ordaining ; for they run, ‘Si quis dixerit frustra episcopos dicere, Accipe Spiritum Sanctum,’ and ‘si quis dixerit sacram unctionem, quâ Ecclesia in sanctâ ordinatione utitur, non tantum non requirit sed contemnendam et perniciosam esse, anathema sit.’ And, indeed, it would be strange if the Council had been without the knowledge that neither ceremony was essential ; for not only had it among its members Salmeron, whom Mason quotes as fully acquainted with the Greek methods of Ordination, but the Greek Ordinals, which, containing neither ceremony, were yet universally recognised as valid, had been printed at Venice (not so far from Trent) in four or five editions before the Council met.¹ It would be simply ludicrous to imagine the English Reformers to have been more under the dominion of the schoolmen than the Council of Trent itself.

What reason does the Archdeacon offer us for so strange an opinion ? We really can discover none, except a passage from a sermon of Bishop Andrewes, and a general description by Morinus, of the condition of ignorance on the matter, under which a large number of writers laboured before his researches were made. Andrewes says that by the words ‘Receive the Holy Ghost, Holy Orders were given to the Apostles, and are by the same words given to us at the present day ; which words if the Church of Rome had not retained, her priesthood might have been doubted.’² But probably Andrewes was only speaking of the omission of Scripture principles which there would have been in the Roman Ordinal had these words been left out ; certainly, he is not accepting the authority of schoolmen, but is judging them and their Church by Scripture. We can hardly suppose him, of all men, to have either intended to condemn Eastern Orders or been ignorant how they were conferred. But if he was thus strangely ignorant, it is absurd to argue from his case to that of the Reformers, when there was between them this great difference, to mention no other, that while he doubtless admitted no Orders but Episcopal, most of them either recognised foreign Protestant Orders, conferred without these words at all, or, at least, were quite familiar from their intercourse with foreigners with the idea of dispensing with them.

¹ The early publication of the Greek Ordinals was brought out in a letter of the Rev. Professor Gibbins to a Dublin paper, Dec. 4, 1872.

² Sermons, vol. iii. p. 267. *Ang. Cat. Lib. Ed.*

Mason, a contemporary of Andrewes, not only quotes Salmeron for the fact that Greek Orders were conferred by a precatory form, but himself lays down, in a work published thirty years before that of Morinus, the clearest principles concerning the requisites for valid form. 'Christ, through His Apostles, ordained that ministers should be appointed in His Church, for Christ speaks in His Apostles. But to ordain ministers is nothing else but to commit to them ministerial power, which cannot be done without fitting words. Wherefore, while Christ, through His Apostles, gave it in command that ministers should be appointed, He commanded also, though implicitly, that during Ordination fit words should be used, *i.e.* words which should include the power of the orders then conferred.' 'Shall we say, then,' he asks, 'that there can be different essential forms for conferring the same order?' 'In words,' he replies, 'two things are to be regarded, the sound and the sense; difference of sound does not constitute difference of essential forms when the very same sense underlies them. What, then, is the sense which is required for the essential form of Ordination? that by which the whole power of that Order is conferred, which, however, may lie hid under different forms of words.'¹ In the preceding generation, we find Whitgift declaring that the Ordinal is 'almost in no point correspondent to the Pope's Pontifical.' But more important still are the opinions (printed in Burnet² and Collier) of the divines who, in 1540, were appointed to draw up the 'Necessary Doctrine and Erudition.' There the query is proposed, 'whether in the New Testament be required any consecration of a bishop and priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient.' Fifteen opinions of bishops and divines are given, all treating of the requisites for Orders. There is not a whisper of the opinion which Archdeacon Reichel supposes so widespread. One we shall give, because it came from Hethe, Bishop of Rochester, who was so far from being a vehement Protestant, that he afterwards refused to accept the Ordinal. 'The Scripture speaketh de impositione manûs et de oratione, and of other manner of consecrations I find no mention in the New Testament expressly; but the old authors make mention also of inunctions.'

As for Morinus, it would be quite absurd to be guided by his authority as to the belief of the English Reformers a hundred years before. But even he does not record any universal opinion in favour of the necessity of the words, but

¹ *Vindicia Eccl. Ang.* 1625, pp. 220, 221.

² *Records*, Part i. B. iii. No. 21.

only a doctrine of that nature held by 'most of the schoolmen,' which, as he points out, the Church herself cannot have shared, since she did not re-ordain Greek priests on joining her.

Never, we are persuaded, was a more baseless theory propounded, nor one displaying a more profound ignorance of the state of belief among the Reformers, than that by which Archdeacon Reichel would persuade us that the Ordinal was composed under a misconception, and on which he would ground a motion for altering it.

The genuine history of the composition of our form introduces us to a condition of thought as wide apart as the poles from that in which Archdeacon Reichel supposes it to have originated, and to society in which it is ridiculous to mention the theories of the schoolmen. In fact, we should advise nobody to study the real history of this matter who has not nerve enough to recognise how close the Church of England lay in those days to mere Protestantism. But whoever, in observing the care which in many dangers God took for the Catholic truth which our Church preserves, can find compensations for the presence in her history of objectionable elements may find abundant interest in the history of the Ordinal. In the winter of the year 1549, we find that a Committee was appointed to prepare an Ordinal against the ensuing April 1. Now on April 25 of that same year 1549, Martin Bucer had reached England from Strasburg. It is very well known that Bucer exercised a very injurious influence upon the Prayer-Book of 1552. But little or no notice has been taken of the important work which we find, under the title *de ordinatione legitimâ ministrorum ecclesiæ revocandâ*, at p. 238 of his *Scripta Anglicana*. The most cursory perusal of this work will prove its relationship to our Ordinal. The selections of Scripture to be read are very nearly identical with those used in our three forms. The beautiful exhortation in our Ordinal of Priests stands unmistakeably, though in a poor Latin style, in Bucer's work. The questions put to the ordinands are in many cases identical, and of many of the prayers the same may be said. But Bucer's form is only one for all the three Orders. The sentence of Ordination is the same whether it is a bishop, priest, or deacon that is being ordained, viz. 'The

¹ Basel, 1577. The chief portions will be found printed side by side with the corresponding parts of our Ordinal in one of the pamphlets produced by the Irish Revision agitation: *We ought not to alter the Ordinal*. By Rev. R. Travers Smith. Dublin: Hodges and Foster. 1872.

hand of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost be upon you, protect and govern you, that ye may go and bring forth much fruit by your ministry, and that it may remain unto life eternal.' But he adds at the conclusion an account of an attempt (of a quite illusory character) to keep up the appearance of episcopacy in a church really Presbyterian; proposing this apparently as a model for the Church of England:—

'Since there are three orders of presbyters and guardians of the Church: the order of bishops, then that of presbyters, whom the ancients called cardinals, who carry on the chief government of the Church in places where there are no bishops; and then that of those presbyters who help the former and are called among us deacons or helpers; thus also ordination is graduated; that when any one is ordained a superintendent, *i.e.* bishop, all things may be done and accomplished somewhat more fully and solemnly than when a presbyter of the second or third order is ordained. So also there is made some difference between the ordination of presbyters of the second and third orders.'

Now, regarding this work, only two theories are possible. Either it was the Ordinal of 1549 translated into Latin (as the Prayer-Book was) for the information of Bucer, who did not know English, and by him altered and welded into one form and proposed as a 'reduction of episcopacy' for the Revision of 1552, or else it was an original draft for the Ordinal of 1549; either drawn up by Bucer himself as an account of the arrangements in his church of Strasburg and proposed as a model for England, or an alteration by him of some draft by Cranmer or some other of the Committee. Various indications, which we have not space to recount, incline us to the first form of the latter alternative. We hold that the document was a draft for the Ordinal of 1549, and moreover, that it is the original work of Bucer himself. But for the purpose which we have at present in hand, it does not make much difference which of these theories we adopt. *Either* the Reformers in 1549 composed their Ordinal on the basis of a draft by Bucer altered by them, *or* the Reformers in 1552 rejected certain proposals by Bucer for an alteration of the Ordinal of 1549.

Now the relation which the English form bears to Bucer's is this. His vague proposal for a certain difference of solemnity in the application of the common form to one or other of the three Orders expands into a separate and distinct office for each. The Psalms and passages of the Bible which are suggested by him are distributed with strict discrimi-

nation among the three forms. His prayers and questions are, with the necessary corrections, used so far as they would go; but others are added where required for a threefold form. Above all, his one poor and perfectly inadequate sentence of Ordination vanishes altogether, and three distinct ones of the utmost force and definiteness appear in its place. Of course Archdeacon Reichel eagerly remarks here that the Reformers, while adopting so much of Bucer's draft, wandered from it in the sentence of Ordination, under the influence of those theories of the schoolmen which he attributes to them. It is not just to make this observation without observing that they made this alteration of Bucer's work only as a part of the whole process of making three forms out of his one, and that they could not have taken his words except by giving up episcopacy. Moreover, in the form for bishops and in that for deacons, they did not resort to the Pontifical. Whether, then, is it more likely that they went to the Pontifical or to Scripture direct for the sentence for priests? The considerations we have already urged make it to the last degree unlikely that they were influenced by the example of the Roman form. It is unnecessary to suppose even that the schoolmen directed them, as Canon Estcourt imagines, to the selection of imperative rather than precatory forms. A wholly different reason for their selection is discoverable: a reason which we believe to be of the greatest importance in the whole controversy.

The preface to the Ordinal states it to be evident to all men *reading Holy Scripture* . . . that from the Apostles' time there hath been these orders of ministers in the Christian Church, bishops, priests, and deacons.¹ Now, in reference to the testimony of Scripture, it has been a belief at all times maintained by many of the most learned and orthodox writers in every part of the Church, that the order of the priesthood succeeds to the original mission of the Apostles as the messengers of the Lord to dispense His word and sacraments; while the bishops succeed to that office to which, in the development of the Apostolic Church, we find Timothy and Titus raised as successors of the Apostles in their supreme government. How far the Church of Rome herself has been from disallowing such a view, may be judged by any one who will read the debates of the Council of Trent upon the subject, or the chapter devoted by Morinus¹ to the various opinions on the distinction between bishops and

¹ *Sac. Ord.* iii. pp. 37-39.

priests. In accordance with this exposition, the sentence of Ordination for Priests in the Ordinal of 1549, consists of the words which the Lord addressed to His Apostles, 'Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, whose sins thou dost retain they are retained,' followed by the admonition, 'Be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God and of His Holy Sacraments.' In the consecration of a bishop, the first words are, 'Take the Holy Ghost;' but that these words are not extracted from the verse in S. John is testified by the very substitution of *take* for *receive*. 'Take the Holy Ghost' is set down in order to provide a basis for the reference contained in the words which follow, 'and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by imposition of hands: for God hath not given us the spirit of fear but of power, and of love and of a sound mind.' These words are taken from 2 Tim. i. 6-7.

The reason, then, of the selection of the sentences of Ordination in 1549 we believe to have been *purely Scriptural*. They amounted to this, that whatever the Lord meant to impart to His Apostles by the words recorded by S. John, that the Church desired to impart to her priests; and whatever the grace which was given to Timothy by the laying on of the Apostles' hands, that the Church desired to give to her bishops, and bid them in the Apostle's words to stir it up.

These forms were altered at the last review by the insertion of the words, 'for the office and work of a priest now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands,' and 'for the office and work of a bishop in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands,' the word 'take' being also changed to 'receive.' And it is highly significant that at the same time a change was made in the portions of Scripture appointed for the Epistles and Gospels in the Ordinal for priests and bishops respectively. In 1549 the Epistle in the Ordinal for priests was either the passage from Acts xx., in which S. Paul addresses the elders of Ephesus whom the Holy Ghost has made overseers, or else a portion of 1 Tim. iii., which says that if any man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work. In 1662 these passages are both transferred to the Consecration of Bishops. In 1549 one of the alternative Gospels for the ordination of priests was the concluding portion of S. Matthew, in which the Lord says to His Apostles, 'Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' In 1662 this passage appears as one of the

alternative Gospels for the consecration of bishops, while another of them is furnished by the words from S. John xx., which in 1549 provided the sentence of Ordination for priests. It seems, then, abundantly plain that, although the revisers of 1662 did not so alter the sentences of Ordination as to expunge the original idea, yet a different theory prevailed with them as to the manner in which the Orders of bishops and priests are discoverable in Scripture, and of the texts which refer respectively to each. We rather think that the expositions of 1549 are those which would find favour with most critics of the present day. But we shall not enter upon that question. The correctness or incorrectness with which the passages of Scripture were expounded could never be supposed to influence the validity of the Ordination. That may depend upon the intention with which the Church uses the words, but certainly not upon the correctness of her Biblical criticism.

Now, it would be quite possible to hold the belief that in the mission of Timothy by S. Paul we find the source and precedent of the episcopal office, and at the same time to conceive that the 'laying on of my hands' mentioned in 2 Tim. i. 6-7, was that by which Timothy was ordained *presbyter*. But much more is it certain that any who considered that laying on of hands to have been a special one which took place when Timothy was raised to the office he was then holding in Ephesus, must see episcopacy as a distinct order in the office which he filled. But this is precisely what the Reformers must have believed. For they direct a laying of hands on those who, having been already presbyters, are now to be made bishops, and they use the words from 2 Tim. in direct reference to this. And if any doubt is still possible as to the exposition of Scripture which suggested the selection of these sentences, it will be set at rest by reading the explanation of the two passages in the paraphrase of Erasmus. Now, just at the time of the composition of the Ordinal that work was a kind of authorised document in the English Church, having been translated in 1547 and 1549, and ordered to be set up in every parish church in England for popular use. And S. John xx. 23 is thus paraphrased by Erasmus: 'Simul cum dicto insufflavimus in faciem illorum impartitus Spiritum, addidit auctoritatem remittendi peccata cunctis hominibus qui per evangelicam professionem ac baptismum sibi jungerentur perque vitæ prioris pœnitentiam vere resipiscerent.' And 2 Tim. i. 6-7 is in the same work explained as follows: 'Donum Dei quod per imposi-

tionem manuum mearum *episcopus ordinatus* accepisti suscites tuâ industriâ vigilantiaque fortique et infracto animo peragas tibi delegatum munus.'

This reference to the Paraphrase of Erasmus will be found, we are convinced, of much importance as showing the intention with which these sentences of Scripture were chosen ; nor this alone, but also as furnishing us with an exposition of the particular sense in which they were intended to be taken. Let any one consider how exactly contemporaneous with the composition of the Ordinal was the sanction given by the Church to the Paraphrase, and how unreserved that sanction was, and he will be convinced that if Cranmer himself could have been asked what he meant by the words of the Ordinal he would have replied in the words of the Paraphrase. Now let us remember that the Paraphrase was not a Protestant work. In the words of Professor Blunt,¹ 'having been executed by a member of the Church of Rome, from whose eyes, however, the scales were fast falling, it was calculated, he (Cranmer) might think (and an expression which drops from him confirms this) for a Church in a state of transition like our own. Had Gardiner compared it with similar writings of some other of the Reformers he would have found that in making such a choice, Cranmer, so far from intending to irritate, could only be led by a desire to conciliate the Roman Catholics as much as might be without a compromise.' And these observations upon Cranmer's intention in setting forth the Paraphrase may, with precisely the same justice, be made as to his intention in applying, so exactly according to the principles of the Paraphrase, the passages of Scripture which he used in the Ordinal.

We should, however, be mistaken if we supposed that Cranmer was likely to meet, so far at all events as the sentence for ordaining priests was concerned, with any opposition to his explanation, even from the most ultra-Protestant reformer with whom he was at the time in contact. We find in the *Scripta Anglicana* of Bucer (p. 592), a work upon the 'Power and Use of the Sacred Ministry.' There the words of S. John xx. 22-3 are expounded as follows: 'Another place to which I desire to call your attention is that in John xx. "As my Father sent Me, even so send I you;" and "He said, Receive the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted," &c. He does not say "to whomsoever ye shall announce that their sins are forgiven," but "whosoever sins ye, ye shall remit." Observe to what a

¹ Quoted by Mr. Pennington, *Life of Erasmus*, p. 199.

dignity He raises His ministers; for it is the part of God alone to remit to men their sins, even as it is the part of any individual man (his part is such a sense that it cannot be done by any one else) to remit any injury done against himself, and to reconcile his mind to the person who has inflicted it. But God wishes to exhibit His grace and His remission of sins to His children through His ministers, and all those ministries which He has ordained for this purpose; for by baptism the children of God are washed from their sins, and that washing, and the remission of all sins afterwards committed, is confirmed and exhibited in the Eucharist, in Absolution, and in every ministration of the Gospel and of holy prayers.'

Had Cranmer been pressed with the notable argument, that the Lord's words are addressed, not to individuals in the singular as the words of our Ordinal, but to the Apostles in general, he would doubtless have replied that it was impossible to explain how this general commission could be real without extending to each Apostle, or how it was to be suspended all the time they were going separately into all the world, and only to become active if they happened (as was never the case) all to come together again. If he had been plied with the often-quoted remark of Dr. Pusey, that so long as these words were repeated over priests when ordained, so long there would be confession in the Church of England, he would probably have answered that, in the first place, it was neither his wish nor intention to bring about a state of things in which there should be no confession in the Church of England, but only to abolish the obligation to confess, and the unnecessary minuteness which had been usual in the ordinance; and in the next place, that so long as the words stood in the Bible as Christ's commission to His ministers, so long would they, and any practical consequence fairly derivable from them, be applicable to all validly ordained ministers whatever the form used in their ordination.

We seem now to be in a position to consider the Roman Catholic criticisms upon the validity of our forms. And here we are met in the outset by an admission which might well seem to be decisive. In the year 1704 the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition was asked to decide upon the validity of the Ordinations of the schismatic Church of Abyssinia, where Orders were wont to be conferred after the following well-nigh incredible fashion. The archbishop would hold no ordinations until eight or ten thousand candidates were assembled in the city where he resided. It was then necessary for him to ordain

them at the rate of three or four thousand a day. They who were to receive the priesthood were arranged in ranks in the church, and 'the archbishop passing hastily in front of them imposes his hands on the head of each saying "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum." And in consequence of the great multitude, the confusion, and the haste, the archbishop on some does not impose his hands at all, and in other cases does not pronounce the words of the form.' The question was whether priests are validly ordained in such a form, and ought, therefore, on being purged from their schism, to be admitted to the exercise of their office in the Roman Church. And the answer of the Congregation was that the form was to be treated as valid for all who could remember that the hands had been placed on their heads, and the words 'Receive the Holy Ghost' spoken.¹ The meaning and intention of the words were supposed to have been sufficiently defined by the general faith and doctrine of the Abyssinian Church as expressed by certain sacred books of theirs, which, in fact, were not used in Ordinations at all.²

The decision seems very strange when we remember that prayer is according to all antiquity the essential part of the form, and that in these ordinations there is no sign of any prayer whatever. But passing over this, we make the obvious remark, that as the words 'Receive the Holy Ghost' are used in our Ordinal, there seems no good reason why Roman Catholics should, on their own principles, any longer dispute the validity of our forms. This very obvious remark having been made by others, a 'doubt' upon the question whether imposition of hands with the words 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' is enough to confer priests' orders, was submitted a short time ago by Cardinal Manning to the Congregation of the Inquisition, and the reply was communicated in a letter of Cardinal Patrizi, which was printed in the *Month* for July 1875. It was to the following effect. In the first place it states that the decision of the Congregation in 1704 was not formally a decree. On which we remark that we have here a curious instance of the practical working of Papal infallibility: an instance exactly parallel to the case of the condemnation of Galileo. A question comes before the infallible tribunal; a reply is given by which the faithful guide their souls even in things which (like the validity of Orders) may be vital to salvation, on the understanding that they have received an infallible direction. But when some inconvenience or error becomes apparent in the practical application of the decision,

¹ Estcourt, p. 190.

² *Ib.* p. 243.

then it is discovered that something was wanting in its form, which deprives it of that infallible character which all had supposed it to possess. Such an infallibility seems to be singularly formed for leading people into obstinate error.

But, in the next place, the Congregation intimates that the rite of Ordination, as it is found in the sacred books of the Abyssinians, shows that the words 'Receive the Holy Ghost' do not constitute their whole form, and that therefore the decision is not to be understood as implying that these words suffice. Now anybody who will read the statement submitted to the Congregation in 1704, as given in Canon Estcourt's book (pp. 190 and App. xxxiv.), will observe that in his own words, 'in the case laid before the Sacred Congregation it is not stated that any prayers whatever are said, or any other words than the mere *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*.' He proceeds, it is true, to observe that the faith and doctrine of the Abyssinian Church are expressed by the unused part of the form. But it is certainly a strange principle and scarcely consistent even with the Roman doctrine of intention that the meaning and effect of words used should be determined by other words which are not used; which are very probably quite unknown to everybody concerned; and by the non-use of which the ordaining bishop deprives himself of all claim to be intending to do what his Church intended to do when she composed the form which he neglects. The answer, however, of the Sacred Congregation proceeds not on the ground that the mind of the Abyssinian Church in general is thus declared by the unused ancient rite, but on the ground that the ancient rite is *part of the same form* which contains what is actually used; 'those words *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*,' say they, 'do not constitute the *entire form*.' In this they are absolutely mistaken; 'for,' says Mons. Bel, in a letter to Canon Estcourt, 'how these words, *which are nowhere to be found in the Coptic rite*, were introduced into their rite, escapes our knowledge;' and the form given by the same authority from the *Fettah-Nagast*, or Abyssinian canons, gives a totally different sentence of ordination. We acknowledge that the impression produced upon us by these various utterances of the Sacred Congregation is simply that they are determined, at whatever cost of consistency and reason, to avoid recognising the validity of our orders.

But, apart from the question of the consistency of the decisions of the Congregation, we do not mean to deny that we perceive the force of the reasons which Canon Estcourt gives for the general principle, that words may be

used in such a way, and with such a meaning, as to destroy their validity in a particular case, even though they may be valid in others ; and that if these reasons could indeed be proved applicable to the Anglican rite, we should feel much doubt of its sufficiency. In truth, none but thorough formalists can contend that certain forms of words are to be considered valid, irrespectively of the intention of the church in using them. And this it is which gives reason to say deliberately that had the revision of the Ordinal, proposed to the Church of Ireland, been carried, great doubt might have been cast upon the validity of the Orders conferred by her. Should any of our readers be tempted to attach weight to the specious argument that all the ancient forms of Ordination known to us were precatory, we beg them to remember that neither reason nor the established principles of theology allow the question of the sufficiency of a form to be determined after such a summary fashion. The context and the known intention of the form must also be carefully taken into account.

Now, in weighing the intention of a form, a deliberate declaration of its purpose put forth by those who drew it up would be a most valuable guide. Such a declaration we have in respect of our Ordinal ; for its preface recounts that, '*from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's church—bishops, priests and deacons.*' '*And therefore, to the intent these orders should be continued and reverently used, it is requisite that no man shall execute them except he be admitted after this form.*' It is impossible to conceive how the compilers could have stated more strongly their desire to maintain the succession of Holy Orders in that essential meaning of the institution in which it had existed from the time of Christ, all down through the primitive and the middle ages to the age then present. We do not believe that any such declaration of intention could have been made by any body of men holding mere Protestant conceptions of Orders. But Canon Estcourt does not, so far as we remember, notice this profession of intention in the preface at all. He prefers to discover the intention of the form from the form itself.

On what grounds is it, then, that words which were considered by Rome to be sufficient when used with the utmost irreverence by the half-barbarous Abyssinians, are to be condemned as insufficient when used reverently and religiously in a body so much in earnest as the Church of England? We must refer the reader to Canon Estcourt's work for the details of the argument, giving here, in our own words, as

truthful and forcible a statement of it as we can, but without involving ourselves in technical questions of theology, such as that of 'character,' upon which the broad issue of validity could never be supposed to turn.

The grace of Orders is a different thing from the grace given by the same Spirit for the discharge of the duties of a civil or secular office. No one can doubt that grace to assist the due discharge of any office will be given to earnest prayer. But in the case of secular affairs, the office is, in its immediate origin, the creation of men, and so is the appointment of the person to it; and God fits him to discharge his duty. But this does not at all come up to the description of what God does in Ordination as Holy Scripture describes it, and as the Church has always held. It is not merely that He gives grace to perform the duties of the priesthood, but the priesthood itself is His gift and grace. He makes a man a *good* magistrate; it is the secular power that makes the man a magistrate at all. But it is not merely that the Holy Ghost makes a man a *good* priest; it is He alone who makes him a priest. And so S. Paul speaks to the elders of Ephesus: 'The Holy Ghost hath made you overseers to feed the Church of God.'

It is quite certain that many at all times, but especially many at the period of the Reformation, failed to grasp this theory of Holy Orders. The sacred ministry appeared to them as an office to which men were called and appointed by other men, while God might, as in the case of any other office, be asked and confidently expected to supply them with grace to do its duties rightly. Now, it might be conceived that the words in which this gift of the Holy Ghost should be sought for, and those in which it should be assured to those who sought for it, might be very strong indeed, while yet the conception that the Holy Ghost not only fits a man for the office, but promotes him to it, and passes upon him that change which places him in it, might be entirely absent. And this, as we understand Canon Estcourt, is his contention concerning the words of our Ordinal. 'Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest' was meant, he thinks, by those who framed the Ordinal, to describe only that same relation of the Holy Ghost to the priesthood which He has to any secular office. For, in respect of a secular office, it might quite conceivably be said by any one who had authority to say it—'Receive the Holy Ghost for this office and work,' without thereby at all implying the ascription to the Holy Ghost of the act itself by which the man is invested with the office and its powers. The question, then, is whether the words of

our Ordinal were intended to be used in this imperfect sense, or in that more complete one in which both the office itself and the power to exercise its functions rightly, or even to exercise them at all, are ascribed to God.

In the first place, we observe that, whatever possibility there may appear to be of the imperfect sense having been intended belongs almost wholly to the form of 1662, when the words 'for the office and work of a priest' were added. And this fact places Canon Estcourt curiously at variance with his predecessor Dom Raynal. Raynal lays all his stress upon the inadequacy of the Edwardian forms, and says, 'There is no need of comment to show how the empty forms of King Edward VI. *were rendered sufficient for valid ordination*;' while Canon Estcourt says, 'To this ambiguous form, so clogged and fettered already with mutilations and additions made in a depraved sense, and for the purpose of introducing error, the revision of 1662 made another addition, which tied and limited the meaning to that of receiving the grace of the Holy Ghost solely for the discharge of the office and work of a priest or bishop, but not as a sacramental character or a spiritual power. Thus the due sense and right intention are absolutely excluded from the rite.' Truly, the defect of our form can scarcely be very obvious when learned doctors differ so completely as to its nature, that one supposes the change of 1662 to have rendered the form valid, while the other considers it to have been made thus a great deal worse than it was before.

It is obvious to remark that the historical circumstances of 1662 make it very unlikely that any such depravation would have then taken place. All Canon Estcourt's trouble in hunting up the Lutheran senses of the words 'called,' 'examined,' 'tried,' 'admitted,' and so forth, and pointing out how these words occur in the previous parts of the Ordinal, is quite wasted for the purpose of explaining what was meant by 'for the office and work of a priest.' For the divines who made this addition had not the smallest tendency towards any such theories. There can be no doubt that they were influenced by the wish to bring the form into stricter conformity with the ancient offices which Morinus had printed, by making mention in the sentence of Ordination of the particular grade in the ministry which was being conferred. This was unnecessary, seeing how distinct such mention had been in previous parts of the office, and how sufficient, according to all precedent, such previous mention is. But it is in the highest degree unlikely that these Caroline divines can have intended anything else but a thoroughly Catholic

idea of the sacred ministry : any doubtful terms in their work, if such there were, ought in reason to be explained in that sense.

When we come to examine the terms, we find that they have not merely said, 'Receive the Holy Ghost' for the work of a priest, but also for the office. Even had it been merely *work*, we might still have fairly contended that to endow a man with grace for the work of an office, is to invest him with its powers, unless there has been some quite separate form of investiture ; and that the reception of the Holy Ghost for the work of a priest is indeed that gift of 'power' which Canon Estcourt desiderates in our form.¹ Thus the gift of power for the work of Christian life, which is given us in baptism, is also the gift of Christian life itself. But they have said also 'for the office of a priest,' not, be it observed, for the *discharge of the office*, as Canon Estcourt says, but for the office itself. We cannot tell what the reception of the Holy Ghost for the office, as distinguished from the work, can be, except this, that the Holy Ghost invests a man with the character of the office at the same time that He endows him with power for its work. Office here appears to stand for *munus* in the old Ordinals. It is not very correct to speak of 'discharging an office : ' but, if it were, *munere fungi* is also good Latin. Certainly, the criticism which makes our orders depend on the distinction between *office* and *munus* is very fine-spun.

But now we turn to the Ordinal of 1549. We know as matter of history that the inadequate conceptions of Ordination to which Canon Estcourt alludes were before the Reformers of the Church of England, and had met considerable countenance among them. But they regarded the theory not in that timid fashion which might cause them, if they had closed with it, to express it in words and in acts belonging to a different order of ideas. They looked fairly in the face the real and only consistent application of these notions ; which is this, the total abolition of any real form of Ordination and the retention of the laying on of hands, if at all, only as a recognition of a previous election. In the before-quoted discussions of 1540, which issued in the 'Necessary Doctrine and Erudition,' and are to be found among Burnet's *Records* (P. i. B. iii. No. xxi.), we find this question proposed, 'Whether in the New Testament be required any

¹ Thus Tournely says that 'the form of ordination consists in the prayer or prayers by which the minister of the sacrament invokes grace on the candidate for orders, whereby he may be enabled to discharge his duties holily and with fruit.'—Kenrick, p. 181.

consecration of a bishop and priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?' And the answer of Canterbury (that is, Cranmer) is, that 'he that is appointed to be a bishop or priest needeth no consecration by the Scripture.' Many other influential persons held the same extravagant conception. We know very well how liable Cranmer was to changes of opinion, and the fact that he and his sympathisers entertained these beliefs in 1540 does not make us at all sure that he entertained the same in 1549: more especially as, in the earlier year, Henry VIII. was alive, and Cranmer had thus a strong motive to declare for the King's authority to make priests or bishops as he would. Nay, his subscription to the 'Necessary Doctrine' seems, as Burnet remarks, to show that he had changed the opinion declared in the debate even before the document came out, for the theory of Orders there laid down is totally different from that which he had advocated; but he shows his courtliness by adding to his subscription, 'This is mine opinion and sentence at this present; which, nevertheless, I do not temerarily define but refer the judgment thereof to your Majesty.'

What we wish the reader to observe is, that if in 1549 Cranmer had still held these opinions about Holy Orders, or, holding them, had found himself able to lead the Ordinal Committee to adopt them, they would have displayed themselves in the Ordinal in some thoroughly unmistakable form. Whereas, what do we really find? Bucer's draft did contain a sentence of Ordination which entirely corresponded to the imperfect conception of Ordination to which Canon Estcourt refers. 'The hand of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be upon you, protect and govern you, that ye may go and bring forth much fruit by your ministry, and that it may remain unto life eternal:' had this been the sentence, it might very well have been represented as a mere blessing or aspiration for grace to perform the duties of an office to which the candidate had been really raised by a calling and appointment preceding. But Bucer's draft is set aside, and words of a totally different character are substituted. It is perfectly manifest that the object must have been to express a wholly different idea upon Ordination.

We are disposed also to lay great stress upon that rationale which we have before explained as guiding the selection of the sentences of Ordination from Scripture. It may, as we have seen, be very fitly described in this way: that the Church of England had the intention of doing what the Lord and what His Apostles did when they made priests

and bishops. The extreme importance of such a reference to Scripture may be illustrated by this, that the validity of the Roman form for conferring Holy Orders probably depends upon a similar reference, though of a very far-fetched kind in comparison to that direct extraction of Scripture words which our Reformers made. We have seen above that the Roman Pontifical embodies our sentence of Ordination; but we have also seen that nobody ever imagined that in that sentence as used in the Roman form *the* act of Ordination consisted. The very rubrics of the Pontifical place the central act in a previous ceremony, namely, the delivery of the vessels. And Pope Eugenius IV. declared this to be the essential point. But we must go further back still, for in spite of his infallibility he was undoubtedly wrong. If he were right, the Roman Church would possess no valid orders at all, for these would have been cut off during the first nine centuries, when this supposed essential form was not used at all; just as our Orders would be nought if the Edwardian forms had been bad. The Pope has been excused on the ground that he is only declaring what are the essentials of Ordination under the Roman form. But he cannot be right even as to this; for could it be supposed that the precatory form and the first laying on of hands were valid up to the ninth century, but although retained and used after that time, yet ceased to be valid because another ceremony was added after them?

Accordingly the best authorities in the Roman Church look, as we have before stated, for the essentials of Ordination in the first laying on of hands, or in the outstretching of hands, which may probably be regarded as forming a continuation of that imposition. Now what are the essential, the sacramental words in that part of the Roman service—the words which, on Canon Estcourt's principles, can be supposed to furnish an adequate form? Not certainly the prayer that God would give the *dignity* of the Presbyterate—for dignity cannot express the impress of a character on the soul; not the prayer 'that God would renew the spirit of holiness in their hearts,' nor 'that they may be worthy co-operators of the episcopal order.' Nor can the essential form, in the case of bishops, be the prayer that God would grant them an episcopal *chair* to rule His Church. All these expressions fall far short of asking the internal and special grace of the respective Orders. The essential words, the very marrow and centre of the Roman rite, are to be found in the prayer for bishops, that for this servant of His, whom (like Aaron) He has chosen to the ministry of the chief priesthood, God would give this grace

and would complete in His priest the sum of His ministry ; and in this for presbyters, that whereas to the chief priests appointed for ruling His people Israel, God had appointed men of a second order to be helps, He would continue this aid to our weakness and would cause these persons to obtain the office (*munus*) of the second rank. That is to say, the succession of the Christian ministry in the Roman Church depends upon a form in which the high priesthood and priesthood of the Jews are taken as the sources or types of the orders of bishop and presbyter ; and the continuance of the latter is sought from God under the name of the former.

Now we fully recognise the applicability of this type. But certainly, if we were to enter into particulars, we might find points in which the episcopate and presbyterate in themselves and in their mutual relations fail to be adequately designated by these Jewish titles. Yet the form is doubtless good, because it sufficiently expresses, in the language of those who use it, that which is sought of God. But how absurd would it be to contend that these two orders of the ministry can be properly continued by the use of two forms adapted to their respective Old Testament types ; but cannot be continued by means of two forms actually quoted from the New Testament itself, and denoting no types at all, but the very things themselves, the very beginnings in the New Testament Church of those ministries which God is here asked to continue.

For our part, we do not think that the Reformers could possibly have done anything wiser under the circumstances of the time than thus to fall back upon the unimpeachable forms of the New Testament. The Pontifical was in such a state that its revision was among the most patent duties of any divines attempting a reform of the public services. To have translated the Latin would have been to perpetuate the absurdity of treating the quite valid form used at the first imposition as if it were inoperative until an invention of the ninth century had been added ; and then of using a second or third imposition of hands, to confer the essential power of the priesthood upon persons who long previously have received the priesthood and all the powers which belong to it. And in the impossibility of using the forms of the Pontifical—in the din of the numberless questions concerning the nature and powers of the ministry, which were dividing the Church, what wiser thing could there be than to follow the precedent offered by the repetition of the words of Christ for consecrating the Eucharist, and to repeat in the consecration of a bishop the words in which S. Paul describes the effect of

his own consecration of a bishop, and in the ordination of a priest, the words in which the Lord Himself created His ministry and expressed its powers?

And here we may briefly notice a point on which Canon Estcourt bestows much trouble, viz., the light which the concluding words of the form, 'Be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God and of His Holy Sacraments,' cast upon the intention in which the preceding sentence is used. We do not at all deny that a connection between the two clauses existed in the minds of the compilers of the Ordinal. But the conception of priests as stewards is that which is chosen as the leading idea of their office by the Lord Himself (S. Matt. xxiv. 45), and by S. Paul, who desired that a man should account of him as of a minister of Christ and steward of the mysteries of God. And it seems idle to say that so scriptural an exhortation can have any injurious effect upon the meaning of the words preceding. The faithful dispensing of the sacraments means the authoritative assignment or denial of the sacraments, and the faithful dispensing of the Word of God does not signify mere application or exposition of the Bible, but the deliverance of God's messages of pardon or wrath which are His word as coming through His authorised ambassadors. No document is more applicable to the exposition of the Ordinal than the (so called) *Cranmer's Catechism*,¹ set forth in 1548. Let us hear it, then, upon the meaning of this phrase, 'dispenser of the Word of God :—

When a man after baptism hath grievously sinned, and doubteth in his conscience whether he be in the favour of God or no (as oftentimes it happeneth), then it is hard for him to trust to his own bare imaginations, thinking in this fashion: I know that I have sinned; but yet I am in this opinion, that God is not so cruel a revenger but that He hath forgiven me. For such an opinion without *God's word* is not a true faith, nor is able to stand in the dangerous skirmishes of temptation. But true faith must ever be stayed upon the certain *word and work of God*. Now God doth not speak to us by a voice sounding out of Heaven. But He hath given the keys of the kingdom of Heaven and the authority to forgive sin to the ministers of the Church. Wherefore let him that is a sinner go to one of them, let him acknowledge and confess his sin, and pray him that according to God's commandment he will give him absolution and comfort him with *the word of grace* and forgiveness of his sin. . . . For he that is absolved knoweth for a surety that his sins are forgiven him by the minister. And he knoweth assuredly also that the minister hath authority from God Himself so to do: and, thirdly, he knoweth that God hath made this promise to His ministers and said

¹ *Cranmer's Catechism*. Oxford, 1829, p. 202.

to them, 'To whom ye forgive sins on earth, to him also they shall be forgiven in Heaven.'

These considerations seem to us so decisive that we feel it unnecessary to examine in detail the remaining portion of the service. We should not shrink from doing so, for even if the sentences of ordination had been other than they are, it seems to us that these services do not represent the Lutheran conception, or anything at all like it. And we can very well understand how, in the particular condition of opinion which prevailed, a good deal of the Lutheran terminology should find its way into the rubrics while yet the fundamental conception of the service should remain Catholic. The Lutherans had this reason for inventing a theory of Orders, that they could not for want of bishops confer them after the old fashion; but it would have been a wonder indeed if enough of men had not been found in the Church of England to hinder her from divesting herself of a necessary part of her Catholic inheritance, because the Lutheran fox had lost his tail and invited her to imitate his condition.

We must also entirely decline to be led into an argument as to the degree in which the Church of England does or does not agree with the Church of Rome upon the powers and duties of the priesthood. Whatever powers are contained in the New Testament commission the Church of England has, for she uses that commission; and she wants no other power. What is necessary, according to all recognised principles, is that there should be a form sufficient to claim from the Lord for a particular case, in the faithful manner which He requires, the fulfilment of His promise to continue the ministry of His Church. This being provided, the case becomes exactly the same as that of baptism. The due conditions having been performed, the subordinate agents retire into the background, and in the eyes of the Catholic Church, the Lord appears performing His sure promise. As to baptism, it is, according to all Catholic ideas, totally irrelevant to ask what benefit the agent in baptism understands the grace of the sacrament to be capable of effecting. The ministrant of baptism may entertain the wildest, the most erroneous, or the most inadequate ideas about what a baptized person is bound to believe and do. Yet all that has absolutely no effect upon the validity of the sacrament. Romanists do indeed show themselves extremely careless of these Catholic principles of baptism, and repeat it without scruple upon their proselytes as if it were a mere act of a particular church granting admission into her ranks, instead of an act of Christ granting admission into the

Church universal. But in words, at all events, they acknowledge the Catholic rule; and the same is the rule as to Orders. So speaks S. Augustine: 'Both are sacraments. Both are conferred on a man by a species of consecration, the one when he is baptized, the other when he is ordained; therefore in the Catholic Church neither can be repeated. For when at any time even the prelates returning to the Church from the schism have been in the interests of peace received on renouncing the errors of the schism, and it has seemed that they should bear the same offices which they had borne, they have not been again ordained, but as their baptism so their ordination remained unimpaired, because the defect lay in their separation, which has been corrected by their return to peace and unity, but not in the sacraments, which are the same wherever they are.'¹

And it is on these principles that we should answer Dr. Newman's well-known argument against our Orders, that the Apostolic succession, the sacramental gift of Holy Orders and the Holy Sacrifice are not traditions among Anglicans, and that 'there is surely a strong presumption that the Anglican body has not what it does not profess to have.' We might very well meet with a direct negative this description of the Anglican tradition, but the observation which we now prefer to make is that the very notion of making the recognition of our orders dependent on the degree of consciousness we show of their importance, is one which shows but little belief in the reality of the sacrament of Orders in the minds which conceive it. If Orders be what the Roman Church professes to believe them to be, it is a positive duty incumbent on that Church to ascertain for itself whether clerical proselytes are already ordained or not. It is blasphemous for them to repeat ordination if it has been conferred already. And there are certain duties and ways of life incumbent on every priest, which make it destructive to his soul to live as if he were a layman. It is as absurd to leave the question to our defence of it as if they were to leave the question whether one was baptized or not to the arguments which the Church he had left might care to offer on the question.

The case of our Orders seems to us, we confess, so clear that no genuine doubt can be felt about them by any one who examines the evidence. But at all events it is ridiculous to say that there is not, *primâ facie*, some reason to think they

¹ See other authorities in Tournely *De Ordine*. Paris, 1729, pp. 269 sqq.

may be valid. The Church of Rome has never decided against them. She has indeed, with a carelessness beyond all Protestant carelessness, left her subordinate members to treat them as invalid, but has never brought to bear upon this vitally important matter the means of infallible judgment which she professes to possess. In the only case in which English Orders were before the infallible tribunal, there was flagrant misrepresentation on the part of the person (one Gordon) who sought to have the case decided; misrepresentation which Canon Estcourt excuses on the ground that a convert and a stranger in the case of such a memorial would be wholly in the hands of his advisers! So that it is not clear that the Congregation had under their consideration the real form of Anglican orders at all.¹

The Roman authors, whose works we are reviewing, are wont to declare, as a supplement to their arguments sufficient to cover all defects, that the mind of the Church has been against us. But this mind of the Church is very much what we should call either popular prejudice or the determination of controversialists to find that true which is convenient for their cause. It has rested in each generation successively upon some supposed fact or doctrine which the next has found to be an error. The means of judgment which Rome declares herself possessed of are such that the question need never have been left to this slipshod decision by popular feeling or inclination. Yet who has ever heard that any of that considerable number of priests who have gone from us to Rome was warned that perhaps he was really a priest and, if so, ought to live as such? We have ourselves known 'verts' with whom the desire to divest themselves of the trammels of Orders was commonly supposed to have no unimportant part in inducing the turning movement. This may not have been true. But the Church which they joined took no pains to ascertain whether she ought not to give them that information concerning their Anglican orders which would render such a temptation on their part and such an imputation on them by others equally impossible. Converts, so called, ordained in the English Church, may be seen in the smoking-rooms of Continental hotels or in ball-rooms at home, displaying their new-found Catholicism by an attire and conversation more laical than that of ordinary laymen.

¹ Nevertheless Dr. Kenrick (p. 158) supposes the question of Anglican orders to have been decided in Gordon's case. This is only one of many statements in his chapter on the Anglican form which his successor Canon Estcourt perceives to be quite untenable.

Any one who is acquainted with human nature might know beforehand that such a contemptuous rejection of old and sacred restraints cannot possibly take place without the most serious deterioration of the spiritual condition. And we remember to have read and heard that such a consequence had been in many cases observed by serious Roman Catholics. Yet, was any adviser ever found to say in such a case, 'the validity of Anglican orders is only doubtful. It has never been decided by the Church. But we have an infallible tribunal established by God for the benefit of mankind, lest souls should be suffered to lie under errors which might be fatal. This tribunal has delivered one decision which seems adverse to Anglican orders; but it now appears that the case was not really before it at all. It has delivered at a week's interval another decision which seems by analogy to sanction them; but it now appears that first this was not really an infallible decision, and secondly that there are differences in the two cases which make it not so applicable to the question as at first sight it appeared to be. We shall therefore, in charity to your soul, take care that the light of infallibility shall be turned fully upon your case as it is; lest at the judgment day it should prove that you were really a priest when we and you yourself treated you as if you were none, and so we both should come at the hands of that Great High Priest, who cares for the honour of His commission, to great shame and punishment.'

No such thing is ever said. The Roman Church prefers to leave the question undecided for her own controversial advantage. And she hereby proves the taunts upon the shortcomings of the Anglican tradition to be capable of being retorted with far greater justice against herself. Nothing could show more decisively than the conduct of the Roman Church in this matter that she does not grasp the conception of Holy Orders as a great reality, but thinks of them as a mere human opinion. And the English Church has given at least this proof of her belief in their reality, that she never, even in the times when by a natural repulsion from Roman error and tyranny she was driven farthest in the Puritan direction, has denied the validity of Roman Orders. Of course it will be replied that in doing so she would have cut off her own succession by invalidating her pre-Reformation priesthood. But in the first place that would not have been a matter of any importance if the Apostolical succession had been, as Dr. Newman asserts, no tradition of Anglicanism; and, in the second place, it might have been plausibly argued

that the Roman Church, after the rejection of the Reformation, and after her system had been formulated at Trent, held a position radically different from that of the pre-Reformation Church.

But this argument has never been advanced ; the English Church has considered, not what would best enable her to throw contempt on her adversary, but what was true ; and until the Roman Church has brought all her powers to bear upon the decision of the question of our orders, she has little reason indeed to taunt us as though we did not show ourselves alive to the reality of the priesthood in the Church of Christ.

ART. II.—THE SPIRITUAL CLAIMS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

1. *A Treatise on the Church of Christ.* By WILLIAM PALMER, M.A. Fourth edition. 2 vols. (London, 1842.)
2. *The Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism,* By T. W. ALLIES, M.A. Second edition. (Oxford, 1848.)
3. *Dissent in its relation to the Church of England.* Bampton Lectures for 1871. By GEORGE HERBERT CURTEIS, M.A. New edition. (London, 1876.)
4. *Apostolical Succession in the Church of England.* By ARTHUR W. HADDAN, B.D. (London, 1869.)
5. *The Church's Broken Unity.* By W. J. E. BENNETT, M.A. 5 vols. (London, n.d.)

I. THERE are at this moment (1878) in England and Wales *one hundred and fifty-four* different religious bodies which have certified their places of meeting to the Registrar-General, and there are probably some more which have not yet done so, making altogether about *one hundred and sixty*. All these, except two Jewish bodies and some three or four more, claim to be Christians of one kind or another. Very many allege themselves to be THE CHURCH, to be the only true representatives of pure Christianity, while all others, they say, are in partial or total error. How is a plain man to decide on all these rival claims, and to have any ground of confidence that he is choosing right in joining any one of them ?

II. No one is bound to inquire into every claim, to examine the belief and practice of each sect, before making a

choice. Were it otherwise, a lifetime might be spent before coming to any conclusion. The first rule that common-sense suggests is, that very small societies, which sprang up only the other day, whose founder is still alive or but just dead, may be left out of the reckoning at the outset ; not because they are small, new, and obscure, for that was once true of the whole Christian body ; but because there have been millions of good Christians for many hundreds of years before these societies were founded, and, therefore, it is quite certain that they were not wanted formerly, and very likely that they are not wanted now. Such of them as say that they have something *new* to tell us from God, some *fresh* revelation of His will (as a few do say), may fairly ask to have their title-deeds and proofs looked into ; but those which merely profess to be working on the old lines of the old Gospel are at once discredited by their very newness, since what their claims really amount to is this : that they are the *first* persons who have ever taught pure Christianity, and that every one who came before them was more or less wrong. They may be very good and pious people, there may be a great deal of truth mixed up in their teaching, but they cannot be THE CHURCH of GOD. The most that can be said for them is, that they are doing over again what has been as well and probably better done before.

III. Another way of clearing the ground is to classify the rival sects a little ; when it is at once seen that a great many of them are mere varieties or off-shoots from some larger body, and especially from the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians. Consequently, it is quite enough to examine the claims of the parent society in each of these cases. If those claims will stand inquiry, then it is quite right to ask next, which of the various kindred bodies (whether the original stock or one of the branches) is the best and purest ; but if the claims of the parent society break down when tested, then it is quite unnecessary to look any further in that direction. If a man who laid claim to an estate had several sons and daughters, it might be worth a lawyer's while to find out which of them was the true heir to the estate ; but if the father himself clearly had no right at all to it, then there would not be any use in examining the children's claim, derived solely through him. Accordingly, no man need look into every little branch sect. It is quite enough, and often much more than enough, for him to examine the parent stem ; and unless it prove to be now, or to have once been, THE CHURCH, they fall with it. And, thirdly, most foreign religious bodies in England, such as the

Greek Church and the German Lutherans, which undertake to look after their own countrymen alone, and do not try to make converts here, may be practically left out of account also.

IV. These three clearing processes shorten the inquiry very much, because they enable the searcher to confine his attention to about a dozen bodies instead of a hundred and sixty. These are the Church of England, the Church of Rome, the Presbyterians, Baptists, Independents or (as they now prefer to call themselves) Congregationalists, Moravians, Quakers, Methodists and Unitarians, in one group ; and, in another, the Swedenborgians, Mormons, and Irvingites, who lay claim to a new message or revelation.

V. Of all these, the most important every way in this country is the Church of England. It is not only larger in numbers than all the other bodies put together, but it differs from them in another very noticeable way. That is, it is *everywhere* in the country. There are scores of the smaller sects which have to be hunted up with great difficulty by people who wish to learn anything about them, and which, when found at last, prove to have no members outside a very narrow district, perhaps a single meeting, so that very little is ever known of them. Even the larger and older sects are not always to be met with. There are hundreds of places where there are no Roman Catholics, Quakers, or Presbyterians ; there are scores where there are no Baptists, Independents, or Methodists. But there is no spot whatever in England and Wales which is not part of some Anglican parish, and there is no parish in the whole number which has not a clergyman of the Church of England in charge of it, and a church either actually in it, or, in the very few cases where there is not one literally within it, at any rate close by and easily reached.

VI. There is yet another most remarkable difference between the Church of England and the other religious societies in the country. It is much more *public* than any of them. If a Roman Catholic clergyman give notice that no one shall be admitted to his chapel for worship without paying an entrance fee of so many pence, he has a perfect legal right to do it, and, in fact, it has been very often done. If a Baptist or Methodist pastor should refuse to let any one in to his meeting who is not a member of his society, that too would be an arrangement with which the law could not meddle, because it looks on all these sects as private societies, with just as much right to settle who shall be present or not at their meetings as the Freemasons or Oddfellows have. But every English parishioner has a right at common law to a seat in the parish church, and in no

church, even when extra-parochial, unless the mere private chapel of some institution, can the clergyman shut the doors during public worship against any one who chooses to come in and conduct himself quietly. This custom has come down from a time when every one living in England, except a few Jews, was a member of the Church of England; and though many religious changes have taken place since that day, yet the rights of all Englishmen to the benefits of the National Church have been left untouched. And thus it is that very large numbers of Nonconformists resort to the Church of England for marriages and funerals, though the services of their own pastors are open to them.

VII. But one great law of morals is, that wherever there are *rights* there are *duties* also. No one may justly *take* without *giving* something in return. A child takes food, shelter, clothing from its parents, and is bound to show them obedience on its part. A servant must give labour in payment for wages and board. Even in countries where slavery is kept up, the slave-owner is required by law and custom to provide for his slaves in sickness and old age, in consideration of his being able to compel their service during youth and health. People who are defended by an army and protected by a police are rightly obliged to pay taxes for their maintenance, and so on. And though the law of the State with us has piecemeal discharged Nonconformists from all legal obligation to make any return to the Church for the rights in her which they enjoy, no one but God can dispense with the moral obligation, so long as Nonconformists do exercise those rights, and do not give them up as having no just title to them. And the Church of England on its part claims duty and obedience from all English citizens. If the parish church be their parish church, as it undoubtedly is, they in turn are the parishioners of the Church clergyman, who claims all of them as his flock; exactly because he is bound to minister to every one of them who asks him, and to offer his services even to those who do not ask him; whereas no Baptist or Methodist minister is responsible in any sense for people who do not voluntarily join his society and congregation.

VIII. The outcome of all these facts, that the Church of England is *everywhere* in the land, that it is the most *public* of all institutions wherever it is found—even the Poor Law, though also in every parish, meddles with only the pauper class—and that, by calling itself the *Church of England*, it lays claim to the obedience of all English folk, is that it is forced on the attention of every man, woman, and child in the country.

It is God's will that they all must know something about it. They cannot say, as they might say of Quakerism or of Irvingism, 'It has never come in my way, so I need not trouble myself about it.' Nor can they say, as they can say of Jews, 'It makes no call on me, and I have nothing to do with it. I go my way and it goes its way—it keeps to its people, and I keep to mine.' Nor, again—and this is another very noticeable thing—can they say, 'The Church is a new-comer here, and I like old ways best. I am too old-fashioned to change.' For it is exactly the Church which is the oldest thing in the parish. In most places there are a good many people who can remember, or who have heard their fathers or grandfathers tell, how and when the first Dissenting meeting began amongst them. Only here and there, and that chiefly in a few towns, are there any Dissenting congregations which have been so long settled without breaking up or dispersing, that they are older than the grandfathers of those who are aged men now. But the Church has been in every parish long before the great-grandfathers of those grandfathers were born, before the oldest family in any county was heard of, before the oldest oaks now standing were planted. Men must see it, they must know of it, they cannot help having something to do with it at one time or another, and so they cannot shut their eyes to it, but are bound to ask, 'What is it, how did it come here, and what does it all mean?'

IX. Now, so far, nothing has been done to prove that it is The Church of God in this country, for the same antiquity and widespread character are found attached to false religions in other countries, such as the heathenism of India and China, and the Mohammedanism of Persia and Arabia. But no person who is a native of those countries or a settler in them can avoid taking notice of their chief religion, for it is thrust daily on his attention. He is bound to look into it somehow, and to be able to give some good reason why he does not follow it; why, indeed, he sometimes actually fights against it; for its being there, and his being there, prove that God meant him to know something about it, and not shut his eyes to its existence. But the enormous majority of English Dissenters have never troubled themselves to examine the claims of the great religious society which confronts them every day of their lives, and so far they have failed in a clear matter of duty.

X. How are they to set about it? The answer is, 'To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them' (Isa. viii. 20). In the first place, the Bible tells us plainly that God set up

a visible Church, with known officers and definite laws, and revealed it to the Jewish nation through the agency of Moses. To enter into covenant with God, it was not enough to believe certain Mosaic doctrines, nor to practise certain Levitical rites; it was also necessary to become a member of the visible Jewish Church, to obey its laws, and to be in full communion with its ministers. Out of this Jewish Church as the germ, the Lord Jesus Christ formed His new Church of Christian believers. It too is *visible*, for He said when He first founded it, and taught His disciples: 'Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid' (S. Matt. v. 14). It has its own *officers*, for 'God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers' (1 Cor. xii. 28); 'And He gave some apostles; and some prophets; and some evangelists; and some pastors and teachers' (Eph. iv. 11). It is *one*, and one only, for 'there is one body, and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling' (Eph. iv. 4); 'So we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another' (Rom. xii. 5). And that because by one spirit are we all baptized into one body (1 Cor. xii. 13). This body has only *one* creed, for there is 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism' (Eph. iv. 5). And that faith is 'the faith which was once [for all] delivered unto the saints' (Jude 3). It is a sin to disobey this body, for it is commanded by our Lord Himself, that if any man 'neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican' (S. Matt. xviii. 17). Its doctrines, laws, and even customs, may not be departed from at any man's pleasure, for the Apostle Paul gives it as a sufficient reason for discountenancing a mere outward ceremonial usage, that 'we have no such custom, neither the churches of God' (1 Cor. xi. 16). And he therefore lays down this stern rule, 'Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the traditions ye received from us' (2 Thess. iii. 6). And the manner of preventing such schisms and divisions is set forth: 'I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you' (1 Cor. i. 10). 'I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them; for they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ' (Rom. xvi. 17, 18).

XI. But the hundred and sixty sects do not form one body in any sense; they have no unity of faith, for they contradict

one another's teaching in every particular ; their officers and ministers are rivals and competitors, not colleagues in the same service ; their customs and traditions are unlike ; they actually take pride in their divisions, instead of regarding them as sinful. It is quite clear, therefore, that the 'common Christianity' which some people talk of, as being jointly held by all these together, is not in the least degree like the sort of Christianity which our Lord set up and S. Paul preached. Nor is there any hint in the New Testament of another popular opinion, that the Church is a secret, hidden society, known only to God, and that people differing from each other on almost every conceivable point may equally belong to it, though to outward appearance they have no connexion with one another. It is quite plain that every believer in S. Paul's day must have known whether he was a member of the same body as S. Paul was, or of one of those divisions and heresies against which he warned his hearers (Acts xx. 30). There *is* an Invisible Church, true enough, but it consists of the Angels and of Christians who now rest in Christ, and is part of that *one* Church which is visible here on earth. But we are told of no way to enter the Invisible Church save through the gates of the Visible Church. God can, and doubtless will, save countless multitudes who have never been in this Church on earth, but Holy Writ does not teach that they will rise to the dignity of those 'kings and priests' who were made members of His kingdom here.

XII. What marks, then, does the New Testament give us, by which we can know the True Church from counterfeits ? The same as those which betokened the first converts made on the Day of Pentecost. They were baptized, and they 'continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayer' (Acts ii. 41, 42). Here, then, we have a few very simple rules which will help us. First of all, we may strike out all sects such as the Quakers, which do not baptize at all, or those like the Unitarians, who do not baptize in the way Jesus Christ ordained, 'In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost' (S. Matt. xxviii. 19). Next, there must be agreement in the Apostles' *doctrine*, and this strikes out all sects which go outside the Bible, and have a private revelation of their own, like the Swedenborgians and Mormons, whose doctrine is in many respects new, and cannot be traced back for any long time. For it is quite clear that no doctrine which cannot be found set down in the Bible, nor in any book more than a hundred years old or so, can be part of the

Apostles' doctrine, seeing that the last survivor of the Apostolic body died nearly eighteen hundred years ago. It strikes out also even those sects which profess to show chapter and verse in the Bible for all their opinions, if they cannot also show that Christians have all along held them, and that it is not merely a wrong explanation they have given to Scripture texts, like that of the young man who literally cut off his own right hand and put out his right eye, because he thought such was the meaning of S. Matt. v. 29, 30. But this is a difficult inquiry, not easy for any but learned people to make, since an ordinary reader may think some meaning of various texts so plain, especially if he have been taught that meaning carefully by his minister, that he will be quite surprised at hearing that any other sense is ever put on those texts, and will not believe at all that his favourite explanation of them was never heard of till quite lately. But the next test is a plainer one, that of belonging to the *Apostles' fellowship*, that is to say, their company, society, or union. This goes a long way beyond agreeing with them in opinion. Just so, all people who spend their lives at sea are *sailors*, but those sailors who enter on board private merchantmen or foreign ships do not belong to the fellowship of the *Royal Navy*.

A new Shipping Company, no matter how rich and respectable, or how fine a fleet it had, or how well it paid its officers and men, could not ever be the same thing as the famous service which fought England's battles under Drake, Benbow, Rodney, and Nelson. Now suppose that the captains and crews of one of these Companies were to claim to belong to the Navy, and to be as good or better than any other sailors, people would naturally ask to see the ships' commissions and the officers' warrants. And on finding that they ran in the name of a private firm, and not of the Queen, it would at once appear that they could not make out their case. Again, if any man lay claim to the title or estates of some noble family, he is bound to prove in a court of law that he is really the true heir. It is not enough for him to show that he comes from the same original stock as the present owners, nor even that they have no right to what they hold, unless he can also show that he himself, and no other, has that right, and has been in some way or other unjustly ousted. Now, if it turned out on the trial that the present owner could not only produce the title-deeds, but could show that he and his ancestors had held the very same estate from father to son for centuries, while the claimant could neither trace his descent beyond his grandfather, nor tell anything

about the generation before that, nor give evidence that any of his people had ever possessed the disputed estate, he would not only lose his action, but would be thought a very dishonest man for having brought it at all.

XIII. Now let us apply this reasoning to the rival claims of the Church of England and of the Dissenting sects. Any society which claims to be 'the Apostles' fellowship' must be a very old one, quite the oldest in the country, because, as said already, all the Apostles died nearly eighteen hundred years ago. A later date for the beginning of any religious body at once disproves its title; just as it disproves the claim of a man to be heir to an entailed estate or title as his father's eldest son, to show that he was born many years after one of his brothers still alive. What are the facts about the chief Protestant Dissenting bodies in England? First of all, every one of them consists of the descendants of people who broke away from the Church of England, and set up for themselves, or else of seceders from these again. So they are all *younger* than the Church in this country, and thus, on the face of things, their claim is not nearly so good.

XIV. But it may be said, 'It is true that these sects are not so old *in England* as the Church is, but some of them have gone back to an earlier and purer pattern, and are joined to societies which arose abroad, and which are much older than the Established Church is.' This is a very good answer, if only it be true. But is it true? If we try to trace back the Presbyterians, we cannot find any source or parent for them before John Calvin, who was born in 1509, and who invented this new society about 1535. If we take the Baptists, they were never heard of anywhere till 1521, and then almost immediately as guilty of the most frightful crimes against religion and morals. The Independents or Congregationalists can show no pedigree going back earlier than 1550 or thereabouts, and they are, moreover, above all other sects unable to allege continuous fellowship in the same society, because their fundamental principle is that every separate congregation is a complete and independent Church in itself, having full right to settle its own doctrine and discipline, and elect its own pastors in its own way—a principle which at once shows that it has no relation whatever to the one Church of the Gospel; separation from which was a sin, nor to the Apostolic ministry, claiming authority over the flocks, not in virtue of election by them, but of commission from Christ Himself, as in the case of the Twelve, or from Him mediately through the Apostles, like Timothy and Titus. The Moravians are a good

deal older, but even they cannot bring proof of origin as a distinct body before 1467, when they broke away from the older Church in communion with Rome. The Unitarian body in this country, though agreeing largely in doctrine with some very ancient but extinct sects, is barely a century old as an English society; and as to the Quakers, they began in 1650, while many of the original members of the Irvingites are alive still. As to the Methodists, their position is the most untenable of all, for John Wesley, their founder, never meant them to be more than an inner fellowship or guild of strict members of the Church of England, working in it and for it; while he himself, as well as his brother Charles, lived and died a clergyman of that Church, forbidding almost with his latest breath any of his disciples to separate from it or set up as a rival body. And in any case, even were this not so, the Methodists go back no further than 1739. Now, when any one of these societies calls itself *a Church* or *the Church*, it is bound to show its right to the name, and that it cannot do without being able to trace back many hundreds of years earlier than the oldest of them does show proof for. The force of these dates is this: Unless there were no Christians at all before the very oldest of these sects began, that is to say, no Christians for nearly fifteen hundred years after Christ, none of these sects can be that original Christian Church set up by our Lord, or be anything except one of those divisions, schisms, and heresies, breaking away from the Church, which the Apostles foretold would spring up, and besought their converts to avoid. And if this be true even of such large, important, and comparatively long-established bodies as those just named, much more is it true of the little, obscure, modern sects (Plymouth Brethren and the like) which have sprung up lately here and in America. For if any of them be in the right, then there never has been a Church of God in the world till quite the other day, and then only amongst a tiny handful of English-speaking folks; while all the hundreds of millions of other Christians who lived and died, from the Apostles' time to our own, including the greatest saints and martyrs, were all in the dark and in the wrong, since it is quite impossible to show that any set of people in the ancient times of Christianity believed as these new sectaries do. And since our religion is one given by revelation from God, not one invented by man, which men can improve as time goes on, just as they improve steam-engines and telegraphs, it follows as a maxim of Christianity that whatever can be shown to be *new* in it is also *false*. An opinion or practice amongst

Christians may be very old indeed and yet not be true ; but it cannot be true *unless* it be old, because it is not 'the faith once delivered to the saints,' not 'all the counsel of God,' which the Apostles declared to their converts (Acts xx. 27).

XV. Now, to all this serious charge against the Dissenting sects there are two answers commonly made, one by the ordinary uneducated Dissenter, the other by more learned and thoughtful ones. The first says, 'I don't care about your dates and figures. I go straight to the Bible for my religion, and as I believe what is written there, I also believe exactly what the Apostles did.' But nearly every one of the hundred and sixty sects makes exactly the same speech and the same claim, whereas they do not agree in any one point with one another. The Unitarian cannot find Christ's Godhead in the New Testament ; the Quaker cannot find Baptism or the Holy Communion ; the Plymouth Brethren cannot find any settled ministry or pastorate ; and so on. And they all pass as quickly as possible over those important texts concerning the Church of God, of which a few were given above (X.), because they have no ready way of explaining how it is that their new societies took the place, and succeeded to the rights, of that one Church which alone the New Testament sets before us. The plain fact, which people who talk in this way do not understand, is that God most certainly did not intend people to pick and choose their religion for themselves out of the Bible. And that He has proved to us by not allowing printing to be discovered until fourteen hundred years after our Lord's Ascension, so that Bibles could not be cheap or common till then ; while even now, out of the four hundred millions of Christians in the world, not half can read, and even if they could, there are scores of languages into which the Bible has not yet been translated, though there are Christians who speak them. If men were to treat the Statute Book, or a large Medical Dictionary, in the way they do the Bible, and fancy they had only to open one or the other of them, pretty much at random, to find out what to do in some tough legal difficulty, or in some strange fit of sickness, without having any real previous training as lawyers or doctors, every one would recognise their folly at once, and would naturally look for ruin or death as the end of their quackery. And yet they fancy that the 'deep things of God,' which the very angels desire to look into, but find too hard for them, can be easily discovered and mastered in no better fashion.

XVI. The cleverer Protestants see this quite plainly, and

being fully aware that unless they can make out somehow, not only that there are texts in the Bible which are in their favour, but that these texts have been explained in their way by Christians ever since the first preaching of the Gospel till now, their cause breaks down, answer thus:—

‘Immediately after the death of the Apostles, great errors and corruptions crept by degrees into the Christian Church, and overspread it everywhere. Only a small, hidden, persecuted remnant preserved the purity of the faith, and handed it down from age to age, being despised, slandered, and rejected as heretics, and known by various names, such as Paulicians, Albigenses, Waldenses, Lollards, and so on, till Apostolic truth was recovered at the Reformation.’

Now, this reply involves at the very outset two Scriptural difficulties. First, if it be the fact that real Christianity was practically lost and gone for about fourteen hundred years, then the gates of hell *did* prevail against the Church, contrary to Christ's express promise (S. Matt. xvi. 18), though that promise was faithfully kept all through the terrible sufferings of the early Christians, when it seemed, almost every day, for 250 years, as though the Pagans would soon crush them out entirely, and leave no trace of them remaining. Next, if the Church did dwindle to the size and character of a secret sect, hiding its teaching as Freemasons do theirs, then it was no longer ‘the light of the world,’ nor ‘a city set on a hill, that cannot be hid’ (S. Matt. v. 14), but at best a dim rushlight under a bushel, a mere hut at the bottom of a mine, instead of answering to our Lord's description. Many proofs would be wanted before we could accept such a curious theory, especially as the missionary success of the ancient Church enormously surpassed that of the modern sects. But, of course, *if* all the links in the chain be perfect, if what are popularly called Protestant Evangelical doctrines now, really *can* be traced through these various sects and societies from very early times down to the Reformation, it is so far a strong argument. But what are the facts? Not to waste time by testing every link separately, it will be enough to take two of them, and to say briefly that the Paulicians and Albigenses *never were Christians at all*, but had another religion of their own, as different from Christianity as Judaism and Mohammedanism, though it borrowed a few words and doctrines from Christianity, just as the Taepings in China and the Hau-haus in New Zealand did the other day. The Paulicians taught that there were two Gods, a good one and a bad one, and that Jehovah, the

author of the Old Testament, was the bad one, so that they rejected the entire of the Old Testament, as not only uninspired, but evil; while they partly rejected baptism, and wholly rejected the Eucharist, because teaching, as they did, that all matter is evil, and created by the evil God, they declared that bread and wine could do no good, but might do harm, to the soul, created, like all other spirits, by the good God. The Albigenses agreed in these opinions, and, besides, taught that marriage is unlawful, denied the Resurrection, reduced Christ to a subordinate phantom, neither God nor man, and enjoined suicide under certain circumstances as a religious obligation. That is not a very creditable pedigree, but, nevertheless, these two bodies, Paulicians and Albigenses, *figure in every list of the kind that is drawn up by Protestants who try to show that Protestant doctrines are ancient.* This misrepresentation is neither wholly deliberate and conscious, nor yet due to mere ignorance. The fact is, that the secret sects in question have always thought themselves justified in concealing their tenets when acknowledgment would be dangerous, and in pretending to be members of some more nearly Christian societies. And this has led to error in two ways. First of all, the Albigenses have got mixed up in popular opinion with the Waldenses, a much younger and more harmless body. These Waldenses began, as a sect, about the year 1160, in almost the very same way as Wesleyan Methodists began in England 600 years later. A pious merchant of Lyons, named Peter Waldo, wished to begin a society of lay preachers to work amongst the poor, and not being able to get permission from the Pope to organise it as he desired, set up for himself, and sent his preachers on his own authority. But he was a Roman Catholic at first, and never departed very widely from his early belief, though, just as with the Methodists, his new society drifted before long, and that permanently, from its original position. But they never at any time held Albigensian doctrines, though refugees from that sect, taking shelter amongst them, outwardly conformed to their usages, so that the antiquity of the Albigenses has been tacked on to the modern origin of the Waldenses, to make them appear a very ancient body; and, in return, the tenets of the Waldenses have been ascribed to the Albigenses, to make these pass for orthodox Christians, so that between the two a sect which never existed has been invented, claiming to have held and transmitted Evangelical doctrines from the days of the Apostles. But the combination is like Barnum's artificial mermaid—half monkey, half fish, and all sham. In any case, even if

the Waldenses ever had any claim to great antiquity in the succession of their ministers and the transmission of their doctrines, and even if it were not fully established that they did not begin before 1160, their line has become extinct in both respects. For the entire body of their *barbes* or pastors died out to a man in a plague in the seventeenth century, and was replaced by Protestant ministers brought from Switzerland, who naturally taught their own tenets, dating back, of course, no further than the Reformation. The existing sect is, therefore, Waldensian only in name, and does not now differ in any respect from Swiss or French Protestantism.

And, next, as the secret sects were naturally very bitter against the Church of Rome, which had hunted them down many times, they were glad to avail themselves of the help and shelter afforded them by Lutherans and Calvinists at the Reformation, feeling sure (as proved to be the case), that if only they denounced Romanism loudly enough, and so aided the popular movement, no questions would be asked about their own opinions, although had they avowed them, their new allies would have been the first to turn against them. They acted like the criminal classes of great cities in a political riot who, joining their voices to a party cry, busy themselves with plundering, under the guise of patriotism, the houses which the mob is wrecking for political reasons.

Such is the condition of the claim. Those sects which are really ancient are not even colourably Christian, and those which accept the Christian creeds, but hold aloof from the great historical Churches, are all modern, and thus, at best, even if they could show that they hold the Apostles' doctrine, they do not belong to the Apostles' fellowship, but have actually broken away from it, in order to set up new societies of their own, with new officers, acting in opposition to those who can produce their commission. And if they should argue, as they often do, that substantial unity underlies the surface differences of custom and organisation, the two other tests named in Acts ii. 42, will settle the truth of this plea. Do they *break bread*—that is, join in the Holy Communion, and *pray* in company with the members of the Church, or do they set up rival places of religious assembly, in which they meet apart from the older society? The answer is, that they not only do so, but endeavour to draw away members of the Church into their assemblies, and thus are in no sense supplementing the action of the Church, but rivalling and injuring it. Hence, the question which now has to be considered is whether they are in any such respect superior

to the Church in their character and teaching as to be able to override its claims of prior existence in the country.

XVII. In the first place, in order to establish any such claim to superiority, and to prove that it is no matter of self-will or error, the sect which demands to be received as the highest type of Christianity in this country must exhibit some credentials to show that it is entitled to a hearing. It is not enough that it should prove that errors and abuses, from which it claims to be free, are to be found in the Church and other religious bodies; nor is it enough to show that it can offer certain advantages to its members which are not to be found elsewhere. Such arguments would be perfectly valid if we had merely to deal with prospectuses of rival manufacturing companies, each desiring to promote the sale of its own goods, and to depreciate those of its competitors.

But we have not to do in this case with a human organisation or a human product, but with two divine things: (1) the revelation which God has given in the Gospel, and (2) the Society which He has set up on earth to be the keeper, witness, and teacher of that revelation. Consequently, any society which professes to have a clearer view of this revelation than is enjoyed by other communions, must enforce its claim in one of two ways. It must show either that it is, in fact, the original society entrusted with this task, and which has discharged it with unbroken prescription from the time of the Apostles till now; or it must show with equal clearness, if it admit itself to be a new society, that some forfeiture, because of failure of duty, was divinely enacted against the original society, and that its privileges and powers have been as divinely transferred to a younger substitute; exactly as the Gentile Church succeeded to the forfeited rights of the Synagogue. That is to say, nothing short of a fresh revelation, attested by miracles, will justify any of the sects that arose at or since the Reformation in claiming to be The Church. If, however, without asserting for themselves such a high character as this, they content themselves with the lower ground of alleging that, though they cannot teach with authority, nevertheless what they do teach is a purer Gospel than that offered by the Church, they are at once bound to show in what important particular this teaching of theirs differs from that in whose stead they present it. If it be substantially the same doctrinal system—that is to say, based on the three Christian Creeds, and legitimately developed from them—they are bound to prove, on the one hand, either

that the Church has ceased to teach these same doctrines, or, on the other, that they themselves have obtained some fresh and valuable light upon them which gives more depth, point, and fervour to their doctrinal expositions, resulting in a conspicuously higher standard of faith and holiness amongst their members. The necessity of acting in this wise follows from a very obvious consideration. If their doctrine be so very nearly the same as that of the Church of England that they have no scruple in occasionally attending its offices and ministrations, or in admitting that true and faithful Christians are to be found amongst its clergy and laity, then they at once put themselves under the Apostolic ban directed against those who cause schisms and divisions without the gravest necessity. But if, on the other hand, they regard the Church of England as an apostate body, no longer holding or teaching saving truth, they are bound to show in what definite particular it has thus fallen away, and what important doctrine of Scripture is neglected or perverted in its system. It is not enough in such cases to show that individual clergymen or laymen, or even considerable bodies of persons within the Church, hold views which the objector regards as unscriptural—unless it can be shown, at the same time, that the formularies are so entirely in favour of these persons as to exclude conflicting opinions, and prevent persons of a purer faith from remaining within the Church, and endeavouring to cleanse it from all defects and abuses. Nothing is plainer in the New Testament than that only one Church was found in each place. There were quarrels and divisions often, far too often, amongst the members of this Church, as the First Epistle to the Corinthians tells us very plainly; but nothing at all like the modern sight of a number of rival bodies, each claiming to be first, or driven to the necessity of admitting that one is much the same as another, was known in the time of the Apostles. An illustration or two will bring out the force of this objection more clearly than can be done in a general statement. It will be observed by those who give most attention to the specific doctrines of the sects, that their difference from the Church and from each other usually depends on some one doctrinal peculiarity, either some tenet which is held by other Christians, but not so definitely insisted upon nor made so prominent; or else found only within the limits of their own society. In the first of these cases, there is apt to be a very imperfect sense of proportion; that is to say, instead of letting the doctrine in question assume its natural place as part of a great system, it is exaggerated so as to dwarf everything else, and thus to

throw all Christian doctrines except itself into the obscure background. This holds good, for example, among the Primitive Methodists. They have allowed themselves to dwell so exclusively on the idea of sensible conversion, that they have practically forgotten everything else ; and the fact of a man having passed through, or fancied that he has passed through, certain spiritual experiences in the course of a revival, is regarded as a matter of incomparably more importance than purity of doctrine or holiness of life, if unaccompanied by this special token. This is an example of want of scale. Conversion is, undoubtedly, a doctrine of the New Testament, and examples of sudden conversion, such as that of S. Paul, are not absent ; but there is nothing whatever from which we can gather that such was the ordinary manner in which converts were gathered in from amongst the heathen, far less that children brought up from infancy in the knowledge of the Gospel were expected to pass through any such stage before attaining to full membership of the Church. A Methodist who joins the Church of England does not find his favourite doctrine denied or neglected ; he will find not only missionary agencies for gathering in the heathen in foreign lands, but agencies employed also for arousing the negligent in this country, whether nominal Christians, or such as were never brought under the influences of religion ; nor will he find any school within the Church which denies the frequent occurrence of sudden turnings to God, conviction of sin, hearty repentance, and sense of pardon granted in these times of refreshing. The difference will be that he will learn that the Church does not dare to limit God's power by saying that He can and will work only in one fixed way, and that the doctrine which, as expounded by Methodist teachers, overshadowed the whole Christian economy, is in the Church reduced to dimensions much more nearly like those it assumes in the pages of the New Testament. This same principle applies to each distinguishing doctrine of the other larger and more important sects. Thus, for example, the Quakers will find the work of the Holy Spirit and the supremacy of conscience urged with force and frequency in the teaching of the Church. Where, on the other hand, the distinguishing tenet is not found outside the limits of a particular society, the presumption is that it is new, and therefore, unless attested by miracle, false ; since, if it were part of the original deposit of Christianity, it is well-nigh impossible that it should not be discoverable at an earlier time and in a wider area.

XVIII. There is, however, another form of departure from

primitive truth, besides that of defect, which might be held to justify withdrawal from the fellowship of the Church.

There may be error on the side of excess, the imposition of doctrines unknown to the first ages of Christianity, and enforced as matters of faith upon the conscience. It is quite conceivable that a religious society, without formally setting aside any tenet of ancient Christendom, might yet so overlay and encrust it as practically to banish it from sight and memory; if not indeed to suggest a conflicting theory which might develop into direct contradiction. Here, again, it would be necessary to make an explicit and definite charge, pointing out in what particular the Church of England has attempted to force upon consciences any doctrine unknown to the teachers of the early Christian ages. It would be of no avail for this purpose to urge that such modern teaching can, as a matter of fact, be found in the writings of many Anglican ecclesiastics, nor even that their conduct has been unrebuked. To form a plausible ground for separation, nothing short of proof that the disputed tenets in question, whatever they may be, are in fact not only embodied in the authoritative formularies of the Church, but are so embodied as to bind the conscience, will avail to establish the indictment. And here at once inquiry may be challenged fearlessly, since, although without doubt the Church of England holds several doctrines which are rejected by the societies surrounding her, a very brief inquiry, if honestly pursued, will show, by a comparison of early Christian documents, that the Church of England does not err by excess in retaining these tenets, but that the sects err by defect in discarding them. And as the articles of belief maintained by the Church of England are more numerous than those held by the majority of the sects, there is, to say the least, a risk that the members of any sect learn but an imperfect Gospel, lacking in some of the elements of the faith once delivered to the saints.

XIX. So far, the case has been stated as against the sects. It must now be stated for the Church of England. That Church is not only by far the oldest religious society in this country, but dates back in historical continuity to the Church of primitive times. We do not know precisely when Christianity was first planted in Britain, but we do know that British bishops sat in the synods of the Church more than 1500 years ago, as the representatives of a body which was not new even then. When our heathen Saxon forefathers conquered Britain, and made it into England, they extirpated Christianity throughout most of the island, driving the ancient

remnant of the Christian Church into the fastnesses of Wales, where it continued to hold its ground. Somewhat later, Saxon heathenism was attacked by Christian missionaries from two different quarters, working in two different parts of the island. In the south, the Roman Church sent the missionary Augustine into Kent, where he founded the Church of Canterbury. In the north, the Irish Church sent out other missionaries, who worked chiefly in Northumberland and the neighbouring regions. These three separate organisations, northern, southern, and western, gradually blended into one, and formed, in their totality, the Church of England; the bishops and clergy of each and all of them having alike derived their doctrine and their commission from the undivided Church of yet earlier times, and not attempting to exist side by side as separate and rival communions. This Church, then, represents to all English citizens the original Society set up on earth by our Lord Himself, not as being the whole of that Society, but the particular portion of it which, in the course of Divine providence, was permitted to root itself in and spread over this land of England. It is this Church which has done *all* the work for Christ which has been done in this country for at least thirteen hundred years, and *most* of what has been done for three hundred years more. For this reason, if for no other, the responsibility of setting up rival bodies, designed to thwart, instead of aiding, its work in this country, is an extremely grave one. The whole tenour of both the Old and New Testament would teach us that the duty of earnest Christians who saw much to regret and disapprove in the teaching or practice of the Church, would be to remain in it and endeavour its reform; not to break away from it, and set up societies of their own invention, which must be in this respect, at any rate, contrary to the will of God.

XX. There are two circumstances of no little weight and importance which go far to show the unreasonableness of modern Dissent. The first is, that in a large number of cases the modern sects have openly or tacitly abandoned as untenable the grounds for adopting Nonconformity taken up by their forefathers. An episcopal ministry, the use of the surplice, the employment of set forms of prayer, kneeling at the Communion, the ring in marriage, and similar points, were among the chief objections raised by English Puritans 300 years ago against the Church, and more than one sect owes its origin to separation for such reasons. But now their temper has so far changed that they for the most part regard these matters as but trifling, and in not a few instances

actually adopt them as praiseworthy. By taking either of these courses, they practically admit that their original separation on such grounds was unjustifiable, and, therefore, that there is no good reason for continuing it now. There are other forms of Dissent which had a more respectable origin ; which were due to apathy, coldness, and unspirituality within the Church, and to the desire of finding something which would deal more effectually with the needs of souls than did the ministrations of the Establishment. The Methodist body is the most noticeable of those which arose in this fashion. But here, again, the teaching of history shows that they, too, were wrong. Their faith, however sincere, was clearly weak and imperfect, since otherwise they would have recognised that our Lord's teaching, and that of the Apostles, on the visible unity of the Church, and on the sin of making divisions from it, is quite as plainly laid down in the New Testament as any one of the doctrines which they desired to revive and enforce ; and, indeed, far more explicitly than several of those doctrines. Their aim was to set up a body which should contain none but true believers of holy life ; a beautiful dream, which has never been realised, and which, had it been realised, would have been quite unlike the Church on earth as revealed to us in the Gospel, under the figure of a net including both good and bad fishes. Thus, not recognising the Church as a Divine institution, they failed even to hope for any marked amendment or recovery within it, viewing it as a city of destruction, out of which they needed to flee to a Zoar of their own. But, as a fact, the Church did recover, and that in so conspicuous and unmistakable a degree, that for a long period of years it has been absolutely impossible for any Nonconformist sects to point truthfully to it as a warning to be shunned, or to plume themselves on any spiritual superiority over the Church manifested by their own adherents. And hence we may fairly draw the conclusion that had the religious activity which was too hastily diverted into the narrow channels of the sects been suffered to flow naturally within the banks of the Church, the flood of spiritual vitality would have fertilised the land far more than under existing conditions. There can be no doubt that had John Wesley lived in the present day, he would never have thought it necessary to establish an organisation in the least resembling the Methodist society ; though his zeal and devotion would have undoubtedly found abundant means of expression and activity in promoting further internal reforms. And thus, as the reason for the Methodist separation has ceased to exist, its

continued maintenance is in opposition to the will of God, even if its original formation be excused and condoned.

XXI. There is yet another particular in which the Church of England, apart from its lofty claims, ought to prove attractive to the finest religious minds in the country ; which is that it is favourably distinguished from all its rivals, without exception, by its readiness to learn and willingness to reform. That there are defects and abuses in it still, inevitably resulting from its human element, is doubtless true ; but that steady progress has been made for the last half century in the path of improvement, and that the abuses which still survive are doomed to speedy extinction, no clear-sighted observer can doubt. No one who will compare the Church of England as it was when this century began, and as it is now, can fail to recognise a change so great, deep, and salutary, as is inexplicable on any theory save that of divine suggestion and aid. It is simply impossible to match and parallel this revival by any similar movement discoverable in any of the other religious bodies in the country. Whatever may have been the growth of any one amongst them in numbers and material prosperity, none of them has exhibited the same humility in acknowledging shortcomings, the same zeal in pursuing amendment, the same revival of spiritual vitality in every muscle and vein. And this, be it observed, not in the way by which newly awakened interest in spiritual matters displays itself in Nonconformist societies. Amongst them, such a quickening nearly always results in the formation of a *new sect*, an experimental trial of some new panacea for spiritual evils. In the Church of England, on the other hand, the marvellous revival has been entirely due to the enforcement of *old* methods and principles inherent in her organisation, and embodied in her formularies, but which had been suffered to lie neglected and covered with rust, during a time of spiritual apathy. Thus, in short, a Nonconformist revival generally ends in persuading the revivalists that their society has been on the wrong track hitherto, and that they must leave it in order to find the right one ; whereas the Church revival has proved to England that the Church was in the right all along, and that it was only failure to keep up to its standard which caused the abuses that are now being swept away.

XXII. Up to this time we have been considering the relation of the Church of England to those self-constituted bodies which are younger than she, and can trace their parentage no further back than the Reformation. But there is a more important rival in the field, with a far more ancient pedigree and

loftier claims, which declares that all the arguments adduced above against the sects of Protestantism apply equally to the Church of England, as being merely one of those sects, and equally in rebellion against the One Church, that of Rome. It is therefore necessary to state briefly the reasons which refute this charge. Foremost amongst them stands the indisputable fact that the Church of England is markedly like the Church of Rome in several of the particulars in which they are both unlike the Nonconformist sects. The hierarchy of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and so forth, is similar in the two bodies ; the Book of Common Prayer, in all its main features, is but an abridged arrangement and translation of the Latin Missal and Breviary ; the doctrinal system of the two has an immense mass of matter absolutely in common, while the points of divergence, however serious and specific, are few in number, and in bulk are insignificant when compared with the great body of agreement. Thus, if the Anglican body be not really a Church, it is at any rate extraordinarily like one. And that Roman Catholic controversialists are fully aware of this likeness, may be judged from one very pregnant fact, namely, that the Church of England is the only religious body in the world, with the single exception of the Eastern Church, against which they trouble themselves to argue seriously. They simply do not think it worth their while, either here or on the Continent, to refute the claims of the Protestant sects, no matter how powerful those sects may be. They no more think of setting themselves to prove that Lutheran or Calvinist pastors are not lawful ministers of the true Church, holding sound doctrine, than the law-officers of the Crown in this country would dream of prosecuting for high treason any crazy person who claimed to have a better legal right to the throne of Great Britain than the Queen has. But they treat the Church of England exactly as they treat the Church of Constantinople and of Russia, arguing against both with a persistent anxiety which proves that they are afraid of them, and think their case only too good.

As they cannot deny that the chief religious body in England was a Church, and not a sect, down to the Reformation, they are obliged to allege that some change passed over it then which destroyed its Church character. And, broadly speaking, there were only two changes of so much importance as to amount, even in appearance, to this, for the cavils against the validity of Anglican Orders cannot be regarded as other than consciously insincere, if only from the entirely different grounds of objection taken up by successive genera-

tions of controversialists. These changes are the rejection of the Pope's jurisdiction and the alterations made in the Liturgy. But it is easy to show that just these two very things have been done in kind by other Churches, without destroying their character, even in Ultramontane eyes. Thus, for example, there is a well-known and very weighty institution at Rome, called the Congregation of the Index, established by the Council of Trent, and acting under the Pope's authority, which undertakes the censorship of books, and forbids, under stringent penalties, the perusal of such as it pronounces heretical. Nothing can have fuller Papal sanction than this Index, which concerns a very practical and important sphere of ecclesiastical discipline, but the French Church has never permitted it to exercise its powers in France, and rejects so far the Pope's authority, in a particular respecting which the claims of Rome have always been very precise and imperative. And as to liturgical reform, scores of French dioceses in the last century abrogated the use of the Roman Breviary, compiling in its stead new office-books of their own, in which the Scriptural element was largely increased, and the legendary and doubtful matter still more largely diminished. Yet these two acts of resistance have never been held to have in any degree unchurched the communion which committed them, nor to have even in any degree involved the assumption of rights to which it had no just title. The Church of England has done nothing which in principle goes beyond these measures of the Church of France, although in extent its independence of action has proceeded further. But it is precisely the question of principle which is in debate, and not that of degree, because the ground habitually taken up by Roman controversialists is the unlawfulness of any national Church presuming to settle liturgical and disciplinary questions for itself, apart from the sanction of the Holy See.

It is perfectly true that there was much profanity, sacrilege, and wanton destruction committed during the crisis of the Reformation in England; and had the extreme reformers been able to carry out their plans, they would have wrecked the Church as completely as they did in Scotland, where a new and human system was set up with an entirely novel and human organisation. But the fact is, that their scheme failed, and the mischief they were able to do did not touch essentials, but only details of ornament, more or less beautiful and edifying, too many of which had doubtless been distorted into error; just as an ancient castle or church may be restored in modern times, often not in the best taste and with some in-

jury to its beauty, and yet unavoidably, to avert utter ruin, but does not thereby lose its identity. And, at the worst, none of the leaders sank so far as those archbishops, bishops, and clergy of the French Church who made open profession of atheism at the Revolution; besides which, whatever the Reformers were, they were the children of the unreformed Church, which is accountable for them. The broad and complete answer to the whole argument is that, at this moment, Christianity has a firmer hold on the people of England, including the educated and cultured classes, than it has in any Roman Catholic country of similar extent and influence.

XXIII. If the Church of England, in reforming itself from doctrinal and practical abuses, had either abandoned the old hierarchy altogether, and set up an entirely new pastorate, as was the case amongst the German Lutherans and Scotch Calvinists; or if only a small minority of the clerical body had assented to the Reformation, forcibly excluding by means of the civil power those who adhered to the former state of things, it might be possible to argue with some plausibility, that either of these courses had in fact unchurched the communion which was guilty of following it. But so far from this having been the case, the episcopal succession has been more carefully preserved in the Church of England than in any other part of Western Christendom, since deviation from the Nicene rule which enjoins a minimum of three consecrators for each new bishop has been scarcely ever, if at all, permitted in this country; whereas in the Roman communion consecration at the hands of a single prelate has been extremely common, and has necessarily left the validity of the rite too often open to cavil. In the next place, as regards the adhesion of the Anglican clergy to the Reformation, it is enough to say that at the Ecclesiastical Visitation of 1559, out of a body of clergy numbering between nine and ten thousand, only 180 refused to accept the reformed offices. When more than 98 per cent. of a body remains in possession of that which it enjoyed before the occurrence of any crisis, it is clear that on any ground of law or history the continuity of the body vests in that majority, and not in the two per cent. of remonstrants, unless indeed the majority had committed some act of corporate suicide, either by abandoning the faith of Christendom, or by setting up an entirely new and purely human organisation; neither of which events, on any reading of the facts, has taken place in England. Of course, if the English Church had apostatised from Christianity, or if a mere lay pastorate had been substituted, as in Scotland, for the

Apostolic ministry, the title of Church of England would either have been forfeited altogether, or have belonged exclusively to the protesting minority. But failing either of these grounds of forfeiture, no person or society external to the Church of England had then, or has now, a right of interference. The mere fact that one Church has been instrumental in founding another, does not give the elder and vaster communion any claim to regulate the internal affairs of the daughter society. So, for example, the Church of England does not claim authority over the daughter Church of America, nor arrogate for the English Primate jurisdiction over its dioceses, although in any joint assembly of bishops of the Anglican communion the Archbishop of Canterbury would have priority of rank universally conceded to him. But, if not content with this honorary precedence, he were to send English bishops and clergy, owing canonical obedience to him, to set up a society in the United States to rival the Church there, this society would be junior to the local Church in point of time, and irregular in point of order, so that, albeit derived, and that more immediately, from the English Church than the Church of America is, it would be an intruder without defensible status; which is exactly the position of the branch of the Roman Church now existing in England, which, as a fully organised community, is not thirty years old, as compared with the twelve or sixteen hundred years of the National Church.

XXIV. The Roman plea, however, is that the mere fact of being out of communion with the Pope and separating from the Church of which he is the recognised head, is itself destructive of all Church character. The answer is, that even if this were true—which the occurrence as saints in the Roman Calendar of some who, like S. Cyprian, died out of communion with the Pope; the rival parties in the Great Schism, with saints on each side; and the deposition of Popes by Councils, disprove—the Church of England has not separated from the Church of Rome, but the Church of Rome has separated from the Church of England. That is to say, the Church of England has laid down in the most formal manner in the Thirtieth Canon of 1603 that no such act of separation on its part has taken place at all. This statement is embodied in the following words:—

‘So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of *Italy*, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practised, that, as the Apology of the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies, which doth neither endamage

the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men ; and only departed from them in those particular points wherein they had fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches, which were their first founders.'

In the next place, the Church of England has nowhere embodied in its formularies any anathemas against the Church of Rome, and a mere subscription to the XXXIX. Articles is sufficient to give any Roman bishop, priest, or deacon full ecclesiastical status among the Anglican clergy ; whereas no minister of a Protestant sect can obtain that character by any means short of submitting to episcopal ordination. The conduct of the Church of Rome, on the other hand, towards the Church of England is the reverse of this in all respects, so that a separation between the two does exist, the blame of which, on the face of things, rests with the foreign body.

XXV. The question therefore arises, whether this be really so, or whether the Church of England is to blame for having even seemed to separate originally on inadequate grounds, or for taking no active steps to end that practical separation which is now apparent, but remaining in a position of isolation for reasons which no longer apply. As regards the first of these questions, it is enough to say that for nearly one hundred and fifty years before the Reformation almost all the most illustrious divines of the Western Church, whether singly, as members of joint committees, or as constituents of great Church Synods, urged in the strongest language the imperative need of a very sweeping measure of reform in every department of ecclesiastical affairs. But their remonstrances and demands were alike unheeded by the Roman Court, and it was not until after the Reformation had taken place and had caused the division of Western Christendom, that the Council of Trent was assembled, and proceeded to the task of practical reforms. Had this Council never sat, or had it parted without making any substantial changes, Roman Catholics might possibly deny that any scandals and abuses existed, save in the imagination of their opponents ; but by taking so many of them in hand as was done at Trent, full confession of guilt and responsibility was made, only that it came too late to recover those whom the persistence of the Roman Court in upholding evil had revolted.

There is little doubt that had the reforms of Trent been conceded forty years earlier, the Reformation would either have never taken place at all or would have been confined to a narrow area and to insignificant results. No question can arise in the mind of any impartial student of Church history

that the original ground of breach with the Roman Court was adequate, since that Court was the one steadfast enemy of amendment; though it is impossible to defend the personal conduct of the seceders in many other subsequent matters. But it may fairly be asked why it did not become the Church of England's duty to return into communion with Rome after the Council of Trent, just as it is alleged above that the Methodists are bound to return to the revived and quickened Church of England of to-day, so unlike that from which they parted during the apathy of the last century.

XXVI. The answer to this question, is that the Council of Trent was largely made abortive by various intrigues, so that much of its original programme was defeated, and although things were made far more tolerable than they had previously been for members of the Roman Church, they were yet not made sufficiently so, nor placed on a sufficiently secure basis, to warrant the return of the seceders. To put the matter briefly, the Church of Rome then, and ever since, has laid down unjust and unscriptural terms of communion, as the only ones upon which it will receive Christians of other societies into its fold. All that the Church of England demands is acceptance of the Creeds, and submission to the rites of Baptism and Confirmation in the case of the unbaptized or unconfirmed in the case of laymen—including under this head all non-Episcopalians ministers and pastors—while, as already observed, signature of the Thirty-nine Articles is alone required of duly-ordained ecclesiastics wishing to join its communion.

But the Roman Church compels every lay person within its pale to disobey the command of the Lord Jesus Christ as to the cup of the New Testament, 'Drink ye *all* of it,' a command whose binding character has been recognised from the first by the yet more ancient Eastern Church, and which was not formally set aside, even by Rome itself, till about one hundred years prior to the Reformation—to be exact, on June 15, 1415, in the Council of Constance. If the practical teaching of the Roman Church were only that when, for some valid reasons, the Holy Eucharist can be administered to any person in one kind only, the full grace of both kinds will be received thereby, no reasonable objection could be raised; but to forbid in express terms obedience to Christ, and to defend such a forbidding by a mere charitable hypothesis—in other words, by a guess at the possible secret counsel of God—is clearly more than enough to repel any layman, and to make it his duty not to join a communion which forces upon him disobedience to God.

The arguments customarily adduced by Roman controversialists in defence of this usage do not amount to much, for they are chiefly based on a supposed risk of irreverence and profanation involved in the general bestowal of the chalice. But this is to be wiser than Christ Himself, Who must have foreseen all results which would flow from His own command, and is to avert from Him what He therefore designed to undergo. At best, it is S. Peter's conduct when he was told of the coming Passion: 'Then Peter took Him, and began to rebuke Him, saying, Be it far from Thee, Lord: this shall not be unto Thee;' whereby he did but earn the stern rebuke: 'Get thee behind Me, Satan, thou art an offence unto Me, for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men.' (S. Matt. xvi. 22, 23.)

Nor does the difficulty of embracing the Roman system cease here. There are in fact two distinct and even contrariant religions co-existing in the Roman Church of to-day: the one, formal, fixed, and authoritative, embodied in the Breviary and Missal, not varying very essentially from that set forth by the English Book of Common Prayer. But this religion is embodied in books entirely written in a dead language, and is in practice exclusively confined to the clergy.

The religion tendered to the laity is of a very different character, and, to say the least, startlingly unlike the Christianity of the New Testament; consisting very largely, in many countries almost entirely, of devotions in which God and Christ are practically banished into the background, while the prayers of the people are directed preferably to merely human personages. Unlike the devotions of the Breviary and Missal, in which the Saints occupy a wholly subordinate position, these popular cults, sedulously promoted by the highest authorities, are not logically distinguishable, nor in fact are they distinguished by illiterate minds, from the acknowledgment of the Saints as independent sources of grace and blessing, and as being on the whole the most convenient and desirable objects of frequent devotional address. One example will suffice as an illustration. In a devout book, containing much excellent matter, and intended for the use of nuns, called 'The Spouse of Christ,' itself compiled by a Poor Clare, and issued under episcopal sanction, may be found towards the close of nearly every chapter two brief ejaculations, immediately following one another. The first is 'My Jesus, mercy;' the second, 'Sweet Heart of Mary, be my salvation.' Not only is the latter a more direct prayer, in the full sense, as addressed to a divine object, than

the former, but on each occurrence their relative spiritual value is marked in brackets, telling us that the prayer to our Lord is privileged by the Pope with one hundred days' indulgence, while that to the heart of His Mother is similarly endowed with three hundred days, the logical and inevitable conclusion from which to every reader of the book must needs be that prayer to the Blessed Virgin is just three times as efficacious and profitable as prayer to the Eternal Word. It is true that the Mass, still technically the central devotion of the Roman Church, is not open to objection on this ground ; but, on the one hand, it is in a dead language, not in the vernacular, like the popular services ; and, on the other, the well-nigh universal custom of the laity not attempting to follow it, much less to respond congregationally where directed so to do, but employing private manuals of prayer simultaneously, deprives it of almost its whole teaching value, and makes not only possible, but frequent, the habitual use of unauthorised devotions, pitched in an altogether lower key, and by no means barred against the fault just named. Besides this serious objection, there stands also the fact that, within the last few years there has been an extraordinary revival of precisely those mechanical and superstitious observances which largely tended to bring about the Reformation, and which were, therefore, steadily discountenanced for a considerable time after that event by the authorities of the Roman Church, in view of the scandal which they had occasioned. But the same authorities have lately, for a long continuous period, actively encouraged the restoration of these very practices ; so that the religious observances most commonly set before devout Roman Catholics, as likely to be of spiritual benefit to them, consist in such things as visits to holy wells, such as Lourdes, pilgrimages to the sites of most questionable apparitions, as La Salette and Paray-le-Monial, bearing about the person pieces of consecrated thread or cloth, such as the Cord of S. Francis and the Scapular, to the mere contact of which miraculous powers of grace are ascribed ; and solemn devotions in honour of more than doubtful relics, like the Blessed Virgin's girdle at Quintin, and the Holy Candle of Arras ; all of them practices which can be paralleled with ease in several Pagan systems, but for which no colourable defence is discoverable in the Scriptures of either the Old or the New Testament. On the face of things, therefore, the Roman Church presents such extraordinary difficulties, from its plain incompatibility with the doctrine and practice of the Primitive Church, as

discoverable either in Scripture or history, that it cannot for a moment prove its claim to be the true representative of pure Christianity in this country ; even without laying particular stress on the fact, that as a fully organised religious communion, its age in England is under thirty years ; for the mediæval Church here, though in communion with Rome, was the real Church of England, and not a mere piece of the Roman Church localised in England, analogous to the Anglican see of Gibraltar, which is a piece of the English Church localised in Spain, but no part of the Spanish Church. That is to say, the modern Anglo-Roman Church exists merely as an offshoot of the local Church of Rome, with no character of independence or nationality. Its one distinguishing reason for existing at all is communion with the Pope and exact submission to him ; it is compelled to refer most questions which may arise within it to tribunals at Rome, and is not suffered to deal with them on its own authority ; it is governed by Roman Canon Law, and uses the Roman Missal and Breviary with Roman ceremonial. On the other hand, the mediæval Church of England, though in communion with the Pope, treated such communion as a mere subordinate detail of its constitution, for it frequently resisted him, and sometimes defied him ; it had its own Canon Law, never receiving the Roman Canon Law as valid here ; but passing its own Canons without seeking foreign confirmation for them ; it claimed and exercised authority to decide all its own internal business, for appeals to Rome, though not infrequent, were voluntary, and not compulsory ; it had its own Missals and Breviaries, with a national ceremonial ; and thus, in all these noticeable points, was at open variance with the modern importation which lays claim to its titles.

XXVII. Nor do the difficulties in the way of submitting to the Roman Church cease here. There are reasons why even clergymen, who could avail themselves of the comparatively pure religion of the Breviary and Missal, and personally refrain from participating in the coarser forms of popular devotion, nevertheless cannot justifiably attach themselves to the existing Roman Church. The chief reason is that, as the discipline of that Church makes it perfectly feasible, nay easy, for its higher authorities to suppress any false teaching or superstitious practice within its pale, and yet they refuse to do so, it follows that to join them, while such is the case, is to condone their misconduct and voluntarily to assume a full share of responsibility for it in a far greater degree than hereditary Roman Catholics, who have accepted

without question the system in which they were born, and have not given in their adhesion by any voluntary and independent act. Just so, if this country were engaged in an unrighteous war against some foreign State, there would be a wide difference between the moral position of officers holding commissions in the army or navy, who, in obedience to orders from superiors, took part in carrying on that war, and that of foreign volunteers, who, having no concern in the matter, offered themselves as combatants on the aggressive side. It may be fairly urged that the conduct of the former, in holding that they had no right to canvass the orders of their government, has a very great deal to be said for it, and the strictest moralist would not hold them responsible for the misdoings of their State in the original quarrel. But a volunteer, bound by no duty in the matter, would be justly held as guilty of wrong-doing as the State whose cause he had of his own free will embraced ; just as, to cite a contemporary example, the culpability of Hobart Pasha in the Cretan massacre during the insurrection was incomparably greater than that of any Turkish officer employed.

XXVIII. Further, the office of the Church, in so far as it is the keeper and witness of Holy Writ, is to provide as high a degree of certainty as the nature of the case allows, touching faith, discipline, and morals. But it is the misfortune and the peculiarity of the Roman Church, that there is at the present moment much less certainty, and less security, within its pale on these three heads, than in almost any other Christian community. As regards faith, the position formerly was that the Church rested its teaching on the twofold basis of Scripture and Tradition, that is to say, historical evidence ; and an authoritative pledge is still required from every Roman Catholic priest at his ordination, and from every convert at his reception, that he will interpret Scripture no otherwise than in accordance with the unanimous consent of the Fathers. But by the revolution effected in the Vatican Council of 1870, which attributed the character of infallibility to the Pope, the two bases of Scripture and Tradition have been swept away, and the Faith has been made to depend on the momentary caprice of a single man. Even sixteen years before he was declared infallible, Pius IX., on his own responsibility, erected into a dogma, as an essential part of the Roman faith, the tenet of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, which up to that time had not only been a mere tolerated opinion, which it was permissible to disbelieve, but one which is con-

tradicted by the well-nigh unanimous consent of all the Fathers who had any occasion to glance at the subject; and which, therefore, was not lawfully tenable on Roman principles, albeit widely prevalent, before 1854. The power which can make a new dogma in this fashion can of course unmake old ones, and thus there is no security that a wicked and unbelieving Pope (and even Ultramontanes do not yet deny the possibility of another such in the future as there have been several in the past) may not condemn the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation; and by means of the vast powers conferred upon him, force this infidel teaching upon the Latin Church in general, by depriving all bishops who will not teach, and compel their clergy to teach, under similar pain of deprivation, these same errors. And if it be replied, as of course it will be, that such a catastrophe is wildly improbable, yet a mitigated but perilous form of it is more than likely to occur. It is as yet the formally accredited opinion in the Roman Church that the Pope is infallible only when avowedly teaching the whole Church as Universal Doctor. As a private theologian, or when teaching no more than a part of the Church, he may err. But not only does he possess enormous powers, as just mentioned, which enable him to force his private error, supposing him to fall into it, on every several diocese of the Latin obedience, but the moral difficulty of asserting his fallibility in any one conceivable instance is indefinitely great. There is always the retort possible against any remonstrance, that men who are always fallible have no right to canvass or question the decisions of a man who is sometimes infallible, and whom a very powerful body, constituting a practical majority, of his subjects alleges to be always infallible. It would soon become the invariable custom to give the Pope the benefit of the doubt, and to treat any hesitation in compliance as perilously rash, if not as formally heretical, and thus any error in faith or morals which he might promulgate as a private doctor, would not only be accepted as divinely revealed truth by a great part of the Latin Church, but would be silently acquiesced in as irresistible by nearly all the remainder, leaving the units who still ventured to remonstrate in the seeming position of heretics. And, as a fact, such errors in faith and morals have been taught by Popes in the past, so that there is no warrant for assuming that they will not recur. That this peril is not imaginary, but even imminent, may be shown by one modern and palmary example of a total change of front in respect of a heresy. In 1687, Innocent XI. rightly

condemned by the Constitution *Cælestis Pastor* sixty-eight Quietist theses of Michael Molinos, who died in 1696 a prisoner of the Inquisition at Rome. In 1864, Pius IX. beatified Margaret Mary Alacoque, whose teaching on all the most objectionable points of Quietism is even verbally identical with that of Molinos, but is now formally authorised in connexion with the Nestorian cult of the Sacred Heart.

As regards matters of discipline, inclusive of the administration of Sacraments, the doctrine of Intention, currently taught in the Roman Church, according to which the validity of any outward spiritual act depends on the inward consent of the officiant, makes it impossible to be certain that any Sacrament whatsoever is validly received at any given time. The penitent cannot be sure that he has received absolution; the communicant cannot be sure that he has received the Eucharist; the candidate for Holy Orders cannot be sure that he is really ordained. And in the third place, as regards morals, the elevation of Alphonso Liguori, by Pius IX., to be a Doctor of the Universal Church, has raised his teaching to a position of unassailable authority, in that it not only may not be openly contradicted, but must be followed, especially in the confessional; which teaching is not only itself of the very laxest kind on all moral questions, but is the chief bulwark of the principle known as Probabilism; according to which it is permissible to follow the less probable of two opinions respecting the observance of any law whose own obligation is unquestionable. The practical working of this may be illustrated by saying, that if the question be on the observance of the eighth commandment, and that one teacher lay down that the commandment means exactly what it says, so that no kind of stealing is permissible; while another contend that the sole intention of the commandment being to prevent injury to one's neighbour, it is not a sin to steal from him something whose loss he does not feel; it becomes lawful to act on this second opinion, and to steal small sums from rich men. And as Probabilism applies to all kinds of moral obligation, and is now the accepted doctrine of the Roman Church, it follows that there is no certainty for morals. In this wise, the Roman Church, though preserving the outward organisation which makes it an integral part of the Church Universal, and for the time retaining the whole body of Christian doctrine, albeit overlaid and obscured, has practically abdicated some of its most important functions, and no longer discharges the primary duties of a Church; while the further difficulty

exists, that there is no prospect of reform in these respects within any reasonable time, because the strict disciplinary system, of which its advocates boast so loudly, makes its higher authorities as able as they are willing to silence, or expel, as they formerly burned, any persons bold enough to make a stand against popular abuses. And for all these reasons, and many more which space forbids to set down here, the Roman Church has forfeited any claims it might have had in this country, and is not, for Englishmen at any rate, the teacher appointed by God.

XXIX. A very few words will suffice to dispose of those societies which lay claim to a new revelation; to wit, the Irvingites, the Swedenborgians, and the Mormons.

As to the Irvingite body, its distinctive peculiarity is scarcely doctrinal at all; since it differs but little in its tenets from the Church of England, but it claims to have had restored to it, through a special revelation, the original Apostolic Ministry after an abeyance of seventeen hundred years. Two circumstances are sufficient to disprove its claim. In the first place, its origin is unlike that of any previous dispensation given by God to man, since in every former instance each fresh covenant was made with the members of the then existing Church, and was a development of its organisation. Thus, the Church of which Abraham was the first representative grew out of the Noachic Church; the Mosaic Church, in its turn, did but develop the Abrahamic Covenant; and the Christian Church, in like manner, grew out of Mosaism. Accordingly, if a fourth instance of the kind were to be vouchsafed by God, the analogy of His dealings obliges us to expect that it would arise in some part or other of the old historical Catholic Churches, whether Eastern or Western. But, as a fact, Irvingism arose in the modern Protestant sect of Scottish Presbyterianism, of which it is in no sense even a development, but a contradiction. And in the next place, the only proof which has ever been tendered in support of its genuineness, is an alleged private outpouring of the gift of tongues on its earliest disciples. But whereas S. Paul lays down the principle that 'tongues are for a sign, not to them that believe, but to them that believe not' (1 Cor. xiv. 22), these alleged portents, on the contrary, were strictly confined to the inner circle of believers, and are never publicly manifested for the conversion of outsiders. It will be time enough, when such patent proof is offered, to examine the pretensions of this sect with any seriousness, especially since it has made no progress for many years, but is a

fast dwindling body ; while ten out of the twelve persons whom it styled Apostles have died without producing a Peter, a John, or a Paul, or even making any notable missionary efforts, and the survivors, both of them aged and feeble, and withdrawn from all active exertion, are unknown even by name outside the limits of the sect—no great results for nearly half a century of existence. Two other circumstances, were further disproof necessary, might be alleged : first, that the authorities of the Irvingite body permit, nay, encourage, their members to avail themselves of the spiritual ministrations of the clergy of the old historical Churches, and even, if we do not mistake, of those of the pastors of certain Protestant denominations, such as the Lutherans and Presbyterians, when their own officers are not accessible ; and, next, that the sect is almost exclusively English, since a few German and some American congregations make up nearly the whole of the society outside the limits of the United Kingdom. The former of these facts shows that the new or revived ministry is not essential, but only complementary and ornamental, even in the eyes of its advocates ; while the second is a practical disproof of the Catholic claims of a body which has been unable to spread itself beyond a mere tribal boundary—unlike the true Apostolic college, which in a much shorter period had overleaped the barriers of Judaism and begun to disciple the whole Roman Empire, and not a few regions beyond. As regards the Swedenborgians, who avow themselves to be a 'New Church,' and therefore make no *historical* claims whatever, they have not even the quasi-miracles of Irvingism to produce on their behalf ; besides which, they have departed far more widely from ancient Christian doctrine, being heterodox on the Trinity, the Atonement, the Resurrection, and the Second Advent ; in all which particulars, except the first, their tenets are new, while their view of the first is a reproduction of ancient Sabellianism. Much of Swedenborg's teaching is, no doubt, mere ingenious and innocuous speculation, by no means devoid of suggestiveness, but so far as it claims to be a revelation, it is 'another gospel,' and one which can adduce no testimony in its favour. And it entirely lacks the necessary tokens either of Divine approval or of general suitability to the spiritual needs of man. It has existed now for nearly one hundred years, for just ninety as a separate organisation since its meetings for worship began in 1787 ; and yet its numbers only reach about ten thousand in all the world, almost exclusively confined (like the Irvingites) to a lower middle-class stratum of society in England and America, thus

being a mere class-religion of a single race, not a Catholic faith for the whole world, nor does it exhibit the least vitality in growth, and must therefore be regarded as a complete failure. For Mormonism, it is enough to say that besides the puerility and ignorance of the Book of Mormon, the notorious and fully established crimes and profligacy which have marked the sect from the beginning, show that it has no divine character about it, but is a mere imposture without claim to attention, a remark which holds good of several other modern American sects of immoral character.

XXX. In sum, the Church of England is the only religious society in this country which, in the good pleasure of God, is brought home to the notice of every inhabitant of England; it is the only one which descends by direct and unbroken pedigree from the Christian body which existed here in the time of undivided Christendom; it is the only one in which it is feasible to teach the whole Catholic faith, as it was held in primitive ages, without addition or subtraction; it is the only one which gives, and is bound to give, its services everywhere, and to all, without money and without price, since it maintains itself on its own revenues; it is the only one which has set itself vigorously to amend and reform defects and abuses which had crept into its system; it is the only one which does not insist that its members should hold only some Divine truths, and should reject others equally Divine, because difficult of combination; it is the only one which, resting its teaching on Scripture and History, can offer any assurance of certainty or permanence to its adherents. It is not a perfect Church; it has still many spots and wrinkles; it is still in many particulars deformed and outraged by the State, which affects to endow it with special privileges, but really visits it with peculiar disabilities; it has unfaithful children amongst both its clergy and people; but it is curing itself of its faults, day by day, and is doing a greater work for God in the land than any other Society can pretend to; so that it is incomparably better worth while for those outside to enter into it, and lend their efforts to make it a glory in the earth, than to remain outside and thwart its labours, as members of societies which have fallen away more or less from the faith, and which, in their spiritual pride, refuse to believe that they have any need to mend their ways.

ART. III.—THE LIFE OF COUNT CAVOUR.

The Life of Count Cavour. From the French of M. CHARLES DE MAZADE. (London, 1877.)

M. DE MAZADE has long been honourably known as a prominent contributor to the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in which the work before us originally appeared. And he has done a good service to history by republishing his series of articles in a collected form. The work can hardly be called a 'Life,' since it is but a sketch of the great Minister's political career for the last thirteen years of his life. But, though we would gladly have learnt more of his youth and early manhood than can be collected from the very brief notice here vouchsafed to them, yet, even thus limited, the volume is of great value.

Cavour has certainly claims to be considered one of the most remarkable men, if not the most remarkable, of his age. He may be said to have created not only a kingdom, but a people. Before his day there were Piedmontese, Lombards, Venetians, Tuscans, Romans, Neapolitans; but no one nation of Italians. The Venetians hated the Romans; the Piedmontese despised the Neapolitans. And if at times a patriotic indignation prompted the prayer of minstrel or orator, that either the land might become less beautiful and alluring, or its sons more vigorous to defend it, yet neither the poetic inspiration of Filicaja nor even the statesmanlike foresight of Machiavelli went beyond a desire to shake off the 'barbaro dominio' of French or Austrian. No one dreamt that the hour might come when but one sceptre, and that swayed by a native Prince, should be obeyed from the Alps to Cape Passaro; and when Italy, no longer a collection of petty states, torn by domestic faction when independent, and often handed over from one foreign master to another as prizes of conquest or make-weights in some treaty of alliance; but united, and strong in the new union, should take its place among the leading kingdoms of Western Europe, with an authoritative dignity, which even its former oppressors could not refuse to acknowledge.

It is to Cavour that the change is owing. Of this policy, he has had imitators, as he foresaw that he should have.

‘I am setting an example which, some day, Prussia will be very happy to imitate,’ was his reply to the Prussian Ambassador who had been instructed to remonstrate against the advance of General Cialdini on Ancona. And, as we all know, his prediction has been abundantly verified. But Bismarck’s greatest admirers must confess that in raising Prussia to the eminence on which she now stands, he had far fewer and slighter obstacles to contend with than confronted his Italian prototype; and that no such wantonness of aggression stains the policy which brought Italy to solicit the sovereignty of Victor Emmanuel as has left Hanover and Schleswig-Holstein indelible blots on the escutcheon of Frederic William. Ancient as it may seem to men who live as rapidly as those of the latter half of the nineteenth century, the recollection of the share which Prussia had borne in the overthrow of the first Napoleon contributed in no trivial degree to her assumption, forty years afterwards, of the lead in the German Diet. But no past achievements promised similar influence to Sardinia. At the beginning of the century, she was the very first of the Transalpine States to be annexed to France, even before the great conqueror had exchanged the consulship for the Imperial sceptre; while the events of 1848, that year of revolutions, seemed to serve only to rivet the chains of Lombardy and other states in the same condition, so that Alison’s comment on the decisive day of Novara is that it ‘had determined probably for ages the cause of Italian independence.’ The volume which contains this prophecy was published in the spring of 1859. The summer of the same year had not passed before the industrious but somewhat dogmatic historian saw reason to repent of the positiveness of his prediction; when duchy after duchy not as victims of conquest, but by the deliberate choice of its own citizens, voluntarily solicited the acceptance of their allegiance by the King of Sardinia. Taking M. de Mazade for our guide, we will endeavour to give such an idea as the very brief space at our disposal will permit, of the man who thus baffled the calculations of the student and overthrew the traditions of many generations.

Count Camillo Cavour, born at Turin on August 1, 1810, was the second son of the Marquis de Cavour, the head of one of the oldest families of the Piedmontese nobility. He was educated in the Military Academy, Turin, and at the age of eighteen joined a battalion of Engineers as a sub-lieutenant. For a year or two he was chiefly distinguished for his social accomplishments, and the zest with which he

entered into the pleasures of the different cities in which his corps was stationed. But his military life was of short duration. He took a keen interest in politics also ; and, when the French Revolution of 1830 drove the elder branch of the Bourbons from the throne, he expressed his approval of that movement with a warmth that gave great offence to his superiors, and led to his retirement from the army. He took to farming, showing great energy and no little skill in agricultural pursuits, and varying them with visits to France and England, in which, though at first his sympathies with the cause of which Louis Philippe seemed to be the representative led him to extend his admiration to that sovereign's Ministers, and to wish that any one would show him 'an English or a German Duc de Broglie,' a further insight into English institutions and the characters of English statesmen changed his opinions ; and Canning, and Peel, and above all Pitt, the great master of both, became the chief objects of his panegyrics, the models whom he apparently proposed to himself. In the great 'pilot who weathered the storm' he saw one who, though the champion of monarchy and religion, 'was no friend of despotism nor of intolerance, who was no doctrinaire, nor one of those men who aim at recasting society from top to bottom, with loose conceptions and humanitarian theories.' Later on, in 1847, he declared that 'Peel's reforms had been the salvation of England, that his country owed statues to him.' Already he fancied he saw an opening for impressing on his own countrymen the lessons which he had derived from a study of the career of these illustrious men.

For some years the spirit of reform had been unusually vehement in Western Europe, and in no country more than in Italy. Pius IX. himself, who had just succeeded to the triple crown, was understood to favour what were called liberal ideas. And the King of Sardinia, Charles Albert, showed an inclination to set an example to the other Italian states by the grant of many constitutional privileges to his subjects, which hitherto had been almost confined to our country, not concealing his hope that he might thus contribute in some degree to the 'sacred cause of Italian independence.' Cavour was eager to lend his aid to the movement, and exerted himself in a way which perhaps shows that he still leant to the traditions of the French politicians, whom a few years before he had so highly extolled. He established a newspaper, whose title, *Il Risorgimento*, sufficiently indicated his objects and his hopes ; while the articles which he published in it gave honourable proof of the thoroughly Conservative

character of his Liberalism, and from the first threw down the gauntlet to the advocates of 'revolutionary means,' as what could only 'wreck the very best of revolutions, and could be productive of nothing but discredit and ruin.' But the movement was premature. The military strength of Charles Albert could not, without foreign aid, measure itself against the force which the acute and watchful Metternich had long kept in readiness for such a struggle. And in the spring of 1849, the crushing defeat of Novara deprived Charles Albert himself of his crown, and for a time, Italy of her hopes. Piedmont had even to pay a heavy penalty for her enterprise in the form of a war indemnity of three millions sterling, a sum scarcely inferior to the yearly revenues of the kingdom.

But, even in this hour of darkness, there were brave hearts and far-seeing minds which did not despair of their country's future; and among the foremost of these was Cavour, whose influence over his fellow-citizens of Turin seemed as if it were augmented by the late catastrophe. Charles Albert had abdicated the throne in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel, who inherited his political aspirations with a greater sagacity to carry them out, and a firmer if somewhat less impulsive disposition. In his eyes, Novara had not extinguished the hopes which had prompted the contest; it had but delayed their fulfilment; and Cavour was even more hopeful than he, and, amid all the disasters and distress of the moment, could still look forward to the re-establishment of prosperity in his native province, and with it, and rising from it, to the regeneration of the entire peninsula. The hopes which he felt, he taught his countrymen to share, so that at the next election to the Piedmontese Parliament the citizens of Turin placed him as their representative at the head of the poll. And in the autumn of 1850, on the death of the Minister of Commerce and Finance, the Prime Minister, Count Massimo d'Azeglio, requested the King's sanction to offer him the vacant portfolio. Victor Emmanuel gave the leave requested not unwillingly, for he knew his abilities; but at the same time warning d'Azeglio that the recruit whose assistance he desired would soon become his master.

The royal prophecy was not slow in being fulfilled. The Ministry had a hard task before it; but, in grappling with it, the conciliatory moderation of the Prime Minister was far from keeping up with the fiery energy of his subordinate. It was soon seen that there was a division in the Cabinet; and Cavour, already recognised as the leader of the party of decisive action, was naturally forced to yield to his superior

officer. He resigned his post, and, that he might in no degree embarrass his colleagues whom he loved and respected, even while most differing from them, he took another journey to France and England. In the one country, the *coup d'état* of December 1851 had just established the authority of Louis Napoleon on a seemingly solid foundation; in the other, Lord Derby's Ministry had lately displaced the Cabinet of Lord John Russell, and the seals of the Foreign Office had been entrusted to Lord Malmesbury. With both the French Emperor and the English Secretary of State, Cavour, now a private individual, had more than one interview, in which he found both inclined to entertain a high opinion of his talents, and some (though less openly pronounced) sympathy with his views. But he could not be long spared from Turin. D'Azeglio, though unable on all points to act with him, was still more unable to dispense with him, and, as the sole mode of escape from the difficulty, resigned his own office, and recommended him to Victor Emmanuel as his successor. And thus, in November 1852, Cavour became Prime Minister, with the enthusiastic applause of one party, and the not very reluctant, though somewhat doubtful, acquiescence of the other; while the King himself, though secretly leaning rather to the cautious policy of his former adviser, was not unwilling to be converted, his feelings taking the shape of doubts rather of the practicability of his new Minister's projects, than of their advantage to his nation and to himself, if it should prove possible to execute them.

And, indeed, there was much in the condition of his kingdom to breed hesitation in the mind of a prince, who, though not without ambition, was sensitively alive to his responsibilities as ruler of a nation. His kingdom was not only poor, but it was encumbered with a debt, the interest of which absorbed a great proportion of the yearly revenue; while it was obvious that any attempt to realise the aspirations which animated the new Minister must add largely to the expenditure long before it augmented the means by which that expenditure could be met. Nor did Victor Emmanuel perceive the difficulties of the situation a whit more keenly than Cavour himself. And it was well that it was so; for no one ever surmounted difficulties who began by underrating them. Cavour saw them all, and grappled with them with a conviction that he could master them. He resolved to equalise the revenue and the expenditure, not by diminishing, but by increasing the latter, by devoting millions to opening the communications, improving the ports, and developing the

internal resources of the country. Remembering the example of Pitt, he stimulated commerce by treaties with foreign countries, hoping especially by such means to conciliate the good will, and, if need should arise, the active support of England and France. He had no doubt that measures such as these would soon prove remunerative. But he was not content with these; they would improve the internal prosperity of the kingdom, but they would not tend to its aggrandisement, and he looked further than the mere augmentation of the revenues of a nation which did not number five millions of people. He was prepared to spend still heavier sums on a policy which could yield no financial return, if he could thus place Piedmont in a higher position in the eyes of foreign statesmen. 'Piedmont' (he said) 'must begin by raising herself, by re-establishing in Europe, as well as in Italy, a position and a credit equal to her ambition.' And, even before he had become Minister, he had expressed to one of his intimate friends an expectation that complications were not unlikely to arise between the kingdoms of Eastern and Western Europe, which might afford to vigilant enterprise an opportunity such as he desired. His hopes were realised, perhaps even before he had expected. And when, in the spring of 1854, England and France declared war against Russia, he prepared at once to avail himself of the opportunity with a boldness which, when it succeeds, justly vindicates to itself the title of genius. He concluded an alliance with England and France, not on any such condition as England would have been willing to accept of furnishing a contingent to the allied armies to serve for British pay, but on equal terms as a third power, making, in proportion to its strength, equal exertions, and, as a consequence, acquiring equal rights.

The force which he sent under General La Marmora to join the English and French armies in the Crimea consisted of no more than 15,000 men; but the credit to Piedmont of appearing in the field as the ally of two such nations was not to be measured by the number of her troops. It was recognised everywhere as having raised Piedmont to a rank which she had never before reached, not even under the bravest or the most sagacious of her former sovereigns. If ever a policy was to be judged of by its fruits it was this. And the fruit was gathered with unusual promptitude. La Marmora reached the Crimea in May; in August he bore an honourable share in the fierce battle of the Tchernaya. And his country reaped the reward of his valour and conduct at the conclusion of the peace. In the Congress which in the spring of 1856 met

in Paris to arrange the conditions of peace, Cavour, who was his own and Piedmont's representative, had an enemy to overcome which was not Russia. If in 1855 England and France had received their ally with open arms, on the other hand, Austria, which took no part in the war, had regarded that alliance with a prophetic antipathy, sharpened not solely by a recollection of the war of 1848, but by a consciousness of the absolute and irreconcilable antagonism of principles which actuated the Courts of Vienna and Turin. As one of her nobles described it, that alliance was 'a pistol-shot fired in the ear of Austria.' And in 1856 the Austrian statesmen sought to deprive it of its effect by denying the Piedmontese plenipotentiary a place in the Congress, on the ground that Piedmont was but a kingdom of the second class, and one which, as such, could have no pretension to an equal voice in the settlement of affairs with England, France, Russia, and their own Empire. They only provoked a defeat, and an expression of sentiments from the French Emperor which, however disguised, was an ominous menace. Austria's hold over Italy had been greatly increased since the campaign of Novara ; in at least an equal degree had the impatience with which the yoke was borne been augmented ; and, when, at one of the later meetings of the plenipotentiaries, Louis Napoleon let fall the apparently careless question, 'What can be done for Italy?' no one could regard his words as anything but an indication of his own conviction that in some way or other the grasp in which Austria held some of the minor states of the Peninsula, Bologna, Modena, Parma, and even Tuscany, must be loosened. To the Piedmontese it was a question suggestive of something more than hope, almost of promise, though of one that could only be realised by waiting for a favourable moment, and even by aid from the Power most interested in baffling it, from Austria herself. But such a handle as was required the Court of Vienna was not unlikely to furnish. Never liberal in its dealings with the Italians, whom it regarded as foreign subjects to be kept down, it was at this time rendered more unreasonable than usual by fear ; and was daily alienating the Milanese more and more by measures which the Governor called exhibitions of vigilance, but which the governed denounced as causeless tyranny. An explosion could hardly be far distant ; but Piedmont must not seem to have brought it about, and Cavour was willing to wait. Among the statesmanlike qualities with which Nature had endowed him, patience had not been omitted. Mazarin himself was not more impressed with the assistance to be derived

from 'time.' And he had a large sufficiency of important subjects to occupy his attention. At home he had much to organise and place on a satisfactory footing. Abroad he had to keep up, and in some instances to establish, diplomatic relations with the statesmen of foreign countries: to disarm suspicion or enmity; to create confidence and friendliness.

In domestic policy, one of the most important and most delicate of the questions which pressed for solution concerned the different religious or quasi-religious bodies. With respect to the monastic orders, he drew a distinction between the mendicant and the charitable orders, suppressing the first altogether, but stoutly defending the second against those extreme advocates of change, who regarded extent of destruction as the test of completeness of reform. 'He would,' he said, 'quit the Ministry ten times over rather than subscribe to a law which should extinguish those orders whose employment was the instruction of the ignorant, the tending of the sick. It would be a deed deservedly prejudicial to his country in the eyes of all civilised Europe.' With respect to the secular clergy, the plan which he favoured was that of creating a special fund to be dedicated entirely to their support. To strip the Church of all endowments, so as to transform the working clergy into a body receiving salary from the State, he pronounced a measure which would create the worst form of despotism, an administrative despotism; and he urged against it a second objection of still greater weight, drawing a powerful argument from what he had seen in this country. He urged that 'it would lead to the extension and intensifying of the spirit of caste, by the complete isolation of the clergy in the midst of a civil centre;' and he pointed to the example of France, where, though 'the clergy were more moral and more zealous than their predecessors of the last century, they were undoubtedly less national and less liberal. They were infinitely more Ultramontane than their brethren in Piedmont.' And to those who recommended a third course, that of leaving the followers of the faith to remunerate their own clergy, he replied 'that such a course would create a double amount of fanaticism and Ultramontanism,' bidding the advocates of such a system look at Ireland, where it existed (he was speaking at this time, of course, only of the Roman Catholic clergy), 'where the clergy was unsalaried, drawing its means of subsistence solely from charity and the voluntary contributions of the faithful, and where, in consequence, the clergy was more fanatical and less liberal than that of France.'

Others of his measures were preparations more or less direct for war : for the aggrandisement which he hoped to win for his nation he never flattered himself could be achieved by the arts of peace alone. And indeed Austria gave a sufficiently clear indication that she contemplated the employment of force, when, at the beginning of 1857, she recalled her envoy from Turin. It was, therefore, a scarcely disguised preparation for war when he fortified Alessandria, and strengthened some of the other towns nearest the Austrian frontier : the creation of a great harbour and arsenal at La Spezzia was equally, though not so entirely, a warlike undertaking ; as also the making of a railway under Mont Cenis had the double object of facilitating intercourse between Piedmont and the countries beyond the Alps, and of providing a road by which, in case of need, a French army could come rapidly and without hindrance to her aid. He even rejoiced at the criticism to which these different undertakings were subjected, and at the opposition which they encountered in the Chambers of the Parliament, as trials which not only enabled him to set his own views more clearly before the world, but which also contributed greatly to make the whole nation sensible of the advantages of a Constitution and Constitutional Government. The character in which he desired most to be regarded was that of a Constitutional Minister. 'He preferred being under the necessity of persuading to having the power of commanding,' and pronounced 'the most inferior chamber of representatives preferable to the most brilliant imperial ante-room.' And his most politic moderation and patience was rewarded by the daily increasing confidence of all classes of his countrymen. The Chambers numbered among their members many of conspicuous ability—his old chief d'Azeglio, Alfieri, Menabrea, Ratazzi, and others ; but they all gradually recognised his pre-eminence.

'As the complication of events increased, and combinations of internal policy were added to diplomatic action, his influence increased also. The Chambers shrank from refusing him anything he asked for ; if some eccentric members of the Radical or the Absolutist parties assailed him with their conflicting attacks, they but gave him fresh opportunities of strengthening his ascendancy. Call it a dictatorship which he exercised ; it was a most exceptional one, daily granted, and continually exercised under the control of the Chambers.'

Nor was he less successful in his dealings with foreign countries. The veteran Metternich, still devoting those energies which fifty years of labour had scarcely impaired to the service of his Imperial master, pronounced him 'the

only diplomatist left in Europe.' In one quarter, indeed, the ground was prepared for him by the personal inclinations of the French Emperor, who still cherished in some degree the traditional policy which made France regard the House of Austria as her natural enemy; the recollection of his uncle's triumphs in the Lombard plains being, perhaps, also not without its effect in disposing him to seek to emulate them on the same ground; while a third motive, as yet unsuspected by Cavour himself, impelled him in the same direction. Of the other Great Powers, by his adhesion to the proposals of the Czar respecting the future organisation of the Principalities, and the union of Moldavia and Wallachia, he completely won over the Russian Cabinet; so that Prince Gortschakoff himself confessed that Russia had hitherto been mistaken in her past conduct towards the Court of Turin, and that for the future the wisest policy for the two countries would be to regard each other as 'natural allies.' In a personal interview with the Prince Regent of Prussia, now the Emperor William, he succeeded in impressing that Prince with a conviction of the moderation of his views, and their entire compatibility with the general interests. And, though in England, where Lord Palmerston was now Prime Minister, the identity of that statesman's views with those of Prince Metternich on the affairs of Eastern Europe indisposed him to run the risk of a breach with Austria if it could possibly be avoided, yet even he did not withhold expressions of warm sympathy with the constitutional government flourishing at Turin, and of willingness to join in urging the adoption of large measures of internal reform in the other Italian states, and even to give Piedmont active support if it should be attacked. In the coming contest with Austria, which it seemed plain could not be long averted, Cavour was able, by the end of 1857, to assure his sovereign that the countries which did not aid him would at least be neutral; and that, from one at least, the most vigorous assistance might certainly be looked for.

Sooner than he had probably expected the crisis came, and from what M. de Mazade calls 'one of those happy strokes of fortune which befall none but able men.' Nothing could beforehand have seemed less likely than that any project of Cavour's should be furthered by any act of the secret societies, which had long existed in different parts of Italy, but which he held in just and unconcealed abhorrence. Plots of assassination struck him with horror. Mazzini and his fellow-plotters he regarded as fanatics, whose schemes, if carried out, could not fail to be as mischievous to the cause which

they professed to espouse as they were wicked. Yet by a strange caprice of fortune, it was an abortive attempt at murder made by a member of these societies which gave the immediate impulse to the movement which was to unite Italy. In January 1858, an attempt was made to assassinate Louis Napoleon and his Empress. Cavour's first exclamation on hearing of it was a prayer that the assassins had not been Italians; but they proved to be such. And the first feelings of those who dreaded his influence was that the crime, if skilfully used, might be employed to overthrow it. The Papal Nuncio urged upon the Emperor, who was naturally incensed at the danger to which he had been exposed, that the deed was 'the natural fruit of the revolutionary passions fostered by the Sardinian Minister; while the Austrian ambassador at Paris suggested that such an atrocity was a proof 'that the time had come to establish between France and Austria a mutual understanding, in order to constrain Piedmont to leave off protecting the machinations of political refugees and the license of the revolutionary press.' And for a moment these insinuations seemed to make some impression on the uneasy mind of the intended victim of this murderous enterprise. His Foreign Minister, Count Walewski, was far less inclined than himself to further the aggrandisement of Victor Emmanuel. And, at his instigation, the French ambassador at Turin was instructed to demand of the Sardinian Government the immediate enactment of a variety of laws affecting more or less the general liberty of the press, and the practice (not unlike that of our own country) of sheltering political refugees. Cavour was in a most embarrassing dilemma. He was most earnestly anxious not to alienate the French Government, whose alliance, in the case of a rupture with Austria, would be indispensable. At the same time, he could not help confessing to himself that the uneasiness of the French Emperor, so lately the object of the vilest conspiracies, was reasonable. But he also felt that some of the measures required of him 'were inroads on' that liberal constitution of which he was so proud, '*coups d'état*,' in fact, to which he was resolved that no consideration should induce him to lend himself. From this difficulty his honesty of purpose, and the frankness, which he pleasantly was wont to describe as a new and most efficient instrument of diplomacy, extricated him. He consented to frame some new regulations calculated to increase the responsibility of editors of newspapers, and to provide additional security against the appearance of articles

tending to disturb the general tranquillity or to invite to crime. But he firmly refused to suppress even the most free-spoken journal, to expel refugees convicted of no crime against the laws of Piedmont, or, in short, to lend himself to any measures 'which might bear too visibly the stamp of foreign interference.' And, while he himself abstained from diplomatic controversy on the subject, as what was more likely to exasperate than to soothe, he recommended Victor Emmanuel himself to address Louis Napoleon in a letter at once confidential and conciliatory; expressing his personal regard for the French Emperor, and his desire to please him, but explaining also that he could make no concessions incompatible with the honour and independence of his country.

And this straightforward policy had its reward. Though greatly irritated at first, and provoked into the use of dictatorial, and even menacing language, Louis Napoleon after a time took a different view of what had occurred, and of what might be apprehended in future; and, instead of inferring that the remedy was to be found in joining with Austria to put pressure upon Piedmont, he began to trace the real source of danger to the policy of Austria herself. 'As long as there were Austrians in Italy, there would be attempts at assassination in Paris. The best safeguard against the renewal of such attempts would be found in supporting Cavour.' And the idea, so propitious for Piedmont, gradually acquired such dominion over his mind, that in the course of the summer he invited the Count to a secret interview at Plombières, where he himself was taking the waters. Aware that his Ministers did not all share his views, he admitted none of them into his confidence; but, on pretext of showing his visitor some striking scenes in the neighbourhood, he took him out for an excursion in a phaeton, driven by himself, and thus in a conversation of three or four hours' duration the conditions of an alliance were settled. Its principal objects were a war to be waged by the two countries as allies against Austria; a large addition to the dominion of Victor Emmanuel; and (though this was not suspected at first) the eventual cession of Savoy and Nice to France.

It was not without a pang that Cavour submitted to this last-mentioned condition. Savoy was the cradle of the royal family. But Louis Napoleon made no pretensions to disinterested virtue, and was not inclined to aggrandise Piedmont without obtaining some corresponding advantage for his own empire. He argued that the increase of strength which the kingdom on the southern side of the Alps was to acquire,

made an addition to the strength of her own frontier on the northern side of the great mountains a necessity for France. The reasoning might have been disputed; but what was beyond dispute was that Savoy and Nice were the price by which alone that alliance could be purchased which Cavour desired. And, as he regarded the advantages to be derived from French co-operation as far outweighing the sacrifice, he resolutely made it, and though he had no doubt it would be fiercely condemned by some, he trusted to his own influence with the Chambers to engage them to ratify the agreement.

When the time came he found his anticipations on this point fully realised. And his foresight was equally accurate when he reckoned on Austria herself so far aiding his plans as to furnish France with a reasonable plea for coming to his assistance. In one point of view, Victor Emmanuel and his ally may be said to have given the signal for war by their language at the beginning of the year. On New Year's day, Louis Napoleon publicly addressed the Austrian Ambassador in language which asserted, as a well-known fact, the existence of a coolness between the two Emperors; an assertion which, though professedly regretful, the Court of Vienna could hardly avoid regarding as a menace. And in the following week, at the opening of the Sardinian Chambers, Victor Emmanuel spoke of 'the cry of anguish which reached him from so many parts of Italy,' as 'darkening the horizon and creating dangers;' expressions in which the threat can hardly be said to have been disguised. Sovereigns who spoke thus were clearly not averse to war; still its outbreak might perhaps have been postponed had not Austria of her own accord precipitated it. She fell into the error, which has since been repeated by other States on a larger scale, of believing herself better prepared for instant operations than her enemies. In fact, ever since she had recalled her envoy from Turin, she had been preparing for war. She had even withdrawn the ablest of her princes, the gallant but unfortunate Archduke Maximilian, from his vice-royalty of Lombardy, because he seemed too liberal and conciliatory. And she now began to strengthen her army in Lombardy with continual reinforcements, while in every regiment the talk was of nothing but the approaching war, and the 'capture of Turin, which was to be the first stage of the march upon Paris.' By March, when Russia, desirous to serve the Cabinet of Vienna, had proposed that a Congress should meet to deliberate on the affairs of Italy, she had felt herself strong enough to propose that Sardinia should have no admittance to such an

assembly; and at the end of April she felt that she could venture to send a peremptory demand to Turin that Sardinia should disarm, with the alternative of war, if it were not acceded to within three days.

But neither had Cavour been idle. He too had been arming, and he had been negotiating. He sent his old chief, d'Azeglio, as ambassador to England, where the Ministers of the day, though, from old friendship for Austria, unwilling to see her despoiled of any part of her dominions, so far showed an agreement with his views that they earnestly pressed upon her the abrogation of some existing treaties, and the adoption of a more liberal policy with regard to Italy; and he went himself to Paris, where he had more than one conference with the Emperor, whom he found, as usual, vacillating and inconsistent, but whom he ultimately brought to a decision the tenour of which was soon displayed by its fruits, which were reaped with a rapidity then unprecedented.

At the end of the three days allowed by Austria for the consideration of her demand, her envoy was dismissed with courtesy, but with an absolute rejection of it. And the bold Minister who sent him back showed his confidence in the coming struggle in a way not uncharacteristic of one to whom social enjoyment was never without its charm. 'Alea jacta est,' said he to his colleagues, 'we have made some history, and we will go to dinner.' It was the evening of the 26th of April. His intended refusal of the Austrian ultimatum had already been communicated to Paris. And on the morning of the 29th, one French division marched through the passes of the Alps, entered Piedmont, and on the 30th reached Turin itself, where its presence was hailed as a sure presage and means of victory.

Matters had turned out entirely in accordance with Cavour's wishes. There was war; but it was not Sardinia, but Austria, which was the challenger. Sardinia was not the attacker, but the attacked, but she was prepared for the shock. The talents of La Marmora were not confined to the field of battle. He had organised the army, and had brought every branch of the service into a high state of efficiency, so that it was now in a condition to take a creditable part in any military operations. And when Cavour, in the fulness of his exultation, adjourned the Chambers till the conclusion of the campaign, he dared to predict that their next meeting would be not as a Piedmontese, but as an Italian, Parliament.

We cannot linger over the details of the campaign which ensued, and which was singularly brief and brilliant. On

May 13, Louis Napoleon himself arrived to take the nominal command of his army. On the 20th the hostile armies met in their first action at Montebello, and the next five weeks saw five more conflicts, every one of which ended in favour of the allies. Palestro, though but a combat on a limited scale, was perhaps the one most grateful to the Piedmontese pride, since there their own king, Victor Emmanuel, commanded in person. Magenta that enabled the allied Sovereigns to enter Milan in triumph. Solferino compelled the Austrians to renounce all idea of arresting the progress of their foes in the open field, and once more to trust for safety to the impregnable strength of their Quadrilateral.

Cavour's projects, as was natural, had grown with the rapidity and completeness of success; and he was revolving plans for profiting to the utmost by the recent events, when, in the second week of July, intelligence reached him and his royal master that Napoleon had invited the Austrian Emperor to a conference at Villafranca, and had concluded with him a treaty of peace. In all probability, Napoleon's reasons were really those which he alleged. The late battles had cost him many thousand men, and he saw reason to apprehend that, if the war were protracted, the other states of Germany might come to the support of Austria, and that thus the war might spread over all Europe. Still, however cogent such arguments may have been, it was a strange exercise of his superior power thus to retire from the war without the slightest notice of his intentions to his ally. Nor, though the treaty gave all Lombardy, with the exception of Mantua and Peschièra, to Sardinia as the prize of war, could Victor Emmanuel be insensible to the slight put upon him, or forbear to show his feelings in the very act of adding his signature.

He had, however, no alternative but to agree with a good grace to what he could not undo. It was manifest that his kingdom could not continue the contest single-handed; manifest also that he had gained a great deal. A single stroke of the pen had doubled his dominions; and Cavour could not be less sensible than he of the weight of these considerations. But at the same time he felt that his position as a Constitutional Minister and the ostensible adviser of his King, made his position and duty different from that of his master. If he signed the peace he made himself responsible, not only for its conditions, but for the very act of concluding it; and to this he was too deeply mortified to consent. He feared that 'all that he had done for the union of the Italians might be compromised;' and, rather than appear to a single

one of his countrymen a party to a retrograde movement, he resigned his office.

His retirement is almost the only act in which M. de Mazade is inclined to question his judgment. But even he cannot deny that it showed a perfect agreement with the feelings of all his countrymen. Their disappointment and indignation at the treaty of Villafranca was universal throughout Italy. And their confidence in his patriotism and integrity, little as it needed increase, was augmented when they found how fully he shared the general feeling.

Cavour was a man far above all trickery ; and we have no doubt that, when he resigned office, he did so in good faith, without a thought of returning to it. But to lookers-on, especially in foreign countries, it was clear from the first that his withdrawal from public life could not be permanent or even long. In fact, Villafranca was but a truce, not a peace. Even in concluding it Louis Napoleon had let fall the significant words, 'Now we shall see what the Italians can do unaided.' And very few weeks elapsed before they began to show both their power and their resolution to take their affairs into their own hands. In every State north of the Tiber popular assemblies overthrew the existing governments, and made new arrangements which were avowedly only intended to be temporary, and to prepare the way for annexation to Piedmont. The enthusiastic leader Farini even formed a new state, Emilia, out of the old Duchy of Bologna and the Legations which had hitherto formed the most important portion of the papal territory. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, because he was a prince of Austrian blood, was driven from Florence ; and the great Florentine noble, Ricasoli, justly extolled by M. de Mazade as, 'next to Cavour, the chief author of the Italian transformation,' rejecting with noble disdain all personal temptations, declared openly for adding that splendid province to the new dominion of Victor Emmanuel.

To provide for the reception of such a vast addition of territory and subjects was by itself a task requiring the highest exertions and attributes of statesmanship. To organise a government for the territories already acquired ; to fuse the old rivals, Lombardy and Piedmont, in harmonious union into one compact and cordial whole, was one which required in a still greater degree administrative capacity of the highest quality, united with consummate address and that art of inspiring confidence which, though among the rarest, is, at the same time, one of the most indispensable endow-

ments for a true ruler of men. But Cavour's successor, La Marmora, was a soldier, not a statesman; and, though deservedly beloved by the Sardinian army, proud of the laurels which under him it had won in the Crimea, was but little known to the peaceful citizens of Turin, and not at all to the Milanese or the Florentines. Autumn had hardly begun before the general voice began to demand the return to power of the only man who could unite in harmonious action the present and the past, and pave the way for a more glorious, though at the same time a more difficult future. And thus in January 1860, Cavour once more became Prime Minister of what was still entitled the kingdom of Sardinia.

The work for which it may be said that he was thus recalled to power now proceeded rapidly. The arrangements consequent on the overthrow of the old authority in Tuscany and the smaller states were avowedly temporary; and the ultimate decision on their future government was left to the people themselves. Their votes were taken, at what it had lately become the fashion to call a *plébiscite*, in March, and an overwhelming majority in every province resolved to solicit Victor Emmanuel to receive them as his subjects.

But there was another vote also to be taken. Napoleon's demand of Savoy and Nice had been tacitly abandoned at Villafranca: but the further addition to the kingdom of Sardinia led to its revival; and Cavour, having once consented to the cession, felt it impossible to deny that recent events had strengthened France's plea for requiring it; and that, if it had been worth while to make it, when it was the price of but a single province, it was an infinitely better bargain when all Italy north of the Tiber was to be purchased by it. The moment, therefore, that the claim was renewed, he granted it; and he had but little difficulty in inducing the Piedmontese Chambers to adopt his view and ratify the sacrifice. And, if any justification of his policy were needed, it might be found in the fact that the transfer of their allegiance to France was not unwillingly submitted to by the Savoyards and citizens of Nice themselves. For their wishes also were consulted by a *plébiscite*, and there the majority in favour of annexation to France was still more overwhelming than that by which the Tuscans and Emilians had decided to range themselves under the Sardinian banner. But, extensive and important as were these additions to his Sovereign's territories, Fortune had yet a gift in store for Cavour of still greater magnitude and value. It may well be called a gift, since he in no way contributed to it, save by the

most passive acquiescence. The government of the King of Naples had long been a by-word for tyranny and cruelty. It had more than once driven the people to the very point of revolt. And now, the example of the Northern States kindled the slumbering fires of discontent from the Garigliano to Cape Passaro; at the different cities in Sicily insurrections were organised, the spirit of which rapidly spread to the mainland; and islanders and citizens of the continental towns alike took up arms to relieve themselves of the Bourbon yoke, and to unite their fortunes to those of their brethren of the North. They were not long in finding an ally and leader from the North. Twelve years before, Garibaldi had sought to head a similar movement, but his enterprise had been premature. It was with difficulty that he himself escaped to Caprera, where he had since been living inactive and impatient. At the beginning of the previous year, he had desired to take part in the war which was approaching; but Cavour had feared that a coadjutor so notorious for republican principles would alarm more than his reputation for ability as a leader of irregular troops would attract; and he returned to his island, to wait for a more favourable opportunity, or for allies with fewer scruples.

He found it now in the Sicilian insurrection. At the first intelligence of the outbreak he began to raise a volunteer force for the support of the insurgents; and in the first week of May he landed at Marsala, where he was received with open arms by men sadly in want of a leader, and at once began operations against the Royal troops. Cavour was so entirely free from all connivance at his enterprise, that Garibaldi's last act before he set sail was to write a letter to Victor Emmanuel couched in a tone of resentful sarcasm against the Minister for his cession of Nice, the city in which Garibaldi had been born. Absurd as it may seem, he actually hoped, if he should succeed in his undertaking, to induce the King to dismiss his great Minister, and to accept him as his successor; for he had renounced his republicanism, and from the first avowed his object to be to add the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to that of Sardinia. As Cavour was wholly unconnected with his undertaking, we may dispense with dwelling upon it. Suffice it to say that a campaign of a few weeks sufficed to clear Sicily of the Neapolitan troops; that before the end of the summer the brave Condottiere found himself strong enough to cross over to the mainland, and march northwards upon Naples. He was joined everywhere by the citizens of the towns and peasantry of the districts through which he passed,

Francis II. fled at his approach. On September 8, Garibaldi entered his beautiful capital as its master, and, before the end of the next month, the Sardinian Government, professing to regard the Pope's employment of French troops as a justification to all Italians for making war upon him, sent an army into the Papal territories which virtually terminated the contest by inflicting a decisive defeat on the French General Lamoricière. A few days afterwards Victor Emmanuel entered Naples in triumph, where Garibaldi hailed him as 'King of Italy,' and the monarch in brief emphatic terms acknowledged the services of the brave soldier, who, in thus saluting him, acknowledged himself to be his subject.

Italy was now almost one united kingdom. The city of Rome and Venetia were the only districts remaining in which the sovereign authority of Victor Emmanuel was not recognised. And Garibaldi, flushed with success, was eager to make a dash on the cities of both Pope and Doge, and thus to terminate the contest in a single campaign. He was so little either of a general or of a statesman, that he was quite unable to estimate or even to see the obstacles to such enterprise; and it is not the least triumph of Cavour's sagacity and address that he was able to curb and control his hot-headed enthusiasm without wholly breaking with him, or giving him any ground to complain that the services which he had really rendered to the Italian cause were overlooked or repaid with ingratitude. Cavour, however, had not only a more comprehensive foresight, but, what was still more important, a far higher sense of responsibility. Though he did not conceal his conviction that 'no city but Rome could be the capital of Italy,' he was yet aware that any precipitation on his part might compel France to place herself across his path, and bind Napoleon to the part of champion of the Pope, which he was secretly not unwilling to lay aside. Nor was the French Emperor the only potentate whose susceptibilities he felt it necessary to avoid unduly wounding. Cialdini had not led his army against Ancona without provoking warm remonstrances even from Prussia and Russia, though neither the King nor the Czar acknowledged allegiance to the Pope. And, if these princes felt bound to show an interest in the position of Pius IX., much more had Cavour to fear bringing on the new kingdom the hostility of those potentates who recognised him as their spiritual sovereign. It was, in his view, indispensable that 'the great body of the Roman Catholics in Italy and elsewhere should not see in the reunion of Rome with Italy the source of the subjection of the

Church. In other words, we go to Rome,' said he 'but not to restrict the independence of the Sovereign Pontiff, nor to bring spiritual things under the yoke of civil authority.'

The impolicy of a present attack on Venetia was perhaps even more evident. It could not fail to cause an instant rupture with Austria, in which the new kingdom would not have the sympathy of a single state in Europe. Such a sympathy he did not indeed despair of at some future time. 'But the Italians must first show to Europe a well-organised and solid State, based on the will of the people; then,' he said, 'the opinion of Europe might change. The fate of Venice would excite interest not only in generous France and in just England, but even in noble-minded Germany.' And for this change of circumstances he was contented to wait patiently, having indeed abundance of employment in bringing the new kingdom into the condition which he had thus pointed out.

It may seem somewhat strange to those who remember the inflexible tenacity with which the Government of the Vatican has at all times clung to every prerogative it has ever established, and even to every claim which it has ever advanced, that Cavour anticipated less difficulty in dealing with the Pope than with the Emperor. His own description of his object, the establishment of a free church in a free state, seems to Protestants to contain in those few words two principles that the Papacy would never acknowledge. But Cavour was so convinced that the deprivation of temporal sovereignty would be a gain rather than a loss to the Pope, that he did not despair of persuading him to regard the matter in the same light as himself. And he did succeed in inducing Pius to receive an envoy from the King, and to enter with him into the discussion of his plans; though it is hardly likely that the Sovereign Pontiff ever seriously entertained the idea of renouncing a particle of his temporal any more than of his spiritual sovereignty. Cavour could hardly have been surprised at the failure of his first negotiation, and he was not spared to lay the foundation of a second.

In a career such as his every new success, instead of being a relief, commonly brings with it additional toil and anxiety, and throughout the spring of 1861 it became evident to all his friends that his health was giving way under the constant strain to which both body and mind were subjected; and they looked forward for the holiday which the adjournment of the Parliament would afford him to recruit his strength. But the vacation which they were hoping for for him he might not see. On May 29, he had been offering a vigorous

resistance to some proposals of the Republican party in the Parliament ; but on returning to his house he complained of unusual weakness. He gave himself rest but for a single day. On the 31st he returned to his office, but it was his last effort. On the morning of June 1 all Turin knew that he was seriously ill ; by the evening they learnt that he was dying. During the few following days he was often delirious ; but whenever he came to himself, his thoughts and broken words were given to the country he had served so diligently. At times he spoke with exultation of what he had done, 'there are no longer Lombards, Piedmontese, Tuscans, or Romans, all are Italians.' At times he dwelt with anxiety on what remained to be done ; and, as if sanguine of recovery, expressed his resolution to avoid equally the license of Republicanism and the fierce coercion of absolute governments. 'He would govern with liberty, and would show the world what ten years of liberty could do for the country.' On the morning of the 6th, Fra Giacomo, a priest whom he had always highly esteemed, administered to him the rites of the Church. And, when his prayers were ended, Cavour, pressing his hand, returned in thought to his projects for the Church's future. 'Frate, frate,' said he, 'libera chiesa in libero stato.' They were his last words ; almost while uttering them he laid his head back on the pillow and died without a struggle. He was not yet 51 years of age.

In what may be called the foreign policy of the new kingdom thus prematurely deprived of his guidance, the greater part of what remained to be done was accomplished within ten years of his death, though not exactly as he had expected. It was not to any increase of friendliness in Germany, but to war among the Germans themselves, that Victor Emmanuel owed the acquisition of Venetia. It was to the misfortunes of the very ally on whose co-operation Cavour had most steadily reckoned that he was indebted for his establishment in Rome. But it was in no slight degree because the great Minister's policy, both at home and abroad, was still wisely adhered to, that the desire for annexation to the new kingdom continued to influence every part of the peninsula. And a still more undeniable testimony to his merits, as being dictated by a judgment in which patriotic excitement could have no part, is to be found in the sorrow expressed for his loss in foreign countries, and especially in our own Parliament. He had had dealings with the leaders of both parties. Both, when in office, had somewhat disappointed his hopes by the caution which their duty to their own

country imposed upon them, and which bound them to abstain from active interposition in a quarrel with which British interests had no connection. But from both sides of both Houses there now came a general lamentation for his death as a public calamity. Lord Palmerston spoke of him as the one great originator of all the improvements, social, moral, and political, which had taken place in Italy, improvements which would long survive him, and would entail inestimable benefits on the country. And Lord Malmesbury, though in his negotiations with Cavour when alive he had seemed to his eager enthusiasm less warm in the cause of Italian liberty than his Whig rival, was now still more emphatic than he in his expression of the feelings that, as what the Italians had done was owing to his influence, so their success in what they had still to do would depend on the degree in which they remembered the lessons of combined prudence and resolution which he had inculcated. 'His memory would be a beacon and example to them, which it was most important that they should follow, not only for their own sake, but for that of every country in Europe.'

ART. IV.—ENGLISH CHURCHMEN ON THE CONTINENT.

1. *Life of White Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough.* 1730.
2. *An Account of the Levant Company.* 1825.
3. *An Enquiry into the State of the Church of England Congregations in France, &c.* By Rev. R. BURGESS. 1850.
4. *Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.* 1875-6.
5. *Reports of the Colonial and Continental Church Society.* 1875-6.

FOR many years the position of the Church of England abroad has from time to time occupied the attention of Churchmen. Convocation, the Church Congress, Church periodicals, have all in turn taken the matter up; but while the importance of the subject has always been insisted upon, the difficulty of dealing with it has generally left the matter, to all appearance, very much where it was. At the same time it is encouraging

to remark that at the various intervals at which the subject has come to the surface, though many complaints have still been made, it has generally been admitted, at each succeeding epoch, that matters have improved, though always with the additional observation that much remains to be done. We here propose to give a brief historical sketch of Church of England ministrations abroad, and then to consider her present position, the work which is being done, what is still needed, and the best methods of effecting it.

The earliest foreign chaplaincies of which we have any distinct account appear to have been those established in connection with English ambassadors, among whom we find the mention of Mr. Chamberlayne, ambassador from King Edward VI. to the Lady Regent of Flanders in 1550, and Mr. Mann, ambassador of Queen Elizabeth in Spain in 1556, both of whom were attended by their chaplains, and both of whom were interrupted in the exercise of their religion by being prohibited from having service in their own houses—a prohibition which was removed upon the urgent representations of the English Government. Sir Jerome Bowes, ambassador to the Russian Court from Queen Elizabeth, is described as ‘being attended upon with forty persons at the least, very honourably furnished, whereof many were gentlemen, and one Mr. Humfrey Cole, a learned preacher.’¹

With the gradual development of English commerce, factories, or establishments of English merchants and factors, who negotiated business for themselves and their employers, were established in many parts of the Continent; and wherever Englishmen resided abroad, they were, in those days, accompanied by the ordinances of the English Church. All such congregations are said to have been placed under the Bishop of London ‘as their diocesan,’ by Order of the King in Council in the reign of Charles I., during Laud’s episcopate; and such jurisdiction is referred to in a letter from Laud when Archbishop of Canterbury, dated June 17, 1634, in consequence of an Order in Council for bringing the English factories and forces in Holland to a conformity with the Liturgy.

This letter commends to the English factory at Delph Mr. Beaumont, chosen by joint consent of their company to be their preacher, and informing them of the King’s express command that they, and ‘all and every other merchant that is or shall be residing in those parts beyond the seas, do conform themselves to the doctrine and discipline settled in

¹ Hakluyt, i. 516.

the Church of England, and that they frequent the common prayers with all religious duty and reverence at all times required, as well as they do sermons.' And Mr. Beaumont was enjoined to keep and observe all the orders of the Church of England, as they are prescribed in the canons and rubrics of the Liturgy; and if any should be refractory, his name and offence were to be certified to the Bishop of London, who was 'to take order and give remedy accordingly.'¹

Among the most important settlements of English merchants were the factories of the Levant Company, a society incorporated by royal charter in 1581, and which only ceased to exist in 1825. Two years after its foundation letters were addressed by Queen Elizabeth to the Kings of Cambay and China, and sent by the hands of English merchants, two of whom published an account of their proceedings. Their course was by Tripoli in Syria, and by Aleppo to Babylon, thence to the island of Ormus, after which they proceeded to Goa and as far as Agra, Patna, Pegu, Malacca, Ceylon, and the coast of Malabar.² The information thus acquired gave a fresh impetus to the exertions and influence of the Levant Company, and not the least honourable of many excellent deeds of this society was the care which was taken to secure for all in their employment the enjoyment of Church privileges.

The list of their chaplains includes many of the most able and devoted clergy of the time in which they lived. Among them was Edward Pocock, chaplain at Aleppo from 1630 to 1636, when he became the first Laudian professor of Arabic at Oxford—a man distinguished not only for his learning, but for the zealous discharge of his pastoral duties. 'What he laboured to persuade others to he duly practised himself, proposing to his hearers in his own regular and unspotted life a bright example of the holiness he recommended.' In 1637 he visited Constantinople, where he officiated as chaplain to the British ambassador. He was made professor of Hebrew at Oxford in 1648, but was turned out of the canonry attached to it in 1650, and an attempt was made to eject him from his parish of Childrey, which was successfully resisted by Owen, Dean of Christ Church, who declared that he could not be a party to 'turning out a man for insufficiency whom all the learned, not of England, but of all Europe, so justly admired for his vast knowledge and extraordinary accomplishments.' He lived to the advanced age of eighty-seven, having, in the course of his long life, suffered many persecutions from the turbulent

¹ Collier, viii. 90.² Hakluyt, ii. 382-398.

spirit of the times, which he bore with singular tranquillity, charity, and forgetfulness of injuries. As a pastor he was highly respected by all classes abroad not only for his great learning, but for his zeal and assiduity in performing his duties, which no hazard from plague or any other cause ever deterred him from. Another of the chaplains at Aleppo was Robert Huntingdon, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, afterwards Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and finally Bishop of Raphoe, in Ireland; Robert Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester, a non-juror, the contemporary and intimate friend of the saintly Ken, and a man of the same mind and spirit, was also chaplain at Aleppo for sixteen years.

The ministry of such men could hardly fail to bear good fruit, and we find Henry Maundrell, one of Bishop Frampton's successors at Aleppo, writing of his flock in the following terms in a letter addressed to Sprat, Bishop of Rochester:—

'They are a society highly meriting that excellent character which is given of them in England, and which (besides the general vogue) your Lordship has sometime received from a most faithful and judicious hand—the excellent Bishop Frampton. As he was undoubtedly the great improver of the rare temper of this society, so he may well be esteemed best able to give them their true and deserved character. I need only add that such they still continue as that incomparable instructor left them—that is, pious, sober, benevolent, devout in the offices of religion, in conversation innocently cheerful, given to no pleasures but such as are innocent and manly, to no communications but such as the nicest ears need not be offended at, exhibiting in all their actions those best and truest signs of a Christian spirit, a sincere and cheerful charity towards others and a profound reverence for the Liturgy of the Church of England. It is our first employment every morning to solemnise the daily service of the Church, at which I am always sure to have a devout, a regular, and a full congregation.'¹

Another of the Levant Company's chaplains was Thomas Shaw, afterwards Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, who was chaplain to the factory at Algiers.

Before the close of the seventeenth century negotiations had been successfully made for securing to the members of our Church residing in Russia the free enjoyment of her worship, and in 1703, in the earliest published Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, we find that the factory of English merchants then established at Moscow had received from the Czar a piece of ground upon which they were to

¹ Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church*, ii. 124; *Account of the Levant Company*, 1825, p. 38.

² *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, by Henry Maundrell. Oxford 1740. Sixth edition.

build a church, and a residence for the chaplain ; and reference is made in the same Report to a grant of books for the benefit of the factory. This factory removed to S. Petersburg with their chaplain in 1723. It is also stated, in reference to Amsterdam, where an English Church service appears to have been first held in 1698, 'For the interest of the English nation, the honour of its Established Church, and comfort of its members residing here in peace and war, as gentlemen, merchants, soldiers, seamen, &c., the burgomasters have given a piece of ground for building an English church ; till that can be compass'd a private chapel is made use of, where there is a pretty good Church of England congregation.'

This Report further speaks of important work to be done, if sufficient funds can be obtained, and care to be had of 'factories and places to which we trade in Asia, Africa, and Europe itself, where they live as it were without God in the world, to the great reproach of the Christian religion, except at Hamborough, Lisbon, Smyrna, Aleppo, Constantinople, Fort S. George, Surat, &c., which are well supplied by our worthy merchants that trade or live there.'

At Lisbon and Oporto English chaplaincies have existed from the time of Charles II., though both in his reign and in that of James II. they were at times forced away by the Inquisition, because the English Court did not insist upon their protection.

In 1706 the English factory at Leghorn sought to obtain a resident English chaplain, and application was made by Dr. Henry Newton, her Majesty's Envoy at the Court of Florence, who could obtain no express license or protection from the Duke of Tuscany, but only a general intimation that the civil powers should not molest him, though they could not exempt him from the cognisance and supreme authority of the Inquisition at Rome. Some of the Leghorn merchants who were acquainted with White Kennett, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, having discussed this project with him, induced him to lay the matter before the Archbishop of Canterbury (Tenison), who readily concurred in the opinion that 'such a privilege of the exercise of religion, by a lawful minister of it, was a right of Christians, even by the law of nations, in every country where they were allowed to settle and to traffick.' The result was that the Rev. Basil Kennett, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, brother of White Kennett, was appointed to the chaplaincy, which he held for five years. The jealousy of the Italians was, however, aroused by the appointment, although Mr. Kennett appears to have confined

his attentions exclusively to the members of his own flock, and secret orders were sent by the Inquisition to apprehend the English chaplain; and imprison and make away with him at Pisa, or some other religious prison. Mr. Kennett was urged to retire to Florence, to be under the protection of the ambassador, but he declined to leave his post, though he did not dare to leave his house excepting when guarded by two English merchants, who walked one on either side of him, armed with swords. On the matter being reported to the Earl of Sunderland, directions were given by the Queen that the Grand Duke should be informed that if the chaplain at Leghorn were molested she would consider it as an insult done to herself and the nation, and would resent it accordingly, after which Mr. Kennett was free from further annoyance.

In 1710 he wished to resign on account of ill-health, but, in consequence of the objections raised by the Duke of Tuscany to the presence of an English chaplain at Leghorn, he retained the post until the following year, when the objections having been disposed of, Mr. Taubman was appointed to succeed him, and he in turn having held the chaplaincy for five years, was succeeded by Mr. Crowe. The opposition which Mr. Kennett encountered must have been due to the hostility of the Inquisition rather than to any objection on the part of the inhabitants of Leghorn, for when Berkeley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, visited Leghorn in 1714, he was assured that the Roman Catholics regarded Kennett as a saint.

The appointment of Mr. Taubman by an Order in Council of October 1711 is interesting as having reference to the supposed jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, as it directs that Mr. Taubman, 'or such other chaplain as the Bishop of London shall recommend to her Majesty, be forthwith sent to Leghorn in such manner and in such circumstances as the Rev. W. Basil Kennett was sent.'¹

We cannot but remark the high standing of some of these early foreign chaplains; we find among them men noted for their learning and piety, who on returning to England were promoted to some of the highest dignities in the Church and in the universities. They appear to have exercised their office not only with the greatest fidelity, but also in such a manner as to have given no offence to the people of the country in which they were sojourning. No doubt they received remuneration more adequate to their services than the scanty and precarious stipends which are attached to most

¹ *Life of White Kennett*, Bishop of Peterborough, pp. 52-101.

foreign chaplaincies in the present day, as we find reference made to the liberality of the merchants, who seem to have provided the entire stipend of the chaplains; but we must refer the high character of the clergy ministering abroad to the interest felt in their work by the Church at home, while the subsequent decline in their position and character must be equally referred to the heavy shadow cast over the Church of England during the administration of Walpole, and to her loss of vitality and influence under the House of Hanover.¹ As the tone of Church teaching and practice deteriorated in England, as churches were closed, Communion became less frequent, catechising ceased, and the clergy became apathetic and worldly-minded, it was only natural that English congregations on the Continent should be neglected, and be left either without any ministrations whatever or to receive those of the clergy who fell below even the low standard still required at home. Unlicensed, and free from all interference, men burdened with debt, or of scandalous life, appeared as the representatives of the Church of England wherever an advantageous arrangement with a hotel-keeper, or the toleration of those to whom they ministered, allowed them an opportunity of establishing themselves. There existed, without doubt, many who were bright exceptions, and who strove both by their lives and teaching to uphold the dignity of their office, but the prevailing character of Continental chaplains became a byword and a reproach to the English Church.

The means adopted for supporting the chaplaincies were in exact accordance with the character of the incumbents. What traveller on the Continent of thirty years ago does not remember the money-taker at the door of the so-called English church, and the payment exacted, with the dirty card or ivory check given in return for it, which entitled the holder to admission and to a seat in a high pew? As a step in advance came the custom of holding a plate at the door before service, which gave the exacted payment a kind of voluntary look, while the card or counter was dispensed with. And then what dreary services—little or no music, no responses above a whisper, and a general appearance of people being very uncomfortable, and having come together to do something they were rather ashamed of, and which they would be glad to get over as soon as possible. Such are our own vivid recollections of Church of England services on the Continent in years gone by. Can we wonder that a

¹ See *Church Quarterly Review*, July 1877.

large number of English residents abroad have fallen away from the Church of their fathers—some to become members of some foreign Protestant congregation which showed more signs of life, some few to join the Church of Rome, but the greater number to become practically heathens; often holding strongly to the name of Protestant, but ignorant of the name of Churchman and too often disgracing that of Christian?

Such, it may be said, is a picture rather of years gone by than of to-day, and happily there is a great improvement to record; but not one word which we have written is too strong, or too highly coloured, a description of many of the small communities of English still existing in Europe. The evil which has been done in past years cannot be quickly repaired; and if the Church at home has not yet recovered from the depression of the Georgian era, we cannot wonder if among her children scattered abroad those who have been uncared for and unsought after are well-nigh lost from her fold.

Let us now turn our attention to the different agencies by which a measure of improvement, varying greatly in its extent, has been effected in the condition of Continental chaplaincies. We have already referred to the Levant Company, established in the reign of Elizabeth, and to the care taken by this society for the spiritual welfare of its members and those employed under them. In 1821, Turkey having become the theatre of political contest, and the greatest interests being discussed and settled by the British ambassador, it became evident that it was expedient that the whole establishment of consuls and dragomans should be in the appointment and under the control of the Government. The matter was laid before the Company by Mr. Canning (then Secretary for Foreign Affairs), who assured them that the measure proposed was entirely upon grounds of public interest, and that the Government imputed no blame or want of good administration to the Company; and upon a meeting of the directors being held, the view propounded by Mr. Canning was admitted, and the original objects for which the Company had been formed having long since been attained, it was determined to surrender their charter to Government and to dissolve the society, which had maintained an honourable and useful existence for 244 years. After paying all their officers, and providing for any who would no longer be required in the service of the Government, a considerable balance remained; and as there was no legitimate use to which the money could be put besides the payment of salaries and pensions, it was determined to hand it over to the Government, and it

was accordingly placed to the account of the Consolidated Fund.¹

In the same year (1825) in which the Levant Company ceased to exist an Act of Parliament was passed, in which provision was made for grants in aid of chaplaincies in places where British consuls were appointed. Such a measure was an act of the merest justice, as without it those places which had enjoyed Church privileges under the rule of the Levant Company would have now been left destitute of them. This Act (6 George IV., cap. 87) has undoubtedly been productive of good, although it was made subversive of all Church principles in one important point by allowing a mere money qualification for a vote at the church meetings for managing the affairs of the chaplaincies²—a precedent which has been most unhappily followed in the constitution of some other Church of England committees on the Continent. The scandals which arose in consequence of this rule in the island of Madeira are probably known to many of our readers, and we will not here reopen a dark page in the annals of the Church abroad. The earnest endeavours made in 1848 by the late Bishop of Capetown (who acted officially in this matter for the Bishop of London) to reconcile the divisions which had arisen, will be fresh in the minds of the readers of the interesting *Life of Bishop Gray*; but an extract from a letter which the Bishop wrote in reply to the complaints of a clergyman who was sent out by Lord Palmerston to supersede the chaplain who had been previously appointed by the Foreign Office, and whose license the Bishop of London, after full enquiry, declined to revoke, may be quoted here, because the principle laid down is one which is still applicable to the divisions which have, unhappily, since arisen in more than one place on the Continent:—

‘I was asked what would be the duty of the members of the Church of England in the island of Madeira, should Lord Palmerston send out a clergyman to supersede Mr. Lowe, the Bishop of London (who exercises the spiritual oversight of our communion there with the consent of the Church) refusing to withdraw his license from Mr. Lowe or to give it to Lord Palmerston’s nominee. To this question I gave the only reply which a bishop of the Church of England could give—that I considered it was the duty of every member of the Church of England in the island to communicate with him, and him only, who had the bishop’s license; that it would be an act of schism to communicate with any other. . . . If you and those who communicate with you are not in schism, I do not know what schism is.’³

¹ 6 George IV., cap. 33.

² Section 14 of the Act.

³ *Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Capetown*, i. 150.

The good which has resulted from the Consular Act has been that, at a time when the characters of many Continental chaplains would not bear investigation, there was some guarantee at least as to the respectability of any clergyman appointed under this Act. And although, as a kind of escape from the discreditable position in which he had placed himself in the Madeira case, Lord Palmerston chose for a time to dispense with the Bishop of London's license, and consequently with the usual reference to the Bishop as to the sufficiency of the testimonials presented by any candidate for a consular chaplaincy, the custom which had before invariably prevailed was afterwards again renewed, and is still continued. It is, however, greatly to the discredit of the present and the former Government that the number of consular chaplaincies has been greatly reduced. When it is remembered that the Government actually received a considerable balance from the Levant Company on the surrender of their charter, and that in the Consular Act it is declared that 'it is expedient to afford encouragement for the support of the churches and chapels, and promote the erection of other churches and chapels, in foreign ports and places to which his Majesty's subjects may resort,'¹ it is impossible in any way to justify the wholesale disestablishment of which the Foreign Office has been guilty. From forty-nine embassy and consular chaplaincies existing in 1860 the number was reduced to fourteen in 1875, and, after the most strenuous appeals from some of the deprived congregations, there are only seventeen chaplaincies on the Foreign Office list at the present time, one of which is filled by a Presbyterian minister.

In the same year in which this Consular Act was passed, an attempt was made to secure some ecclesiastical control for a portion of the Continental chaplaincies. The necessity for episcopal ministrations had long been felt by some of the British residents of our communion in France, especially for the confirmation of their children; and seeing difficulties in obtaining a consecration from England, they applied to the bishops of the Scottish Church, who proceeded in the matter with great caution, and only consented to consecrate Dr. Luscombe to be bishop of the Scots, English, and others of their communion abroad when they had clearly ascertained that they might do so with the full concurrence of the Archbishops and of the Government of the day. At length, on Sunday, March 20, 1825, the consecration was performed by

¹ Section 10 of the Act.

the Primus, Bishop Gleig, assisted by Bishops Low and Sandford, Dr. (then Mr.) Hook (the late Dean of Chichester), who was formerly a pupil of Dr. Luscombe, preaching the sermon. Afterwards the new bishop received the congratulations both of the chief English prelates and of the Prime Minister, who expressed his satisfaction, and that of his colleagues, 'that the appointment was in so good hands;' he was also presented to the King, who saluted him as 'My Lord Bishop,' and wished him success in his mission. He built a chapel at Paris, at the expense of 8,000*l.*, in the Rue d'Aguesseau, in which he officiated both as bishop and also as chaplain to the British Embassy, to which office he was appointed in 1828. This chapel was, of course, his own property, and should have been purchased by the Government, but the necessary funds were refused by Parliament, and it ultimately passed into the hands of the Colonial and Continental Church Society. The following is an extract from the letters of collation which were delivered to Bishop Luscombe by the bishops who had consecrated him:—

'He is sent by us, representing the Scotch Episcopal Church, to the Continent of Europe, not as a diocesan bishop in the modern or limited sense of the word, but for a purpose similar to that for which Titus was left by Paul in Crete, that *he may set in order the things that are wanting* among such of the natives of Great Britain and Ireland as he shall find there professing to be members of the United Church of England and Ireland and the Episcopal Church of Scotland. But we do solemnly enjoin our Right Reverend Brother Bishop Luscombe *not to disturb the peace of any Christian Society established as a National Church* in whatever nation he may chance to sojourn.'¹

Bishop Luscombe appears to have been an earnest and devoted Churchman, but it is to be feared that his consecration did little to diminish the evils then existing in the Church of England abroad. Some few chaplains accepted his license, some declined to sever the older tie which bound them to the Bishop of London, while those who wished to avoid all interference or enquiry were more easily able to maintain their independence when they might be supposed to have a choice as to their diocesan. On the whole it was felt that the expedient had failed, and after the sudden death of Bishop Luscombe at Lausanne, on August 24, 1846, no one was appointed to succeed him in his office of 'Missionary Bishop.'

An important step had, however, been taken in the meantime, which secured efficient episcopal superintendence for Church of England chaplaincies in the South of Europe.

¹ *An Appeal to the Scottish Church.* Introduction, p. cl.

In April 1840 Bishop Blomfield addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, urging the necessity of a large increase of the colonial episcopate. How greatly it was needed will be seen when we remember that on Bishop Blomfield's translation to London there were but five colonial bishops; and though the dioceses of Bombay and Madras had been formed out of the diocese of Calcutta, and Newfoundland and Toronto from Nova Scotia and Quebec, there were thus but nine bishops for the whole of our colonial empire. For the whole of the clergy and people not included in these nine dioceses, the Bishop of London was theoretically responsible, and it was therefore in every way fitting that he should take the initiative in so important a work. A public meeting was consequently held, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury, on April 27, 1841, at Willis's Rooms, which were 'more crowded than upon any occasion for years;' and resolutions were passed, and speeches made, in which, among other pressing claims, the necessity for a bishop in the Mediterranean was strongly insisted upon, especially by the Archbishop and by the present Cardinal Manning, then Archdeacon of Chichester.¹ The necessity had long been felt of providing episcopal superintendence for the clergy and congregations already existing in various parts of the South of Europe, previously under the nominal jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, and of taking steps to supply the wants of the large and increasing number of our countrymen dispersed in small communities throughout the same regions. And scarcely second to this necessity was the importance of promoting a better understanding with the Churches of the East. So strongly had this been felt that in 1840 the Rev. G. Tomlinson, one of the secretaries of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, was sent on a mission to the Patriarch and other prelates of the Greek Church, furnished with commendatory letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. Mr. Tomlinson met with a friendly reception from the heads of the Oriental Church, and especially from the bishops and principal clergy of Greece, and the results of this mission, together with the needs of the English residents on the Mediterranean, led to the determination that one of the first of the new bishoprics should be for those parts, and at a meeting of the Archbishops and bishops held at Lambeth, on the Tuesday in Whitsun week 1841, a declaration was put

¹ *Proceedings at a Meeting for the Endowment of Additional Bishoprics, 1841.*

forth, in which, after first proposing the establishment of a bishopric in New Zealand, the following words occur:—

‘Our next object will be to make a similar provision for the congregations of our own communion established in the islands of the Mediterranean, and in the countries bordering on that sea; and it is evident that the position of Malta is such as will render it the most convenient point of communication with them, as well as with the bishops of the ancient Churches of the East, to whom our Church has been for centuries known only by name.’

‘We propose, therefore, that a see be fixed at Valetta, the residence of the English Government, and that its jurisdiction extend to all the clergy of our Church residing within the limits above specified. In this city, through the munificence of her Majesty the Queen Dowager, a church is in course of erection, which, when completed, will form a suitable cathedral.’

There were, however, civil as well as ecclesiastical reasons which led to Gibraltar being constituted the territorial diocese and cathedral town of the bishop, as there already existed a Roman Bishop of Malta, who was acknowledged by the British Government, and the Rev. G. Tomlinson was consecrated Bishop of Gibraltar on S. Bartholomew's Day 1842.

We have entered at some length into the circumstances under which the bishopric of Gibraltar was founded, because it is important to observe the deep interest which was felt in its formation, and the hopes which were entertained of its becoming the means of free communication with the Eastern Church. The selection of Mr. Tomlinson for the bishopric was natural, from the experience which he was supposed to have already acquired; but it may be doubted whether he was as well fitted to carry out as he was to plan work so varied in its character as that of the new diocese. Still it would be unjust to his memory to deny that, if all the hopes which had been raised were not fulfilled, he yet did good work during his episcopate; and those who remember the previous condition of Church matters in Malta and Gibraltar will bear testimony to the improvement which was effected. The project of building a memorial church at Constantinople originated with Bishop Tomlinson, and was first broached in a letter to the Christian Knowledge Society on May 22, 1854; nor should we fail to record the regular share in the ordinary ministerial duties of the Chaplain of Malta borne by the Bishop during his long residence in the island, at a time when the provision for the spiritual welfare of our troops at that station was most inadequate. During Dr. Tomlinson's episcopate, which lasted until his death, many changes for the

better gradually took place. The number of clergy at Malta and Gibraltar was increased, confirmations were held at regular intervals, and a diocesan fund for the assistance of poor chaplaincies was founded. In Spain, where for a length of time there was no English chaplain—owing partly to Spanish intolerance and partly to English indifference—Bishop Tomlinson appointed as his chaplain a clergyman who visited the principal towns in which English resided, and held occasional services. At Malaga, owing to the exertions of the late Mr. Mark, a consular chaplaincy was established in 1850; and ten years later a chaplain was for the first time appointed at Madrid.

The second Bishop of Gibraltar, appointed in 1863, was Dr. Trower, who had previously—from 1848 to 1859—filled the office of Bishop of Glasgow. All who were connected with the diocese of Gibraltar during his episcopate must entertain a lively recollection of Dr. Trower's invariable kindness, courtesy, and generosity, of which a standing memorial is to be found in Trinity Church, Sliema, which was erected chiefly at his expense, while its endowment is equally a memorial of the liberality of his lamented successor, the Hon. C. A. Harris. Dr. Trower made a visitation of the whole of his diocese, notices of which appeared from time to time in the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, a useful publication, the cessation of which is much to be regretted. Among the most pleasing incidents of his visitation was the warm welcome which he received from the Archbishop of Athens when he visited that city, and the friendly intercourse which he had with the heads of the Oriental Churches as opportunity occurred. Circumstances, however, prevented Bishop Trower from continuing the regular and systematic visitation of his diocese in the manner which he felt was indispensable to the due discharge of his office, and he therefore, for a second time, resigned the active duties of episcopal life, and was succeeded by the Hon. and Rev. C. A. Harris, then Archdeacon of Wilts, who was consecrated in 1868.

Bishop Harris threw himself into his work with the greatest energy, while his genial temperament and winning manner attracted and conciliated all with whom he had to deal. Indeed, his popularity in society, and a certain playfulness of manner, were rather apt to mislead those who did not know the nature and extent of his real work; but never was a bishop more accessible to, and one with, his clergy. Under his influence daily prayers and weekly Communion became rather the rule than the exception, and he was the more

readily deferred to, and his advice more frequently sought, because he was the first to recognise the exceptional nature of his work, and the difficulties besetting any attempt to take a stand upon his legal position. To quote his own words—

‘Although the bishop’s *rights* are few, my experience of the universal respect for his office on the part of both clergy and laity was such as to make me feel that in the carrying out of any religious object I had a far broader and pleasanter foundation than that of *right* to rest upon.’ ‘The bishop, whatever may be the unreality of his legal ecclesiastical status, meets with a loyal recognition of his office, which affords opportunities of moral influence such as no mere “establishment” rank could of itself secure.’¹

Again, as with the former Bishops of Gibraltar, we find that Bishop Harris met with a most cordial reception from the bishops of the Greek Church, one of whom was ‘anxious that we should make allowance for the lack of education among the lower classes, rendering the teaching of them through pictures and “icons” a necessity.’ On one occasion, when at Constantinople, Bishop Harris found the Protosyn-cellus of the Patriarch going carefully through the Greek copy of our Prayer Book presented by the Archbishop of Canterbury, at the Patriarch’s desire, and marking sundry passages in pencil, some of which marks were removed on the Bishop explaining the difficulty which had occurred. Within little more than two years from his consecration, Bishop Harris had completed two visitation tours, in which he had twice visited the most important chaplaincies in his diocese, and had also been to several places in which no English clergyman, and much less any bishop, had ever been before, where he gathered together the few English who were to be found for prayer and for Holy Communion, travelling, during these visitations, over upwards of 22,500 miles by sea and land. Many places which had hitherto been considered as under the Bishop of London were obviously more within reach of the Bishop of Gibraltar, especially with so active an occupant of the see as Bishop Harris, and it was declared by a Foreign Office circular of November 20, 1869, that

‘the spiritual superintendence hitherto exercised by the Bishop of London over the ministers and congregations of English churches throughout Spain and Portugal, on the coast of Morocco, and in the Canary Islands, as well as over the like congregations in the kingdom of Italy, on the shores of the Black Sea, and on the Lower Danube, shall henceforth devolve on the Bishop of Gibraltar.’

¹ ‘Visitation Notes,’ *Colonial Church Chronicle*, 1869.

Such a circular, if supposed to give any jurisdiction to the bishop, would indeed have been a worse foundation than the Caroline Order in Council ; but it has its value in securing for any Bishop of Gibraltar the assistance and recognition of the British consuls in any of the places named.

Bishop Harris was not, however, permitted very long to carry on his energetic work. An attack of fever at Malta, in 1872, never left him until the lungs were attacked, and he was compelled to resign the bishopric in the following year, and died at Torquay in 1874.

Dr. Sandford, Vicar of Bishopsbourne, and formerly censor of Christ Church, Oxford, who was appointed to succeed him, and is still Bishop of Gibraltar, has experienced the same friendly feelings from the Eastern Church towards the Church of England. At the dedication of the English church at Patras in 1874 fourteen Greek clergy of the neighbourhood were present, and afterwards expressed their desire for union between the two Churches. The same wish was expressed by the Archbishop of Corfu, the Archbishop of Syra and Tenos, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and other heads of the Eastern Church.¹ Reviewing the intercourse which has taken place between the English and Greek Churches since the year 1842, it must be admitted that the foundation of the see of Gibraltar has in a large measure answered the expectations which were formed of its utility in promoting Christian unity ; while the condition of the English chaplaincies under the superintendence of its bishop, the increase in the number of his clergy from thirty in 1842 to sixty-five—or, including military chaplains, seventy-two—in 1877, the regular and frequent confirmations which are held, show that the Church of England, in her organisation in the South of Europe, is not discreditably represented. There is, of course, much yet to be desired in the management and services of some of the English churches ; but this will be considered under another head, in common with similar needs in the North of Europe.²

Let us now consider what has been done or attempted in the way of improvement in those places which are still under the Bishop of London.

¹ Pastoral Letter from Bishop of Gibraltar, 1875.

² The history of the Jerusalem bishopric is omitted here—firstly, because it has been regarded as a missionary enterprise ; and, secondly, because it may be hoped that an undertaking which was so generally disapproved by Churchmen, and which has been so complete a failure, may be regarded, rather as a temporary mistake than as entering into the real history of our Church.

In 1849 Bishop Blomfield directed his attention to the unsatisfactory state of this part of his work, and issued a circular letter to thirty-one clergy in France, Belgium, and Switzerland, addressing to them questions very similar to those issued by his successor in 1861, and since addressed to to his clergy by the present Bishop of Gibraltar. At the same time the Rev. R. Burgess was requested by the Bishop to undertake the enquiry. The result may be summed up as follows:—In France there were eighteen English clergy, in Belgium six, in Switzerland four. Except two or three places set apart by Bishop Luscombe, but not secured in perpetuity, there was not a single consecrated building belonging to the Church of England in the three countries. More than half of the officiating clergy had no episcopal license of any kind, and the property and management of the chapels was generally most unsatisfactory.¹ Answers were, however, returned to the Bishop's questions in every case but one, and a general disposition was shown to accept episcopal superintendence; and small as were the immediate results of this enquiry, there is no doubt that it tended to check the practice, then so common, of men of doubtful antecedents thrusting themselves into the office of chaplain. Many were now licensed who had before been recognised by no bishop, and as the practice of holding a license became more general, it was more difficult for any clergyman who was unable to produce satisfactory testimonials to retain his position. Still, little was done to improve the character of the services, or the buildings in which they were held, while numbers of small English communities in various parts of the Continent were left without any Church provision whatever.

The attention of some of the committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was directed to the subject in 1858, and a series of resolutions were passed at the monthly meeting on December 17 in that year, which were most excellent, but which unfortunately, owing to the want of any hearty response from those who should have been interested in the matter, may be said to have failed for the time. An interesting paper on the same subject, by the Rev. F. Meyrick, appeared in the *Colonial Church Chronicle* of the following February, which was very much repeated in substance in a paper by the same writer, read at the Oxford Church Congress in 1862. Meanwhile the Bishop of London, after

¹ *An Enquiry into the State of the Church of England in France, &c.,* by the Rev. R. Burgess, 1850.

visiting the Continent in 1861, and seeing for himself some of the evils which existed, addressed a circular letter to all foreign chaplains who could be considered as connected with his diocese, and proposed that returns should be periodically made of the matters included under certain heads of enquiry which accompanied the circular.

The replies to these enquiries show that the Church of England congregations abroad had largely increased in the interval since Bishop Blomfield's circular. From thirty-one clergy known to be ministering abroad in 1849, the number had increased to 103 in 1861, and of these ninety returned answers to the Bishop's questions, and ten who had previously sought for no episcopal recognition applied to be licensed.

The subject was taken up by Convocation in 1863, and, after it had been discussed in both houses, a committee was appointed¹ 'to consider and report in what way the Church of England may establish and retain systematic superintendence over the congregations of her members residing in those foreign parts of Christendom with which she herself is not in communion.'² In the report presented by this committee the nature and limits of the superintendence which can be exercised by an English bishop over congregations abroad are carefully laid down.

'In countries where there are bishops of another Church holding of right territorial jurisdiction, no bishop of the Church of England would be justified, according to ecclesiastical law, in laying claim to such jurisdiction for himself. This must be borne in mind as creating an obvious difficulty in the way of any thoroughly satisfactory ecclesiastical government of English clergy in countries not subject to the English Crown. Such government can be exercised only by voluntary agreement founded on the natural desire of each congregation of Church of England worshippers not to sever itself from the ancient episcopal government which is of the essence of its Church's constitution.'

These limitations, though specially referring to the superintendence of the Bishop of London, apply equally to nearly all the chaplaincies which are under the Bishop of Gibraltar. The committee considered the possibility of the erection of a new bishopric, which should embrace the care of all foreign chaplaincies in the centre and north of Europe, but in the absence of any funds they felt it impossible to recommend

¹ Consisting of the Bishops of London and Winchester, Archdeacon Otter, Dr. Wordsworth, Dr. Jelf, and the Rev. H. Mackenzie.

² There was also a reference to provision for foreigners sojourning in England, which does not concern the subject of this article.

that any immediate steps should be taken for its formation. Beyond a general admission of the importance of the subject it cannot therefore be said that the action of Convocation led to any practical results.

Allusion was made in the report to the renewed efforts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and to the appointment of the Continental Chaplaincies Committee to assist in the work of selecting and maintaining foreign chaplains. This committee still exists, and its action has been productive of the best results, especially in arranging with various bishops to undertake confirmation tours on behalf of the Bishop of London, the expenses of which are provided by the society. Confirmations are thus held every year in France, Belgium, and Switzerland, and every alternate year in Germany, Norway, Sweden, and Russia.

Having now reviewed the history of the Church of England on the Continent, let us see what is her position at the present time, and the claims which she may justly assert on behalf of this work to the assistance of English Churchmen both at home and abroad.

And first it will be necessary to consider a difficulty which exists in the minds of many earnest Churchmen with regard to the position of the English Church on the Continent.

It has been often asserted that an English bishop can exercise no jurisdiction in a foreign land where there are bishops of another Church holding jurisdiction; and this is indeed admitted in the Report of the Committee of Convocation already referred to. Two arguments may be used to defend the exercise both of episcopal and of all Church ministrations abroad. First, the analogy of the position of ambassadors, which rests upon what is termed by writers on international law 'extra-territoriality'—a legal fiction indeed, but one which has prevailed in all countries from the time that sovereigns have been accustomed to send ministers to represent them at Foreign Courts. So complete is the exemption of an ambassador from the local jurisdiction of the State to which he is sent, that he is supposed still to remain within the territory of his own sovereign.¹ Following upon this usage, chaplains accompanying ambassadors were allowed to minister to their fellow-countrymen long before there was anything approaching to religious liberty on the Continent; and in the case of Mr. Kennett, at Leghorn, although opposition was raised to his residing as chaplain to

the English factory, he would have been permitted to reside at Florence as chaplain to the Embassy without any interference. Secondly, it has been contended that the authority exercised by English bishops over English priests abroad rests upon the principle laid down by S. Cyprian that the function of super-vising the Church is an indivisible thing, shared, indeed, by many bishops, but in such a way that each bishop has a plenary right in it as possessor of the whole.¹

It is, however, rather upon practical than theoretical grounds that the Ecclesiastical Government of English clergy in Foreign countries must be justified.

We must take facts as they are. Besides the large and yearly increasing number of English people who go abroad either for pleasure or for health, there is a very considerable permanent English population resident abroad. It is impossible to ignore their claims to the care of their mother Church. The Church of the land in which they are sojourning is one with which we are not in communion, or, as is the case in many parts of the Continent, the inhabitants of the country, though Christians, are not even members of any recognised branch of the Catholic Church. And thus it has come to pass that there have sprung up in various parts of the Continent no less than 264 congregations of the Church of England.

There are, indeed, some who maintain that when residing in a foreign country, in which there is any branch of the Catholic Church, it is their duty to attend the services of the Church of the land. We cannot, however, but regard this as a misconception of the true position and duty of English Churchmen, at least as regards that large portion of the Continent which is under the spiritual dominion of Rome.

The Church of Rome refuses communion to us unless we will renounce obedience to our own Church and confess that she is in error. A trial of this point was formally made so far back as 1842, when the Rev. W. Palmer, on June 20, sought communion of the Archbishop of Paris, exhibiting a certificate from the priest of the parish in which he had last communicated in Oxford, and countersigned by the bishop of the diocese, and was refused on the ground of our separation from the Church of Rome—a refusal which was declared by even so ardent a seeker after reunion as Mr. Palmer to make it impossible for the members of the English congregation (in

¹ *Report of Oxford Church Congress, 1862, paper by Rev. F. Meyrick.*

Paris) to obtain communion without renouncing the Church from whence they came, 'and so to clear them of all personal responsibility which might otherwise rest upon their separation.'¹ So the case stands to the present day. Communion, besides being necessary to our souls' health, is indispensable to our continuing members of the Body of Christ. The Church of Rome refuses it to us; we cannot dispense with it without grievous peril. Are we therefore to receive it under protest from the hands of an English priest, and having thus obtained what we can in no other lawful manner procure, are we then to forsake the assembling of ourselves together with our fellow-countrymen in other acts of worship, and to carry on our devotions during the remainder of the day in that Church which regards us as heretics, and refuses to accept us unless we will deny the grace which we have received? Let it be distinctly understood that this is the true position. There have been rare and unauthorised exceptions to this rule; there have been found high-minded and liberal priests of the Roman Church who would have been willing to admit Anglicans to communion, had they dared to do so; and there have been found—with shame be it spoken—Anglicans who have dared to communicate in a crowd, and thus to obtain by fraud what would otherwise have been denied to them. And while seeking in these pages to avoid matters of controversy, and to seek rather those things which make for peace, we would earnestly entreat all who are discontented with their own Church to remember that in such acts as those which we have been describing it is not merely that they are guilty of conduct which must seem even to themselves questionable, but they are disloyal to the great Head of the Church. We cannot conceive that an English Churchman who believes firmly that the Church of his fathers is a true branch of the Catholic Church can reconcile it to his conscience to ignore her in the eyes of another communion, or believe that in so doing he does no dishonour to his Lord. It is sometimes alleged as an excuse for such conduct that the provision made for English Churchmen abroad has been, and even still is often, most unsatisfactory; but let it be remembered that those who turn their backs upon their own Church are the very persons who should set an example of devotion and reverence to their fellow-countrymen, and that they might do much to help forward the work of the Church of England abroad by availing themselves of what is provided and by seeking for its improvement.

¹ *An Appeal to the Scottish Church.* Edinburgh, 1849.

Accepting, then, as we must, the necessity for English Church ministrations abroad, the necessity for episcopal supervision must follow. The alternative has been well called 'a system of insufficient presbyterianism.' If it is allowed that the functions of a priest may be exercised on behalf of English Churchmen abroad, we are at a loss to understand on what principle the functions of a bishop are to be excluded; and it must be remembered that the case with regard to the foreign bishops is precisely the same as the relation in which we stand to the Church of Rome. 'I acknowledge no bishop but the Bishop of Nice,' said a young clergyman on the Riviera, to which the reply was obvious—'But he does not acknowledge you.' A Church which has no relation to any bishop, which is recognised by no bishop, which can bring its children to no bishop to be confirmed, cannot properly be called a Church at all. And yet, unhappily, there are still, notwithstanding the great improvement which has taken place in the condition of foreign chaplaincies, a very few which are under no episcopal control or recognition. Of these there are only two classes—those who do not seek a bishop's license because of some irregularity in their position or conduct which would prevent its being granted, and those who consider that no Anglican bishop has a right to control them. The former class has happily become very rare, and all Churchmen will heartily join in our prayer for its speedy extinction, while we would hope also that the latter may reconsider their position, and be induced to abandon an irregularity which severs them from the Church in which, by God's providence, they were born, and of which they still profess to be members. Nothing can be more important at the present time, when there is an increasing desire for the restoration of the unity of the Church of Christ, than that the Church of England should be efficiently represented in foreign lands; and it would indeed be sad if any of those who would perhaps be likely to possess the greatest influence, and to exhibit the pure worship of our Church in its greatest beauty and dignity, should present at the same time any spectacle of disunion by their separation from episcopal control. 'The most important ground,' to quote the words of the late Bishop Hamilton when speaking on this subject, 'is the aspect which our beloved Church should present to those Churches which are not in communion with us.' And we may here add his opinion with regard to episcopal control. 'The case is altogether exceptional; the circumstances are extraordinary, and we are obliged in some way or other to adapt ourselves to existing ecclesiastical

arrangements.'¹ It will be observed that out of 264 foreign chaplaincies 199² are still under the superintendence of the Bishop of London. Owing, as we have seen, to the care of the Continental Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, confirmations are regularly arranged for these chaplaincies; but they are seldom, if ever, held by the bishop whose work it is supposed to be; and it cannot, therefore, be regarded as an arrangement which is wholly satisfactory. The greatest trial in the life of every foreign chaplain is his isolation, and the visit of a bishop, if he were indeed his own bishop, would tend greatly to cheer and encourage him in his work. The disadvantage which attaches to all infrequent episcopal visits even in England is therefore conspicuous in a still greater degree. The visit of a bishop is a little too like the visit of a school inspector—with the disadvantage that the school is not examined. A congregation looks its best, musters its strongest, sings its best, responds its loudest; and it is to be feared that a bishop often goes away well satisfied when in truth a dead or half-sleeping body has only been galvanised into a kind of spasmodic life. And the only remedy is for a bishop really to know his clergy and to possess their confidence, to visit their churches frequently and to know something of their flocks. We wonder how many foreign chaplains have ever even seen the Bishop of London; the number certainly cannot be large, nor can any fault attach to a bishop who is already so over-burdened. Owing to the confirmation tours provided by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, matters are not so bad as they were thirty years ago, when a foreign chaplain could write, 'During my long residence of nearly a quarter of a century, I have never had the pleasure of seeing one of our spiritual fathers.'³ We might take a lesson from the American Church, which has never allowed any of her clergy to minister in foreign lands without direct episcopal superintendence; one of the bishops being from time to time appointed to undertake this office, although there are not a dozen American churches in Europe.

But it is extraordinary that, with all the extension of the episcopate which has taken place, nothing has been done for our scattered Continental churches. It certainly has not arisen from the difficulty of ecclesiastical jurisdiction abroad, although that difficulty has of course been felt; but when two such

¹ *Chronicle of Convocation*, 1863, p. 1157.

² Including stations occupied during a portion of the year.

³ *The English Church on the Continent*, edited by the Rev. G. E. Biber, LL.D., 1846, p. 23.

authorities as the late Bishops of Winchester and Salisbury insisted as they did upon the actual necessity for, and absolute importance of, such a work, it is astonishing, and not very creditable, that no steps have been taken to supply a want which has been so long felt. If it is thought necessary that the Isle of Man, with its forty-five clergy, should possess the privilege of exclusive episcopal care, surely the clergy and congregations on the Continent should not be left practically without a bishop. Nor would any greater difficulty occur as to jurisdiction than exists at present if the proposal—made long since, and advocated both by Bishop Sumner and Bishop Wilberforce—were carried out of separating the Channel Islands¹ from the diocese of Winchester, and joining to the duties of their bishop the superintendence of the Church of England chaplaincies on the Continent. With regard to the present condition of foreign chaplaincies, we have seen that much has been done. They have increased largely in numbers; they have increased in efficiency, and in the character of their clergy. Nor must we fail to acknowledge that, in addition to the benefits which resulted from the circular letters and enquiries of Bishop Blomfield and his successor, much good has been effected, up to a certain point, by the Colonial and Continental Church Society. They have multiplied chaplaincies, and they have at least secured to them the ministrations of clergy of unimpeachable personal character. And yet, while acknowledging the good work which they have done, we must regret that such a work has been left to this society to perform, because we cannot feel that it has sought to represent the Church of England as a branch of the Catholic Church, as one which claims to the full as high a position as an integral portion of the Church of Christ as that which the Church of Rome arrogates to herself alone. An extract from a recent report of this society will speak for itself. The report of the chaplain at Lyons is thus prefaced:—

‘It will be seen that he delights to co-operate in every possible way with the Protestants of Lyons and their *pasteurs*. Where this is the case there is no fear of the Church of England being looked on, as she is too often by foreign Protestants, with suspicion, or of her true character as a Protestant Church being forgotten.’

Probably few of the supporters of this society know much of Protestantism in France, but even from their point of view they would feel alarm if they were aware of the divisions

¹ The Channel Islands alone possess a population of 90,563, with forty-nine clergy.

which exist among its followers. That sacraments are depreciated and administered by those who have no more right to such a ministry than any layman in England might, we fear, be considered as of little account by those who are ready to co-operate with the ministrations of Dissenters at home; but that Socinianism should be openly preached in many French Protestant chapels, that doubts should be cast upon the truth of the miracles, upon the articles of the Christian faith as expressed in the Apostles' Creed, upon the Divinity of our Lord—this would possibly be a surprise to them. And yet it is with French Protestants that the Colonial and Continental Church Society delights to co-operate, regardless of the sacrifice of Church principles, so long as they may join in a protesting attitude towards Rome. We cannot wonder that many Romanists on the Continent express surprise when they find that we are Christians, because they do not concede this name to many of their Protestant countrymen.¹ And although we cannot but suppose that the chaplains of this society avoid those *pasteurs* who are known to be Socinians, and co-operate only with those who, though lax in doctrine and discipline, and possessing no orders, are yet earnest and sincere believers in Christ, we have no assurance to this effect, and are rather left to infer that, whatever their chaplains may find out for themselves, the society at home supposes all kinds of Protestantism to be equally good.

Nor is it possible to feel satisfied with the provision made by this society for the services of our Church, which are presented generally, not in the simplicity of her own Catholic worship, but depressed very much below her level. Daily services and weekly Communions are rarely to be found in any chaplaincy connected with this society; and however strongly we deprecate the abandonment of their own Church by English people because they do not find what they might justly look for, it is unhappily the case that many have been induced to worship in the churches of the Roman communion because of the inadequate provision in their own. One case certainly existed within the last two years, in which the ministrations provided by this society were confined to a single

¹ A friend of the writer's relates the following recent experience :—
'At a *pension* at Evian-les-Bains I met several well-educated French people—lawyers and others. We conversed on the subject of religion, and they were all astonished to hear that we used and accepted the *Apostles' Creed*, that we claimed episcopal succession from the Apostles, and believed the miraculous birth of our Lord from a virgin. They thought we were "Protestants."

afternoon service on Sunday, with an occasional celebration of the Holy Communion at the same time. The frequent practice of holding these services in the French Protestant chapels leads many, naturally, to attend the French services, where, as we have shown, they may hear such questionable teaching, but which, as we have been often told, they find so good as a lesson in French. The use of German and Swiss chapels is generally open to the same objections.

That there are difficulties to contend with, all who have ever filled the office of a foreign chaplain must be well aware. Sometimes the only place available for service is a room in an hotel, and arrangements must be specially made upon each occasion, but even then the services may be orderly and reverent, if requisite care be taken. No clergyman abroad, any more than in a country parish at home, should be above acting as his own sacristan, and no man is fit to minister abroad who will not give personal attention to all the details of each office. For want of this we often hear complaints of the slovenliness of English services; and the deep injury caused to our Church not merely with Englishmen, but in the eyes of members of other communions, is greater than is generally imagined. Quite recently we heard of a case in which, after a service held in the *salon* of an hotel, the vessels used for the Holy Communion were left lying about uncleansed during the remainder of the day, to the annoyance and disgust of some who were present.

There is indeed little excuse not only for such gross want of reverence, but for the use of hotel *salons*, as there are few cases in which the landlord of an hotel will not give, or at all events let for a moderate rent, a room to be set apart for the English Church. Unfortunately, those who are sent abroad to serve what are known as summer or season chaplaincies have often no knowledge of the Continent or of the language of the country in which they are placed; and, however legitimately these chaplaincies may be allowed to assist hard-working clergy to a holiday abroad, it is most desirable that no one should be appointed to any chaplaincy in which no place is set apart for service who is not qualified, both by experience and by his knowledge of the language, to negotiate for the separate use of some room or building for the purpose.

The work which has been done by the Colonial and Continental Society has been due to the liberal support which has been given, not by congregations abroad, but by subscribers at home; and were English clergymen to contribute as liberally to the Continental Chaplaincies Fund of the Society for

the Propagation of the Gospel, they would not so often hear complaints as to English services abroad. A most important work, besides the mere support of foreign chaplaincies, is the building of churches in which the services may be rendered with fitting solemnity and reverence. The Propagation Society is able to accept the trust of such buildings, and it is impossible to find any equally satisfactory tenure of the property of the Church in all parts of the Continent.

There is ample room for the operations of both these societies, and we rejoice that they are working harmoniously at the present time, no new chaplaincy being undertaken by either without previous reference by the Bishop of London to the other society. We would not willingly depreciate any good work, and we trust that the Colonial and Continental Society, which has accomplished so much, may show itself more distinctly a *Church* society, an aspiration which we believe to be shared by some of its own chaplains. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the work of our Church abroad, and we need there, fully as much as in England, to show a united front against the rapid growth of infidelity. 'La religion n'est que l'immoralité,' was the hasty utterance of an educated Frenchman to the writer of these pages some years ago, and similar sentiments are too often to be heard on the Continent to-day. They are a cruel slander against a large body of devoted priests, but they are founded on a germ of truth which has borne bitter fruit. With such discontent against the clergy, and increasing assumptions and intolerance of the Papacy, unbelief has spread widely over Continental Europe. 'Je ne veux pas,' said a pious Frenchman lately, 'qu'un professeur dise à mon fils, "Demain je vais vous instruire comment créer Dieu."' Ultramontanism on one side, infidelity on the other, a divided and often rationalising Protestantism struggling between them—such is the unhappy aspect which is presented in France, in Switzerland, in Germany, and, though possibly in a lesser degree, in other European nations. May it not be the office of the English Church to preserve the true faith in the midst of heresy and disunion? 'She preserves the entire faith, such as our Lord left it with the Apostles, to evangelise the world. She believes all which the undivided Church believed, as of faith.'¹ May she be so faithful to her high calling that when in God's providence the scattered members of Christ's Body, awakened possibly by the perils of utter apostasy which are without, shall lay aside

¹ *The Truth and Office of the English Church.* By E. B. Pusey, p. 259.
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their unnatural and unhappy divisions, and concentrate their whole strength against the common foe of their Lord and of their brethren, our beloved Church may be the centre to which all may turn, and in which they may find preserved to them the rich treasure of the faith once delivered to the saints.

ART. V.—READINGS ON THE TABLES IN THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER FOR FINDING EASTER.

1. *The Prayer Book Interleaved.* (Rivingtons, 1873.)
2. *Astronomy without Mathematics.* By Sir EDMUND BECKETT, Bart.
3. *Some Observations on Easter Tide, suggesting and advocating a Change in the Mode of Determining the Paschal Limits.* By the Rev. J. NEWLAND SMITH. (Longmans, 1872–1873.)
4. *General Proof of Gauss' Rule for finding Easter Day.* By SAMUEL BUTCHER, D.D., Bishop of Meath.

PART I.

IT is somewhat remarkable how difficult it is to find any simple explanation of the Prayer Book tables for finding Easter. Dr. Stephens, in his edition of the Prayer Book, gives none. Wheatly¹ is not exact enough. Sir Edmund Beckett² and Professor de Morgan³ (and the *Prayer Book Interleaved*, which, in fact, is only an echo of de Morgan), the Lord Macclesfield of 1750,⁴ and even the encyclopedias, are in general too scientific or condensed. And yet the subject is a little too technical for everyone to be his own interpreter, so that it may be no waste either of our space or our trouble to offer as intelligible an account as we can of these important tables.

‘TABLES AND RULES

‘*For the moveable and Immoveable Feasts . . . through the whole Year.*

‘*Rules to know when the Moveable Feasts and Holy Days begin.*

‘Easter Day (on which the rest depend) is always the First Sunday after the Full Moon which happens upon, or next after, the Twenty-

¹ *On the Book of Common Prayer.*

² *Astronomy without Mathematics.*

³ *Companion to the Almanac.*

⁴ *Philosophical Transactions*, 1750.

first Day of March ; and if the Full Moon happens upon a Sunday, Easter Day is the Sunday after.'

Why is Easter a moveable feast ? It would have saved a number of difficult astronomical and other questions if, like the Epiphany, it had been immoveable and fixed on the same day of every year. It is not the actual anniversary of the Resurrection now, any more than it would have been then.

'The Paschal moon often differs from the true equinoctial moon by a day or two, and Easter may be a week, or even five weeks, earlier than it would be if it followed the real moon. Indeed, unless an "Easter meridian" were agreed on for the whole world, it might still differ five weeks in different places in the same country, even if it were fixed by astronomers, and therefore made incalculable either forwards or backwards by anyone else. For if there is full moon in London very early in the morning of Saturday, March 21, Easter would be the next day there ; but that same full moon may be on Friday night of March 20 at Exeter or Oxford, by true time, and therefore would not be the Paschal moon there, which would be on Sunday, April 19, and Easter not till April 26, which it never is now.'¹

Mr. Newland Smith has well pointed out the simplifications which would have resulted had Easter been an immoveable feast (always provided it be a Sunday), not depending on the moon, 'whose guidance with her borrowed light is not so well suited to determine with precision and ease any annually recurring epoch of time' as

'the sun, which among civilised nations now regulates the year in every instance, save only in this ecclesiastical arrangement. The great Sunday, on which the Sun of Righteousness arose, should be associated with that heavenly body which the Almighty Agent of creation made the real regulator of our material system, as He is the real regulator of our spiritual system—the sun material and the Sun spiritual, each in his respective sphere, being the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.'²

It is true, adds Mr. Smith, in combating the objections that would be urged against the change, 'that superstition ever has votaries ; but Diana has, in this case, no silver shrine-makers whose "craft is in danger."'³

April 7 has been very generally held, and that on sufficiently good grounds, to be the very day on which our Blessed Lord's crucifixion took place, and therefore Mr. Smith would choose the real Easter Day—April 9—as the *terminus a quo*

¹ *Astronomy without Mathematics*, p. 146.

² *Some Observations on Easter Tide, suggesting and advocating a Change in the Mode of Determining the Paschal Limits.* By Rev. J. N. Smith (Longmans, 1872), p. 10.

³ *Ibid.* p. 12.

for the new Paschal limits, and April 15 as the *terminus ad quem*. Or, fixing it more precisely, as he does in his second pamphlet (1873), he would make Easter Day the second Sunday in April. Short as these limits are, they would include the fourteenth day of the month (Nisan), a day for which the quatordeciman controversy shows that there has been, and therefore that there will probably still be, felt some considerable regard, and the inclusion of which might satisfy that not unnatural desire to continue in some sort a connection between Easter Day and the Day of the Passover.¹

With many of Mr. Smith's remarks, which are written in a pleasant and popular style, and yet in one greatly becoming a Churchman and a clergyman, we can fully concur. It is quite another thing when we come to the matter of his proposal; and as such a revolution as changing the computation of Easter is altogether outside the range of serious discussion, it is quite worth our while to understand the existing method, notwithstanding his denunciation of it as

'Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum,' but which we have to obey and conform to, and should therefore understand.

Easter is not, then, an immoveable feast; but why not? Because it depends on the motion of the moon, which does not come round to have its changes (*i.e.* become 'new' again) on the same day of *each* solar year. Why does Easter depend on the moon? Because the Jewish Passover did, and it is the object of the Christian Church to celebrate Easter at the same *time*, though not (as we shall presently see) on the same *day*, as the Passover. The Jews reckoned their years by lunar months, and their Passover happened on the 14th day, or full moon, of their month Nisan (afterwards Abib), which corresponds to part of our March and April, and was ordained by God Himself to be the 'first month of their year' (Ex. xiii. 2). It began with the new moon next to (*i.e.* next after) the vernal equinox. The equinox is the time when the sun's apparent path in the heavens (*i.e.* the ecliptic) crosses or intersects the earth's equator; and as two circles, as the ecliptic and equator are, cannot cut one another in more than two places, or twice, the equinoxes occur only twice every year—viz. in spring and autumn. How, then, did the Jews know each year *when* it was the vernal equinox? Perhaps it was at that time that God gave them the above command, and then they would only have to note (which they did, by observation from the

¹ *Some Observations on Easter Tide, suggesting and advocating a Change in the Mode of Determining the Paschal Limits.* By Rev. J. N. Smith (Longmans, 1873).

tops of the mountains, and with blowings of trumpets, without any astronomical calculations) the new moon next to *that* vernal equinox, and then, by continuing a succession of periodical observations, they might note the return of each vernal equinox for ever. They would know, moreover, by the equal distribution of light and darkness (*i.e.* of day and night) *when*—though not, perhaps, the exact day when—the equinoxes occurred; and they would distinguish the spring from the autumn one, by the lengthening, instead of the shortening, of the daylight. The point is rather obscure, but the third moon after that succeeding the winter solstice would no doubt be considered that of Nisan. The Greeks, however, determined the equinox pretty accurately. It is a simple observation to find when the sun is on the equator; and, as its declination changes about that time 23' a day, an observer could scarcely make the error of a day. Of course it might happen any time in the day or night.

The vernal equinox was, therefore, to be taken by the Christian Church as their starting-point in fixing the time of Easter. An Apostolic canon about the time of Pope Victor deposed presbyters and deacons who kept the Day of the Holy Pasch before the vernal equinox;¹ and the first canon of the Council of Nicæa, 325 A.D. (which composed the different practices as to the time of keeping Easter, and has ever since regulated it) is often² spoken of as having laid down that March 21 should be '*accounted*' the vernal equinox. Yet this is not a correct description of the proceedings of the Council. It laid down nothing about the vernal equinox. It left the moon to be found as it might be.³ It simply said that Easter Day should be on a Sunday, and observed everywhere on the same day. The Council did not direct by what means the day should be determined; and hence, although Easter was everywhere kept on a Sunday, the reckonings of different Churches varied sometimes to the extent of a month or more. The science of Alexandria gave the law to the Eastern Churches in general, and in the sixteenth century the Alexandrian calculation was adopted at Rome.⁴ The calculation, however, *if* the Council had really made it, would have been at the time correct, with the exception of an error too trifling to mention, though, as we shall presently see, it would not have been true to affirm that it would be correct for ever; for (following, as the early Church did, the Julian

¹ Bingham's Works, vol. vii. p. 306.

² *E.g.* Wheatly, *On the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 37.

³ Robertson's *History of the Christian Church*, p. 364.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 360.

computation of a year) from March 21 in any year to March 21 in the next year was a period of 365 days 6 hours, whereas from one real vernal equinox to the next was a period of 365 d. 5 h. 48 min. 49·7 sec.—*i.e.* there was a difference, between the Julian solar year and the true year, of 11 min. 10·3 sec. a year. This difference is called the 'solar error,' and in 1,257 years (the interval between the Council of Nicæa, 325 A.D., and the reformation of the calendar by Pope Gregory, 1582 A.D.) had amounted to ten days; in other words, March 21 (*i.e.* of the year) no longer happened at the exact time of the vernal equinox, but had fallen ten days *behind* it; so that, to bring it and the equinox together again, ten days had to be suppressed in the calendar, or, in other words, the solar year, like a slow clock, had to be pushed forward that number of days. This difference of ten days had, in 1752—when we in England adopted the Gregorian reformation, or 'new style,'—amounted to eleven days, which number of whole days was accordingly suppressed next after September 2 in that year (the day following the 2nd becoming the 13th).

'If the Full Moon happens on a Sunday, Easter Day is the Sunday after.'—This is to guard against the possibility of Easter Day occurring, and being celebrated, on the very day of the Passover. This coincidence, however, so repugnant to the feelings of a Christian and the character of the day, cannot, we are told, always be avoided; and it will occur next in the year 1903.

'From the Present Time'—*i.e.* from the 24 Geo. II. (the time when the tables were inserted in the Prayer Book—*i.e.* the time of our adoption of the new style in England in 1752).

'According to the foregoing Calendar.'—So much of the calendar is here set out as extends from the day (March 21) next before the earliest day (March 22) on which Easter Day can fall, down to the latest (April 25).

'To find which, look for the Golden Number.'

What are the golden numbers? They are numbers designed to show, and which do show, the place which the solar year occupies in a lunar cycle of nineteen years. 'They mean, that the day against the golden number of the year is the day of Paschal moon, or full moon next before Easter Sunday.¹ The important discovery of this cycle was made by Meton, an Athenian, about B.C. 432. He observed that the moon always comes round to have her 'changes' (*i.e.* become new again) on the same *day* of the solar year as she had had them just nineteen years before.² He had, then, only to construct a table or

¹ *Astronomy without Mathematics*, p. 149.

² Why this is so, is one of the abstruser problems of astronomy

cycle, as he did (called the 'lunar cycle') of nineteen numbers, each representing a year, and to note on what days of the solar year the new moons of the 1st year of his cycle happened (which he probably did, as the Jews did, by observation, or calculation from preceding moons); and following this out by the same means through each year of his cycle, the *days* of the new (and therefore of the full) moon could be found out at a glance for ever, subject to certain corrections presently to be explained.

A TABLE TO FIND EASTER DAY,

From the Present Time till the Year 1899 inclusive, according to the foregoing Calendar.

Golden Number	Days of the Month	Sunday Letter
XIV.	Mar. 21	C
III.	— 22	D
	— 23	E
XI.	— 24	F
	— 25	G
XIX.	— 26	A
VIII.	— 27	B
	— 28	C
XVI.	— 29	D
V.	— 30	E
	— 31	F
XIII.	April 1	G
II.	— 2	A
	— 3	B
X.	— 4	C
	— 5	D
XVIII.	— 6	E
VII.	— 7	F
	— 8	G
XV.	— 9	A
IV.	— 10	B
	— 11	C
XII.	— 12	D
I.	— 13	E
	— 14	F
IX.	— 15	G
	— 16	A
XVII.	— 17	B
VI.	— 18	C
	— 19	D
	— 20	E
	— 21	F
	— 22	G
	— 23	A
	— 24	B
	— 25	C

This table contains so much of the Calendar as is necessary for the determining of Easter; to find which, look for the Golden Number of the year in the first column of the Table, against which stands the day of the Paschal full moon; then look in the third column for the Sunday Letter next after the day of the full moon, and the day of the month standing against that Sunday Letter [in the second column] is Easter Day. If the full moon happens upon a Sunday, then (according to the first rule) the next Sunday is Easter Day.

To find the Golden Number, or Prime, add 1 to the year of our Lord, and then divide by 19; the remainder, if any, is the Golden Number; but if nothing remaineth, then 19 is the Golden Number.

To find the Dominical or Sunday Letter, according to the Calendar, until the year 1799 inclusive, add to the year of our Lord its fourth part, omitting fractions, and also the number 1: divide the sum by 7; and if there is no remainder, then A is the Sunday Letter; but if any number remaineth, then the Letter standing against that number in the small annexed table, is the Sunday Letter.

0	A
1	G
2	F
3	E
4	D
5	C
6	B

For the next century, that is, from the year 1800 till the year 1899 inclusive, add to the current year only its fourth part, and then divide by 7, and proceed as in the last rule.

Note, that in Bissextile or Leap Years, the letter found as above will be the Sunday Letter, from the intercalated day exclusive, to the end of the year.

depending on the spiral nature of the moon's orbit, its ellipticity, and its inclination to the ecliptic, on which we do not propose to enter here.

These numbers, which are called indiscriminately the 'prime' and 'golden,' from their great use (the Athenians inscribing them on pillars in golden letters), were, until A.D. 1752, placed in most of our Prayer Books against all those days in each calendar month on which, for a limited period, *there could be a full moon during the cycle*; but they are now placed only against such of those days as are within the 'Paschal limits' (*i.e.* between March 21 and April 18), so called because the full moon which is to govern Easter cannot, as we have seen, fall before the former, nor after the latter, day. We have only, then, to find what year of Meton's cycle the given year is in, and we know that the Paschal full moon occurs on that day of the calendar month against which, in the above table, that year of the cycle is set.

The rule for finding the golden number in the foregoing table, and which, it is to be observed, holds good for any century, may be thus formulated:—

$$\left(\frac{y + 1}{19}\right)r,$$

where y stands for the current year, and r for the remainder from the division, which remainder, if any, is the golden number; if no remainder, 19 is.

'Add one to the year of our Lord.'—Because A.D. 1, which was at first supposed to be the year of the *birth* of our Lord, but was really four years after it, was always considered year 2 of the cycle¹—*i.e.* one year of the cycle had been completed; for, placing Meton's discovery in B.C. 432, and calling that year the seventh of the cycle (that being, for some now unexplained reason, adopted publicly for the introduction of the golden number), and counting onwards, B.C. 1 = year 1 of the cycle, and A.D. 1 = year 2 of it.

Therefore, when we say that the date of the Crucifixion was—as from the Sacred History itself and other records it probably was—A.D. 30, we mean it occurred in the thirty-fourth year after that in which our Lord was born. The system in use is called the 'vulgar era,' and any date in the 'vulgar era,' increased by four years, is the true era, and is the date which would have been in use, if we had called the birth of our Lord A.D. 1 instead of B.C. 4. April 9, A.D. 30, was, then, the true Easter Day; for our Lord being born B.C. 4, and being thirty years old when He began His ministry, which lasted three years, He must have suffered A.D. 30, for He would not

¹ Professor de Morgar.

be thirty years old until A.D. 27. As to *the day* of the year, Dr. Wordsworth suggests it has been designedly hidden by the Holy Spirit. to teach men humility ; but we can ascertain it as certainly as we can the year. We may *assume*, Mr. Smith thinks, that it was between March 20 and April 23, and we *know* it was on Friday, and that there was a full moon. Now astronomy, eliminating A.D. 29 and 34, as having no full moon at the required time, shows that there was a full moon on April 6, between 9 and 10 P.M., A.D. 30, though April 6 was not, as Mr. Greswell says, on a Saturday, but on a Thursday. There was, it is true, a moon which would do, in A.D. 33, but that year would not fulfil the conditions of our Lord's age above referred to.¹

Now, the lunar cycle is itself about $1\frac{1}{2}$ hour (or, speaking exactly, 1 h. 28 min. 8 sec.) too long ; in other words, too slow, as compared with the true astronomical moon (which of course is the only real measure of time), the moon really coming round to have her 'changes' that much sooner every nineteen years than she had had them in the previous cycle, a difference which amounts to about one day in 308 years (or eight days in twenty-five centuries) ; and this error in the cycle is called the 'lunar error.'

The golden numbers, therefore, as they are now prefixed to the calendar, only hold good in *their present places* there until 1900 A.D., when a change will be necessary to be made in those places. Such change from 1900 to 2199 A.D.,² and indeed generally,³ is given in the Prayer Book, as we shall have occasion presently to consider.

'Then look in the third Column for the Sunday Letter.'
—What is the Sunday letter? and what is its use? The

¹ Mr. Smith shows Mr. Greswell's mistake thus :—

'The number of days from (say) March 29, 1873, to April 6, A.D. 30 (both inclusive), are—

	For 30 A.D.	=	270
	For 31 A.D.	=	365
From end of 31 A.D. to end of 1871 A.D.			
(1840 × 365 + 460 - 12 [for leap years and difference of style])		=	672,048
	For 1872 A.D.	=	366
	For 1873 A.D.	=	88
	7) 673,137		
	96,162 weeks and 3 days.		

And as each week ends with a Saturday, each begins with a Sunday ; therefore April 6 must have been three days before a Sunday—*i.e.* a Thursday.'

² See *post*.

³ See *post*.

Council of Nicæa required **Easter Day** to be on the *Sunday* after the Paschal full moon.

Now, the *Sunday letter*, when discovered and placed against the calendar, shows what days in a given year *are* Sundays. The *Sunday letter* is thus discovered. The first seven letters of the alphabet are (arbitrarily) chosen to designate the seven days of the week, and, beginning with *A* against January 1, are ranged in the second column of the calendar opposite each day of each calendar month throughout the year, except against February 29. Consequently, as in ordinary years there are 365 whole days (or fifty-two weeks and one day over), *A* appears opposite December 31 as well as against January 1. Therefore, if *A* be the Sunday (or Dominical) letter for any one year, *G* will be the Sunday letter for the next year, *F* for the next, and so on, the letters occurring always in a retrograde order. For December 31 being, in ordinary years, on the same day of the week as January 1 of the same year, supposing *A* to be the Sunday letter of (say) 1865 (as it was), January 1, 1866, was on a Monday, January 2 on a Tuesday, and so on, which would bring January 7 (a Sunday) opposite to *G* in the calendar, which accordingly became the Sunday letter for 1866.

'Note, that in all Bissextile or Leap Years,' &c.—We have said that no letter is found in the calendar opposite February 29, 'the intercalary day.' The Sunday letter for a leap year is thus provided:—As in an ordinary year the odd single day above fifty-two weeks makes (as we have seen) the Sunday letter of the following year to shift from that which it was in the previous year to the next letter in a backward order, so in a leap year, a day being intercalated at the end of February, the Sunday letter is made after February in such year, and throughout the remainder of such year, to shift from that which it was till then to the next letter in a backward order; *e.g.* if (as is the case) in 1876 (*B* being the Sunday letter for the first part of the year) February 27 is a Sunday, March 5 will be the next Sunday of that year, which will have *A* for its Sunday letter throughout the remainder of it.

Thus there are two Sunday letters in every leap year set side by side of each other, the left-hand one standing for and showing the days which are Sundays from January 1 to February 29 inclusive in that year, and the right-hand one those which are Sundays during the remainder of the year. And as the Paschal full moon occurs during this remainder, the right-hand letter is alone considered as the real Sunday letter, and regarded in the division which takes place for

finding the Sunday letter in the table under consideration. Thus the letters for 1876 come out, as we have said, B A (*i.e.* A); for, by the above rule for finding the Sunday letter for the present century, there being no remainder, O equals A by the above 'small annexed table' on p. 103. The Sunday letter is said to have 'leaped' from C—the Sunday letter of the previous year—to A, and the year 1876 is called 'leap year.' Leap years are called bissextile, because the sixth day (*sextilis*)—February 24—before the Calends (or March 1) used to be repeated twice (*bis*), the intercalary day being inserted between that day and February 23, which was the end of the old Roman year. A *general* table to find the Sunday letter for *any* year is given, and will be considered, presently.¹

ANOTHER TABLE TO FIND EASTER

Till the Year 1899 inclusive.

Golden Number	SUNDAY LETTERS						
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
I.	April 16	— 17	— 18	19	— 20	— 14	— 15
II.	April 9	— 3	— 4	5	— 6	— 7	— 8
III.	Mar. 26	— 27	— 28	29	— 23	— 24	— 25
IV.	April 16	— 17	— 11	12	— 13	— 14	— 15
V.	April 2	— 3	— 4	5	— 6	Mar. 31	April 1
VI.	April 23	— 24	— 25	19	— 20	— 21	— 22
VII.	April 9	— 10	— 11	12	— 13	— 14	— 8
VIII.	April 2	— 3	Mar. 28	29	— 30	— 31	April 1
IX.	April 16	— 17	— 18	19	— 20	— 21	— 22
X.	April 9	— 10	— 11	5	— 6	— 7	— 8
XI.	Mar. 26	— 27	— 28	29	— 30	— 31	— 25
XII.	April 16	— 17	— 18	19	— 13	— 14	— 15
XIII.	April 2	— 3	— 4	5	— 6	— 7	— 8
XIV.	Mar. 26	— 27	— 28	22	— 23	— 24	— 25
XV.	April 16	— 10	— 11	12	— 13	— 14	— 15
XVI.	April 2	— 3	— 4	5	Mar. 30	— 31	April 1
XVII.	April 23	— 24	— 18	19	— 20	— 21	— 22
XVIII.	April 9	— 10	— 11	12	— 13	— 7	— 8
XIX.	April 2	Mar. 27	— 28	29	— 30	— 31	April 1

To make use of the preceding table, find the Sunday Letter for the year in the uppermost line, and the Golden Number, or Prime, in the column of Golden Numbers, and against the Prime, in the same line under the Sunday Letter you have the day of the month on which Easter falleth that year. But note that the name of the month is set on the left hand, or just with the figure, and followeth not, as in other tables, by descent, but collateral.

¹ See *post*.

The Sunday letters would come round to be the same again every seven years, were there no 'leap' years; but this not being the case, they would come round again in 7×4 or twenty-eight years (and so they did in the old style), were it not for the accumulating 'solar error,' which is only set right, as mentioned presently, once in every four hundred years. They do, however, come round again to be the same in, and not till, that period of time, which is therefore the complete Sunday cycle of the Gregorian calendar; for it fortunately happens that that number (400) contains a number of days—146,097 (or 20,871 weeks)—which is an exact multiple of seven, the number of the Sunday letters. They *appear* to come round again to be the same (in the 'Table of Moveable Feasts for Fifty-two Years,' mentioned presently¹) every twenty-eight years, but that is because that period is too short to include any centenary year. If it did include it, it would be seen that, unless that year was a *bissextile* centenary year (which it is once only in every four hundred years), there would be only one Sunday letter against that centenary year, which would accordingly throw out the order of the letters and prevent their recurrence.

The Sunday letter is to be found as in the preceding table, and so of the golden number.

'*Just with*'—i.e. even, or on the same line with the figure; and is read, not (as usually) vertically but, laterally.

¹ See opposite page.

PART II.

A TABLE OF THE MOVEABLE FEASTS

For Fifty-two Years, according to the foregoing Calendar.

The Year of our Lord	Golden Number	The Epact	Sunday Letter	Sundays after Epiphany	Septuagesima Sunday	First Day of Lent	Easter Day	Rogation Sunday	Ascension Day	Whit Sunday	Sundays after Trinity	Advent Sunday
1838	15	4	G	5	Feb. 11	Feb. 28	April 15	May 20	May 24	June 3	24	Dec. 2
1839	16	15	F	2	Jan. 27	— 13	Mar. 31	— 5	— 9	May 19	26	— 1
1840	17	26	ED	5	Feb. 16	Mar. 4	April 19	— 24	— 28	June 7	23	Nov. 29
1841	18	7	C	4	— 7	Feb. 24	— 11	— 16	— 20	May 30	24	— 28
1842	19	18	B	2	Jan. 23	— 9	Mar. 27	— 1	— 5	— 15	26	— 27
1843	1	0	A	5	Feb. 12	Mar. 1	April 16	— 21	— 25	June 4	24	Dec. 3
1844	2	11	GF	4	— 4	Feb. 21	— 7	— 12	— 16	May 26	25	— 1
1845	3	22	E	1	Jan. 19	— 5	Mar. 23	April 27	— 1	— 11	27	Nov. 30
1846	4	3	D	4	Feb. 8	— 25	April 12	May 17	— 21	— 31	24	— 29
1847	5	14	C	3	Jan. 31	— 17	— 4	— 9	— 13	— 23	25	— 28
1848	6	25	BA	6	Feb. 20	Mar. 8	— 23	— 28	June 1	June 11	23	Dec. 3
1849	7	6	G	4	— 4	Feb. 21	— 8	— 13	May 17	May 27	25	— 2
1850	8	17	F	2	Jan. 27	— 13	Mar. 31	— 5	— 9	— 19	26	— 1
1851	9	28	E	5	Feb. 16	Mar. 5	April 20	— 25	— 29	June 8	23	Nov. 30
1852	10	9	DC	4	— 8	Feb. 25	— 11	— 16	— 20	May 30	24	— 28
1853	11	20	B	2	Jan. 23	— 9	Mar. 27	— 1	— 5	— 15	26	— 27
1854	12	1	A	5	Feb. 12	Mar. 1	April 16	— 21	— 25	June 4	24	Dec. 3
1855	13	12	G	4	— 4	Feb. 21	— 8	— 13	— 17	May 27	25	— 2
1856	14	23	FE	1	Jan. 20	— 6	Mar. 23	April 27	— 1	— 11	27	Nov. 30
1857	15	4	D	4	Feb. 8	— 25	April 12	May 17	— 21	— 31	24	— 29
1858	16	15	C	3	Jan. 31	— 17	— 4	— 9	— 13	— 23	25	— 28
1859	17	26	B	6	Feb. 20	Mar. 9	— 24	— 29	June 2	June 12	22	— 27
1860	18	7	AG	4	— 5	Feb. 22	— 8	— 13	May 17	May 27	25	Dec. 2
1861	19	18	F	2	Jan. 27	— 13	Mar. 31	— 5	— 9	— 19	26	— 1
1862	1	0	E	5	Feb. 16	Mar. 5	April 20	— 25	— 29	June 8	23	Nov. 30
1863	2	11	D	3	— 1	Feb. 18	— 5	— 10	— 14	May 24	25	— 29
1864	3	22	CB	2	Jan. 24	— 10	Mar. 27	— 1	— 5	— 15	26	— 27
1865	4	3	A	5	Feb. 12	Mar. 1	April 16	— 21	— 25	June 4	24	Dec. 3
1866	5	14	G	3	Jan. 28	Feb. 14	— 1	— 6	— 10	May 20	26	— 2
1867	6	25	F	5	Feb. 17	Mar. 6	— 21	— 26	— 30	June 9	23	— 1
1868	7	6	ED	4	— 9	Feb. 26	— 12	— 17	— 21	May 31	24	Nov. 29
1869	8	17	C	2	Jan. 24	— 10	Mar. 28	— 2	— 6	— 16	26	— 28
1870	9	28	B	5	Feb. 13	Mar. 2	April 17	— 22	— 26	June 5	23	— 27
1871	10	9	A	4	— 5	Feb. 22	— 9	— 14	— 18	May 28	25	Dec. 3
1872	11	20	GF	3	Jan. 28	— 14	Mar. 31	— 5	— 9	— 19	26	— 1
1873	12	1	E	4	Feb. 9	— 26	April 13	— 18	— 22	June 1	24	Nov. 30
1874	13	12	D	3	— 1	Feb. 18	— 5	— 10	— 14	May 24	25	— 29
1875	14	23	C	2	Jan. 24	— 10	Mar. 28	— 2	— 6	— 16	26	— 28
1876	15	4	BA	5	Feb. 13	Mar. 1	April 16	— 21	— 25	June 4	24	Dec. 3
1877	16	15	G	3	Jan. 28	Feb. 14	— 1	— 6	— 10	May 20	26	— 2
1878	17	26	F	5	Feb. 17	Mar. 6	— 21	— 26	— 30	June 9	23	— 1
1879	18	7	E	4	— 9	Feb. 26	— 13	— 18	— 22	— 1	24	Nov. 30
1880	19	18	DC	2	Jan. 25	— 11	Mar. 28	— 2	— 6	May 16	26	— 28
1881	1	0	B	5	Feb. 13	Mar. 2	April 17	— 22	— 26	June 5	23	— 27
1882	2	11	A	4	— 5	Feb. 22	— 9	— 14	— 18	May 28	25	Dec. 3
1883	3	22	G	2	Jan. 21	— 7	Mar. 25	April 29	— 3	— 13	27	— 2
1884	4	3	FE	4	Feb. 10	— 27	April 13	May 18	— 22	June 1	24	Nov. 30
1885	5	14	D	3	— 1	Feb. 18	— 5	— 10	— 14	May 24	25	— 29
1886	6	25	C	6	— 21	Mar. 10	— 25	— 30	June 3	June 13	22	— 28
1887	7	6	B	4	— 6	Feb. 23	— 10	— 15	May 19	May 29	24	— 27
1888	8	17	AG	3	Jan. 29	— 15	— 1	— 6	— 10	— 20	26	Dec. 2
1889	9	28	F	5	Feb. 17	Mar. 6	— 21	— 26	— 30	June 9	23	— 1

'*The Epact*.'—This is the only place in the Prayer Book where this word occurs, nor is it necessarily connected with the finding of Easter, and it occurs here without any explanation, though there is no word which requires it more. This explanation, however, cannot be given in a few words.

Putting it shortly, the epact (from *ἐπάρω*, *intercalo*) for any year (for each year has one assigned to it) is a number (like the golden number, one in a cycle of 19 years) designed to show, and which does show, the age of the moon on the first day of January in that year, and thence its age on any other day of that year. How does it show it? Thus: the lunar month (or time from one new moon to another) is rather more than $29\frac{1}{2}$ days. (In order to omit fractions, the lunar month is taken as consisting alternately of 30 and 29 days.) The ordinary lunar year, therefore, is 354 days, or less by 11 days than an ordinary solar year. In order, then, to make the lunar cycle of 19 years equal to 19 solar years, 209 days (or 11×19) must be added to the former. This will bring both periods to consist of 6,935 days. Add to these $4\frac{1}{4}$ days (which occur equally in the solar and lunar periods of 19 years)—viz. 4 days for the 4 completed leap years, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a day for the uncompleted one, which occur in 19 years—and you have each period to consist of 6,939 $\frac{1}{4}$ days. The 209 days are intercalated in 6 months of 30 days (=180) inserted in the course of, and 1 month of 29 days inserted at the end of, the period of 19 years. Now, if the age of the moon be 0 days (*i.e.* if it be new) on January 1 in the first year of the lunar cycle, the epact for that year will be 0, and on January 1 of the next or second year of the cycle her age will be 11 days, and 11 will be the epact; and on the same day of the third year her age will be 22 days, and the epact will be 22. In the fourth year it will be 33 days, and the epact will be 33. But, instead of writing down 33, the unit figure (3) is alone considered, and deemed the epact of the year, the 30 being regarded as an additional lunar month of 30 days, and really added in accordingly, although ostensibly disregarded; and so throughout the cycle of 19 years, whenever the moon's age exceeds that figure, which it does (as will be seen by studying the epact column in the subjoined 'Table of Epacts'), 6 times in the cycle. In the last year of that cycle the epact, according to the new style, is 18, and in the year following would be, by parity of reasoning, 29; but the 29 may be, and is, disregarded and deducted in the numeration, and 0 substituted for it in the table (one month of 29 days only being, as we have seen, due for intercalation at the end of the 19 years), just as, and for the same reason as, the thirties had been,

although it is really added in the *computation*; and thus the cycle of the epact numbers, according to the new style, recommences again with 0 next after 18, as the lunar cycle does with 1 after 19. Of course the suppression of six thirties and one 29 in the cycle is only for the purpose of abbreviated expression and simplicity in the enumeration. Eleven might have been expressly added, and so expressed, every year; but the result would come out the same—209 intercalated days in 19 years. That is the indispensable thing, and the secret of the epact cycle. The last epact of the *old* style being 29 (the exact number required for it), the table recommences with 11.

In the words of Dr. Butcher,¹ 'in the new Gregorian Paschal table the golden numbers were replaced by another set of numbers, called "epacts," which were connected with the golden numbers by certain relations. The Sunday letters also underwent a change. So that the *data* for determining Easter Day were the epact and the Gregorian Sunday letter of the year. When the Gregorian reformation was adopted in England, similar tables were drawn by the then Astronomer Royal, Dr. Bradley, the chief difference between them and the Gregorian tables being that in them the golden numbers were retained, in the Gregorian the epacts were employed.'

The above explanation will be more clearly comprehended by the annexed table, in which it will be observed that the

TABLE OF EPACTS		
Golden Number	Old Style	New Style
1	11	0
2	22	11
3	3	22
4	14	3
5	25	14
6	6	25
7	17	6
8	28	17
9	9	28
10	20	9
11	1	20
12	12	1
13	23	12
14	4	23
15	15	4
16	26	15
17	7	26
18	18	7
19	29	18

third column represents the epacts as invented by Lilius, the famous Neapolitan astronomer, or rather Clavius, who carried out the Gregorian calendar, A.D. 1582 (when, doubtless, the moon's age was 0 on January 1, in the first year of the lunar cycle); whilst the second column shows the state of the epacts as invented by Meton, anterior to the time of Lilius, when the moon was doubtless eleven days old on January 1 in the first year of the cycle. Lilius's table holds good (*i.e.* exhibits the epacts correctly) till A.D. 1900, after which it will require correction in the way and for the reasons presently stated, and the epact till then can be found by the formula

$$e = \left(\frac{11(g-1)}{30} \right)_r$$

¹ *General Proof of Gauss' Rule*, p. 1.

where e represents the epact, g the golden number, r the remainder from the division. For, as the epact is an addition of 11 days to *each* year of the lunar cycle, we must add it to itself as many times as are expressed by the golden number, or place of the solar year in that cycle (which is equivalent to multiplying it by that number), always taking care first to deduct one, or once the golden number, because in Lilius's table 11 was not to be added in the first year, in consequence of its beginning in a year when the moon's age was 0 on January 1; and the product is divided by 30 because the thirties are rejected, as we have seen, from the calculation. The remainder (r), if not 29, is the epact required. If it be 29, the epact is 0, because the last intercalary month of the epact cycle being required to consist of 29 days only, a remainder of 29 is *equivalent* to a remainder of 30, in which case the division would have gone again, and the remainder would have been 0. Thus, applying the above formula to the year 1874 A.D., the epact will be 12.

We find no Parliamentary authority for the above-mentioned 'Table of Moveable Feasts for Fifty-two Years.' The Act of 1751 contained such a table for the fifty-two years from 1752 to 1804, but that having long since expired, and neither that nor any subsequent Act having authorised the introduction of other tables for fifty-two years, it would seem questionable whether such tables (which each edition of the Prayer Book gives differently) are of any legal validity.

A TABLE OF THE MOVEABLE FEASTS,
According to the several Days that Easter can possibly fall upon.

Easter Day	Sundays after Epiphany	Septuagesima Sunday	The First Day of Lent	Rogation Sunday	Ascension Day	Whit Sunday	Sundays after Trinity	Advent Sunday
Mar. 22	1	Jan. 18	Feb. 4	April 26	April 30	May 10	27	Nov. 29
— 23	1	— 19	— 5	— 27	May 1	— 11	27	— 30
— 24	1	— 20	— 6	— 28	— 2	— 12	27	Dec. 1
— 25	2	— 21	— 7	— 29	— 3	— 13	27	— 2
— 26	2	— 22	— 8	— 30	— 4	— 14	27	— 3
— 27	2	— 23	— 9	May 1	— 5	— 15	26	Nov. 27
— 28	2	— 24	— 10	— 2	— 6	— 16	26	— 28
— 29	2	— 25	— 11	— 3	— 7	— 17	26	— 29
— 30	2	— 26	— 12	— 4	— 8	— 18	26	— 30
— 31	2	— 27	— 13	— 5	— 9	— 19	26	Dec. 1
April 1	3	— 28	— 14	— 6	— 10	— 20	26	— 2
— 2	3	— 29	— 15	— 7	— 11	— 21	26	— 3
— 3	3	— 30	— 16	— 8	— 12	— 22	25	Nov. 27
— 4	3	— 31	— 17	— 9	— 13	— 23	25	— 28
— 5	3	Feb. 1	— 18	— 10	— 14	— 24	25	— 29
— 6	3	— 2	— 19	— 11	— 15	— 25	25	— 30
— 7	3	— 3	— 20	— 12	— 16	— 26	25	Dec. 1
— 8	4	— 4	— 21	— 13	— 17	— 27	25	— 2
— 9	4	— 5	— 22	— 14	— 18	— 28	25	— 3
— 10	4	— 6	— 23	— 15	— 19	— 29	24	Nov. 27
— 11	4	— 7	— 24	— 16	— 20	— 30	24	— 28
— 12	4	— 8	— 25	— 17	— 21	— 31	24	— 29
— 13	4	— 9	— 26	— 18	— 22	June 1	24	— 30
— 14	4	— 10	— 27	— 19	— 23	— 2	24	Dec. 1
— 15	5	— 11	— 28	— 20	— 24	— 3	24	— 2
— 16	5	— 12	Mar. 1	— 21	— 25	— 4	24	— 3
— 17	5	— 13	— 2	— 22	— 26	— 5	23	Nov. 27
— 18	5	— 14	— 3	— 23	— 27	— 6	23	— 28
— 19	5	— 15	— 4	— 24	— 28	— 7	23	— 29
— 20	5	— 16	— 5	— 25	— 29	— 8	23	— 30
— 21	5	— 17	— 6	— 26	— 30	— 9	23	Dec. 1
— 22	6	— 18	— 7	— 27	— 31	— 10	23	— 2
— 23	6	— 19	— 8	— 28	June 1	— 11	23	— 3
— 24	6	— 20	— 9	— 29	— 2	— 12	22	Nov. 27
— 25	6	— 21	— 10	— 30	— 3	— 13	22	— 28

Note, that in a Bissextile or Leap Year the number of Sundays after Epiphany will be the same as if Easter Day had fallen one day later than it really does. And for the same reason, one day must, in every Leap Year, be added to the day of the month given by the table for Septuagesima Sunday; and the like must be done for the first day of Lent (commonly called Ash Wednesday), unless the table gives some day in the month of March for it; for in that case the day given by the table is the right day.

A TABLE TO FIND EASTER,
From the Year 1900 to the Year 2199 inclusive.

Golden Numbers	Days of the Month	Sunday Letters	
XIV.	March 22	D	The Golden Numbers in the foregoing Calendar will point out the days of the Paschal Full Moons; till the year of our Lord 1900; at which time, in order that the ecclesiastical Full Moons may fall nearly on the same days with the real Full Moons, the Golden Numbers must be removed to different days of the Calendar, as is done in the annexed table, which contains so much of the Calendar then to be used, as is necessary for finding the Paschal Full Moons, and the Feast of Easter, from the year 1900 to the year 2199 inclusive. This table is to be made use of, in all respects, as the first table before inserted, for finding Easter till the year 1899.
III.	— 23	E	
	— 24	F	
XI.	— 25	G	
	— 26	A	
XIX.	— 27	B	
VIII.	— 28	C	
	— 29	D	
XVI.	— 30	E	
V.	— 31	F	
	April 1	G	
XIII.	— 2	A	
III.	— 3	B	
	— 4	C	
X.	— 5	D	
	— 6	E	
XVIII.	— 7	F	
VII.	— 8	G	
	— 9	A	
XV.	— 10	B	
IV.	— 11	C	
	— 12	D	
XII.	— 13	E	
I.	— 14	F	
	— 15	G	
IX.	— 16	A	
XVII.	— 17	B	
VI.	— 18	C	
	— 19	D	
	— 20	E	
	— 21	F	
	— 22	G	
	— 23	A	
	— 24	B	
	— 25	C	

The first table requires no explanation. As to the second, in consequence of the lunar error (explained above),¹ one day has to be added every 300 years (about); in other words, the golden number, indicating what year of the cycle we are in, requires to be moved forward one day in the calendar in that period of 300 years; *e.g.* the golden number (XIV.) which now stands against March 21, will stand against March 22 (and so of the other golden numbers). But in 2100 no further movement of the golden number is needed, because

¹ See *supra*.

in it there will be the *loss* of one day for the solar,¹ and the *addition* of one for the lunar, error, which compensate each other; and in 2000 neither error occurs, so that the table lasts good for 300 years, the numbers remaining against the same days of the month as before. The table is to be *used* like the 'Table to find Easter till 1899,'² here called the 'first table before inserted.'

GENERAL TABLES

For finding the Dominical or Sunday Letter and the Places of the Golden Numbers in the Calendar.

TABLE I.						
6	5	4	3	2	1	0
B	C	D	E	F	G	A
				1600	1700	1800
1900 2000	2100	2200	2300 2400	2500	2600	2700 2800
2900	3000	3100 3200	3300	3400	3500 3600	3700
3800	3900 4000	4100	4200	4300 4400	4500	4600
4700 4800	4900	5000	5100 5200	5300	5400	5500 5600
5700	5800	5900 6000	6100	6200	6300 6400	6500
6600	6700 6800	6900	7000	7100 7200	7300	7400
7500 7600	7700	7800	7900 8000	8100	8200	8300 8400
8500	&c.					

To find the Dominical or Sunday Letter for any given year of our Lord, add to the year its fourth part, omitting fractions, and also the number which in Table I. standeth at the top of the column, wherein the number of hundreds contained in that given year is found: divide the sum by 7, and if there is no remainder, then A is the Sunday Letter; but if any number remaineth, then the letter which standeth under the number at the top of the table is the Sunday Letter.

¹ See *post*.² See *supra*.

TABLE II.

1	2	3	1	2	3
	Years of our LORD			Years of our LORD	
B	1600	0	B	5200	15
	1700	1		5300	16
	1800	1		5400	17
	1900	2		5500	17
B	2000	2	B	5600	17
	2100	2		5700	18
	2200	3		5800	18
	2300	4		5900	19
B	2400	3	B	6000	19
	2500	4		6100	19
	2600	5		6200	20
	2700	5		6300	21
B	2800	5	B	6400	20
	2900	6		6500	21
	3000	6		6600	22
	3100	7		6700	23
B	3200	7	B	6800	22
	3300	7		6900	23
	3400	8		7000	24
	3500	9		7100	24
B	3600	8	B	7200	24
	3700	9		7300	25
	3800	10		7400	25
	3900	10		7500	26
B	4000	10	B	7600	26
	4100	11		7700	26
	4200	12		7800	27
	4300	12		7900	28
B	4400	12	B	8000	27
	4500	13		8100	28
	4600	13		8200	29
	4700	14		8300	29
B	4800	14	B	8400	29
	4900	14		8500	0
	5000	15		&c.	
	5100	16			

To find the month and days of the month to which the Golden Numbers ought to be prefixed in the Calendar, in any given year of our Lord, consisting of entire hundred years, and in all the intermediate years betwixt that and the next hundredth year following, look in the second column of Table II. for the given year consisting of entire hundreds, and note the number or cypher which stands against it in the third column; then, in Table III. look for the same number in the column under any given Golden Number, which when you have found, guide your eye sideways to the left hand, and in the first column you will find the month and day to which that Golden Number ought to be prefixed in the Calendar, during that period of one hundred years.

The letter B prefixed to certain hundredth years in Table II. denotes those years which are still to be accounted Bissextile or Leap Years in the new Calendar; whereas all the other hundredth years are to be accounted only common years.

TABLE III.																				
Paschal Full Moon	Sunday Letter	THE GOLDEN NUMBERS																		
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Mar. 21	C	8	19	0	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26
— 22	D	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27
— 23	E	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	0	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28
— 24	F	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29
— 25	G	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	0
Mar. 26	A	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	0	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1
— 27	B	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2
— 28	C	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	0	11	22	3
— 29	D	16	27	8	19	0	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4
— 30	E	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5
Mar. 31	F	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	0	11	22	3	14	25	6
April 1	G	19	0	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7
— 2	A	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8
— 3	B	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	0	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9
— 4	C	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10
April 5	D	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	0	11
— 6	E	24	5	16	27	8	19	0	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12
— 7	F	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13
— 8	G	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	0	11	22	3	14
— 9	A	27	8	19	0	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15
April 10	B	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16
— 11	C	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	0	11	22	3	14	25	6	17
— 12	D	0	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18
— 13	E	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19
— 14	F	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	0	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20
April 15	G	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21
— 16	A	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	0	11	22
— 17	B	5	16	27	8	19	0	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23
— 17	B																			
— 18	C	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24
April 18	C	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	0	11	22	3	14	25

Table I., it will be observed, is for finding the Sunday letters; Tables II. and III. are for finding the place of the golden numbers.

'Table I'.—Hitherto the Prayer Book has given us no rule for finding the Sunday letter further than A.D. 1899. We have one now for finding it till A.D. 8500, which is virtually for ever. Thus, applying the rule at the foot of the Table to, *e.g.*, A.D. 1974, the Sunday letter comes out F. As it is difficult, however, to carry about our Prayer Books always

with us, the Sunday letter may be found by remembering the following formula :—

$$L = 2 \left(\frac{c}{4} \right)_r + 2 \left(\frac{y}{4} \right)_r + 4 \left(\frac{y}{7} \right)_r + 1 \text{ (rejecting sevens),}$$

where L denotes the Sunday letter, c the number of completed centuries, y the year of the current century, and r the remainder of each division in the calculation; the ultimate result appearing in the following table, which is constructed on the regular progressive, and not (as the one we have already considered¹) in the backward order of the letters :—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A	B	C	D	E	F	G

The *letter* corresponding to the result is the Sunday letter.

And there is this further use in the Sunday letters and their column in the calendar (though not in connection with finding Easter) : that, from knowing them, we can learn the week-days, on which any past event has happened of which we know the date. Applying the above formula to, *e.g.*, 1942 A.D., we find the Sunday letter to be D ; for—

$$\left(\frac{19}{4} \right)_r = 3 \text{ and } \left(\frac{42}{4} \right)_r = 2 \text{ and } \left(\frac{42}{7} \right)_r = 0 ;$$

$$2 \times 3 = 6 \quad 2 \times 2 = 4 \quad 4 \times 0 = 0 ;$$

$$\therefore 6 + 4 + 1 = 11,$$

which (rejecting sevens) = 4,

which by the table = D.

‘*Tables II. and III.*’—Hitherto the Prayer Book had given us only rules for finding the places of the golden numbers from 1900 to 2199. We can from these tables find them generally (*i.e.* till 8500, which is practically for ever).

‘*Then, in Table III. look for the same number in the column under any given Golden Number.*’—That is, the place of that golden number can be found by tracing the single number which you have taken in Table II., column 3, to its place under that golden number in Table III. Thus, if we want to know the place of golden number 14 in 1900, see what day of the month in column 1 of Table III. stands to the left of that number 2 *which occurs in that column of Table III. which is headed by 14*, and you will find it March 22.

‘*The Letter B is prefixed, &c.*’—To guard against the recurrence for the future of the solar error, which had been set right in 1582, and, as we have said, amounts to 3 days in 400

¹ See *supra*.

years, 3 days were ordered by Pope Gregory to be suppressed in every future 400 years, or (which is the same thing) those centenary years only are made bissextile or leap years the number of whose *centuries* is a multiple of 4; whereas, but for this order, *every centenary year* would have been reckoned a leap year, because it is always a multiple of 4—*e.g.* under the new rule (or style) 1700, 1800, and 1900 are ordinary years, 2000 is a leap year.

Correction of the Epact.

So little is said in the Prayer Book about the epact, it may seem unnecessary to follow it out to its *correction*, which, however, is as necessary as that of the place of the golden number itself; for, like it, being a lunar cycle, it is liable to the 'lunar error' before described, and being also accommodated to days of the solar year (*i.e.* representing the age of the moon on a day of the solar year), is liable also to the 'solar error.' It will now be evident, from what has been said, that those centenary years in which the epact has required, or will require, correction for solar error are (beginning from 1582) 1700, 1800, 1900, 2100, 2200, 2300, 2500, 2600, 2700, 2900, 3000, 3100, and so on—in other words, every centenary year that is not made bissextile—and that this error requires the *subtraction* of 1 (*i.e.* one day) every such hundredth year from the ordinary epact number.

It is also clear, from what has been said of the lunar error, that the centenary years which have required, or will require, correction on this account, counting from A.D. 1800, which Clavius, the real author of the Gregorian calendar, advised Gregory to take as the period of 25 centuries above referred to,¹ are 2100, 2400, 2700, 3000, 3300, 3600, 3900, and so on; and that the correction of this error requires the *addition* of unity (that is, one day) seven times successively at the end of every 300, and once at the end of 400, years. When both errors concur, as in 2100, they neutralise each other, and no correction is needed; so also where neither error occurs, as in A.D. 2000. The lunar error thus requiring an addition, and the solar error a subtraction, the difference of the two will give the required correction. The formula for the former—*i.e.* the increase up to A.D. 4200—where Clavius stopped, as another day will not be lost till then—is $\left(\frac{c-17}{3}\right)_{\omega} - 5$, where *c* equals the completed centuries, 17 the century up to which all was set right,²

¹ See *supra*.

² Woolhouse on *Measures of Time*, p. 153.

ω the integers, or whole numbers, which only are to be taken. This makes, therefore, $\left(\frac{c}{3}\right)\omega - 5$. The formula for the decrease or subtraction on account of the solar error from 1700 to 4200 is

$$c - 17 - \left(\frac{c-17}{4}\right)\omega = c - \left(\frac{c}{4}\right)\omega - 17 + 4 = c - \left(\frac{c}{4}\right)\omega - 13.$$

This makes the *difference* between the two errors

$$\left(\frac{c}{3}\right)\omega - 5 - \left[c - \left(\frac{c}{4}\right)\omega - 13\right] = 8 + \left(\frac{c}{3}\right)\omega + \left(\frac{c}{4}\right)\omega - c.$$

To apply the above formulæ to, e.g., A.D. 1942, what will be the corrected epact for that year?

$$\text{Here } y = 1942$$

$$\text{and } c = 19$$

$$\text{and } \text{GN} = \frac{y+1}{19} = 5.$$

$$\text{And the ordinary new style epact} = 11 \left(\frac{5-1}{30}\right)_r = 14.$$

$$\therefore \text{the corrected epact} = 14 + 8 + \left(\frac{c}{3}\right)\omega + \left(\frac{c}{4}\right)\omega - c,$$

$$= 14 + 8 + 6 + 4 - 19,$$

$$= 13 \text{ (or a subtraction of unity from the ordinary epact).}$$

George, the second Earl of Macclesfield, son of the Lord Chancellor, in a paper read by him in 1750 at the Royal Society, of which he became President in 1752, puts the correction in his usual perspicuous and felicitous way:¹—

‘It is plain that the lunar year will have lost one day more than ordinary’ [*i.e.* will have lost twelve days in all] ‘whenever the new moon shall have anticipated’ [*i.e.* fallen earlier by] ‘a whole day, as it will have done at those times’ [*i.e.* every 310·7 years] ‘when it is necessary that the golden numbers should be set back one day; and consequently the epact’ . . . ‘which is the difference in whole days between the common Julian solar and the lunar year’² . . . ‘for that and the succeeding years must exceed by an unit the several corresponding epacts of the preceding 19 years.’ ‘The augmenting of the epact is the same thing as setting back the golden number.’

And again, speaking generally of the comparative use of the epacts, and golden numbers under the Julian account—

‘If, instead of the golden numbers, the epacts of the several years were prefixed in the manner the Gregorians have done to the

¹ *Philosophical Transactions for 1750*, vol. xlv. p. 121.

² *Ibid.*

days of the calendar, in order to denote the days on which the new moons fall in those years whereof those numbers are the epacts, there would never be occasion to shift the places of those epacts in the calendar, since the augmentation, by an unit extraordinary, of those epacts would answer the purpose, and keep all tolerably right. But the regulating these things for those who use the Gregorian account is an affair of more intricacy.¹

And again—

‘The Gregorians order the epacts to have an additional augmentation of an unit 8 times in 2,500 years, beginning with 1800, as at the end of 400 years; to which 400 years, if there be added 3 times 700, or 2100 years, the period of 2500 will be completed in 3900; after which they do not make this extraordinary augmentation of an unit in the epacts till at the end of another 400 years, which defers that augmentation from 4200 to 4300.’²

The above formulæ having given the *quantum* of correction, the following rule will show the student of ecclesiastical chronology (who will now understand the reason of it) *when* it is required:—

1. Years whose entire hundreds are exactly divisible by 3 (and therefore liable to correction for lunar error), but not by 4 (and therefore not liable to correction for solar error).

The Gregorian solar and the lunar year both lose one day.

2. Years whose entire hundreds are exactly divisible by 4, but not by three.

Neither the Gregorian solar nor the lunar year loses.

3. Years, whose entire hundreds are exactly divisible by both 4 and 3.

The Gregorian solar year goes on as usual.

The lunar year loses.

4. Years whose entire hundreds are exactly divisible by neither 3 nor 4.

The Gregorian solar year loses.

The lunar year goes on as usual.

The epact is neither diminished nor augmented, and the golden numbers are not shifted.

The epact is augmented, and the golden number set back, one day.

The epact is diminished, and the golden number set forward, one day.

And, inasmuch as the year is more often not divided by 4 than it is divided by 3, the epacts are more often diminished than increased.

Those who wish to follow out yet further the solution of the

¹ *Philosophical Transactions for 1750*, vol. xlv. p. 425.

² *Ibid.*

Easter problem, and to calculate Easter without the necessity of employing either the golden numbers or the epacts, but from the sole *datum* of the number of the given year A.D., would do well to refer to the elaborate essay by the late Dr. Butcher at the head of our paper. The object of the Bishop is to connect the rule of the famous German mathematician Gauss with that of the equally famous French astronomer Delambre, and to show how that of the former follows from that of the latter—first considering the case of Easter in the Gregorian calculation, and then applying it to ‘the particular and more simple case of Easter in the Julian calculation.’

ART. VI.—CONTINENTAL CULTURE.

1. *German Home Life.* (Longmans.)
2. *French Home Life.* (Blackwood.)
3. *Kindergärten: a Visit to German Schools.* By JOSEPH PAYNE. (Henry S. King.)
4. *A French Eton.* By the Rev. S. HAWTREY. (Hickesly.)
5. *Round my House.* By P. G. HAMERTON. (Seeley.)

MANY of our readers have no doubt become acquainted with Principal Shairp's *Five Lectures on Culture and Religion*, in which his great point is the failure of culture to raise or refine, except as the child of religion.

‘Culture, though made our end never so earnestly, cannot shelter a man from thoughts about himself, cannot free him from that which all must feel to be fatal to high character—continual self-consciousness. The only forces strong enough to do this are great truths which carry him out of and beyond himself—the things of the spiritual world, sought not mainly because of their reflex action on us, but for their own sakes, because of their own inherent worthiness. There is, perhaps, no truer sign that a man is really advancing than that he is learning to forget himself, that he is losing the natural thoughts about self in the thought of One higher than himself, to whose guidance he can commit himself and all men. This is no doubt a lesson not quickly learnt; but there is no help to learning it in theories of self-culture which exalt man's natural self-seeking into a specious and refined philosophy of life.’—*Shairp*, Lecture iii.

In other words, culture, unless subservient to religion, is mere exaggeration of selfishness in one form or another. It

leads either to isolated self-contemplation or to outward self-seeking, only so far respecting the rights of others as to avoid provoking them into returning evil for evil, thus achieving social law. Now the experiment which seems to be universal in the modern world, from the Ganges to the Mississippi, is that of putting culture foremost, religion as the mere accessory. We all know the stock argument—'Sects cannot agree on a religious education. Therefore let the State enforce secular culture; and as to religion, *chacun à son goût*. A non-religious education is not irreligious.'

Therewith we are bidden to admire and follow the example of our neighbours. There are lands where the religion of culture has had full scope, and has educated the generation now acting and thinking. In France the Minister of Education can tell what every class in every school is doing at any given hour; and as nobody can get employment, enter any public office, or teach, without due diplomas, it is not possible to escape the regulation system. In like manner, in Germany, no one, from the prince to the ploughboy, can elude culture duly proportioned to his station in life. The *Kindergarten* fosters the infant's power of observation, definition, and drill; the Primary School impresses a thorough analytical knowledge of the mother tongue, the *Real* School educates the tradesman, the Classical School the scholar and the gentleman; the University crowns all, and there are throughout such discipline and thoroughness as render a German teacher one of the best of instructors.

In France, during the reign of the Citizen King, religion was entirely eliminated from all public instruction for the nobler sex, and was confined to seminaries for the priesthood. As we all know, it was the struggle of Montalembert's life to obtain the freedom of giving religious instruction in schools for laymen. He succeeded after the Revolution of 1848, but without achieving popularity for education based on religion; and though the religious orders, such as the Jesuits and the Frères Chrétiens, are not prohibited from teaching, the greater number of lads never come under their hands, and their tenure is insecure, although the pupils of the former are said to be eminently successful in competitions. As things stand at present in France, most boys of the upper classes are educated in Government lyceums, entirely in secular hands, and in the villages there is a schoolmaster, also entirely secular, and usually a hostile authority to the parish priest. The greater number of young ladies, on the other hand, if not brought up at home, go to the convents of the religious orders devoted

to education, and in most towns and many villages there are girls' schools kept by Sisters of Charity, some as sewing schools, others as *salles d'asile* or infant schools, but always giving some religious instruction.

In Germany 'the religious difficulty' has been so successfully manipulated that, though something called religion is taught, and furnishes the subject of hymns, Bible stories, and the like, it is so undogmatic that nobody heeds or cares about it, and it becomes a sweet, childlike inward sentiment, finding its chief expression in the Christmas tree, which is all the more delightful from its connection with the ash Yggdrasil.¹

There has now been full time for generations to grow up and show the working of the culture system, and its effects both with regard to manliness and refinement. Perhaps, however, it is fair to observe that it is difficult and invidious for the native of one country to judge of the refinement of a foreigner, since different standards naturally prevail, so that mere decorum in one country seems affectation in another, and coarseness in the ears of one nation is but simplicity to its neighbour. We call a man brutal when he beats his wife or kicks his fallen foe; the French call him brutal if he speaks an abrupt truth, does not say 'monsieur' or 'madame' every fourth word, or comes into a shop with his hat on; and the Germans think it an insult not to declare on your envelope that your correspondent is well born, nobly born, and all the rest of it.

Still there *is* an ideal standard of refinement. It is the outcome of the realisation of the truth that we are *all* children of God, members of Christ, and temples of the Holy Ghost. This knowledge gives courtesy, modesty, and self-respecting dignity, telling as much against clownishness as against grossness and conceit. If monks of old revelled in uncleanness and vermin it was not because they were Christians, but because they were not Christians enough. Such good breeding as comes of the Law of Love is to be found among all ranks, though the outward show of it is generally attained almost as an inheritance by the higher classes in all countries, and it ought to be the object of culture to render it universal. Indeed, it becomes almost the test of the reality of culture, and, on the other hand, as soon as manliness becomes impaired by cultivation it becomes evident that there is some error in the treatment.

We are here dealing with the two nations whose proverbial

¹ See 'Cradle Songs,' *Macmillan's Magazine*.

character places the first at the head of Dame Europa's school for manners, the other—shall we say, at the bottom of the class? We think we must rank it there, when we remember Erasmus's description of a German inn, and recollect Freytag's sketches. Owing to her numerous petty divisions and fierce intermittent wars, Germany fell far behind other nations in the progress of civilisation and morality in the Middle Ages, and, in spite of the vast strides that intellect has made, the mass of her people do not seem to have been drawn out of roughness and boorishness. Thus the material has to be taken into consideration when considering the effects of training.

We borrow some descriptions of the German plans of training from Mr. Joseph Payne's *Visit to German Schools* :—

'I visited in Hamburg some of the *Bürger-Kindergärten*, of which there are, I believe, nine in different parts of the town. In one of them I found several children, a division of whom were busily employed in constructing various forms and building with the little cubes of the fifth *Gift*. The fifth *Gift* presents a cube as divided into twenty-seven smaller cubes, and these are divided diagonally into fifty-four half-cubes or prisms. Thus considered, it affords opportunity for forming (1) life objects, (2) beauty objects, (3) knowledge objects.'—*Payne*, p. 26.

The 'life object' in the woodcut bears a distant resemblance to a house; the beauty object is a sort of ornamental cross within a square; the knowledge objects seem to be squares. Another *Gift* is what is called *Flechten*, and consists of weaving strips of paper, whether white or coloured, into objects of life and beauty in a sort of matting such as some of us remember old ladies trying to persuade restless children to make for book-markers.

Again, at Berlin Mr. Payne found the children from three to seven going through instructive games, some of which have, we think, been imported to our infant schools. Here is one :—

The Sportsman.—The children forming a large ring with joined hands, and singing a song adapted to the subject, one of them is detached to represent a midge disporting itself in the sunshine. He runs round the circle, throwing his arms about to imitate flying. Another child is then detached to represent a sparrow, who attacks the midge and swallows it up (a large demand on the imagination certainly). The midge vanishes, and the sparrow remains. A hawk (another child) immediately pounces on the sparrow and despatches him, but not with impunity, for a sportsman, who has been on the watch for the hawk, shoots him, and he falls to the ground, to the great delight of the children, who thereupon utter an animated shout.'—P. 47.

To make this lesson completely illustrative of the 'good old plan,' for the sportsman should have been substituted the Prussian eagle. But perhaps he had a needle gun.

The children also learn *Netzzeichnen*—that is, drawing straight lines on a paper ruled in squares, like uncoloured patterns for ladies' cross-stitch. They learn counting, beating time, manual exercises, and singing—the latter, strange to say, not at all well—sometimes reading and writing; but these were not intended by Fröbel, the inventor of the system. One great point on which he insisted—the employing the human blossoms in the cultivation of the vegetable blossoms, and making them work in the garden—seems to be almost wholly neglected, and is probably impracticable, for very few *Kindergärten* had gardens attached to them, and these were neglected. Ventilation—to English nostrils at least—seems not to be understood, and one large infant school at Hamburg was actually kept in a room used in the evening by a gymnastic club, and still full of the fumes of tobacco.

In Weimar Mr. Payne witnessed the religious teaching.

'The business of the morning began at eight o'clock with a short prayer, all standing. The lesson was on the history of Moses, a portion of which the teacher related in a simple manner. He then asked a number of questions, which the children answered readily. They appeared to be much interested. The good answers were repeated simultaneously by the whole class, some of the little boys nodding their heads and swaying their bodies while they answered, as if naturally moved by the interest of the story. This little trait struck me forcibly. Now and then they were required to repeat after the teacher some little rhymes. At another time the teacher said, "When we feel ourselves fresh and well in the morning, what ought we to do?" "We ought to pray and give thanks to the dear God." On the whole this was an interesting little lesson.'—P. 81.

The *Kindergärten* are not universal, and the teachers of the schools which receive the children from them at six or seven years of age complained that the little ones came up from them bringing with them 'the play spirit,' of which it was hard to cure them, and that there was so much routine and drill as to take away all their originality. The schoolmaster who made this observation did not, however, permit any play even in the intervals between the lessons, when the children went into the open air, saying that 'it disorganised them.'

To the primary schools everybody goes between seven and thirteen, under heavy penalties. The reading, writing, and arithmetic appear, by Mr. Payne's judgment, to be

thoroughly well and intelligently taught. No teacher used a book when hearing reading. If he could not understand the children, their reading was not up to the mark. At Dresden he saw the writing lesson given, the class making all the motions for each letter in the air with a dry pen simultaneously, and by word of command, before they put pen to paper. The lessons in geography, botany, and natural history, and what are in England called 'object lessons,' are also most excellent. History (?) was taught at Gotha to the children of eight years old by a teacher who narrated to them the stories of Ulysses and of Orpheus and Eurydice, observing that 'the history of the Fatherland is too difficult.'

Everybody, then, comes out of these schools able to read, spell, and write; but, after all the lessons in forms of life and beauty, here is the description of the common run of girls who present themselves for service—never, be it observed, till their course of school education is completed:—

'They are turned out [from school] hopelessly uncouth; coarse in manner, and unhandy at their work; often incorrigibly dirty, without aptitude or willingness to learn; doggedly satisfied with themselves, and convinced that the right thing to do is to treat any attempt on your part to ameliorate their manners or improve their condition with a loutish ridicule. "While I have seen," says a writer in the *Contemporary Review*, pointing out the difference between mere book-learning and education, "while I have seen perfect manners of their kind in the peasants of more than one country, Eastern and Western, I think the worst-mannered people in Europe—perhaps in the world—are the highly-taught Prussians."—*German Home Life*, p. 3.

Something, no doubt, was here due to national resistance to English ways, but we have seen the same account of the unconquerable boorishness and incapacity of German servants complained of by an English resident at Erfurt, who laboured in vain to impress on them what we should regard as the ordinary proprieties of life. German household stories which aim at nature likewise put the servant and the peasant in an unpleasant light. Auerbach especially shows the latter as surly, disobliging, set against improvement, and doing wilful mischief. Nor is it only English travellers who complain of the rough treatment they receive from railway officials. We have known a young German lady speak of such discomforts in travelling in Germany, and say how different it is as soon as she passed the Belgian frontier, and in England.

Surely this is not a pleasing outcome of some nine years or so spent in diligent culture of the intellect. And we

are afraid there is a much deeper and more terrible accusation to bring against the lower classes in Germany, and that of female servants especially, though it is in great part the fault of the cruel and short-sighted marriage laws.¹

‘Marriage amongst the lower orders in Germany is cumbered about with so many restrictions and conditions that it has come to be looked on as almost an impossibility. I remember once hearing a lively discussion on this very subject in a northern duchy, where emigration, cholera, and the impossibility of marriage among the labouring classes had more than decimated the population. The harvest lay that year rotting in the fields, and there was no hand to reap and gather in the golden grain. The neglected peasant offspring cannot bring the same fibre to his work as though care and comfort had been his, and it certainly seems a false political economy which restrains marriage lest pauper families should multiply, and yet cannot prevent the emigration of thousands of tillers of the soil with their illegitimate offspring.’—*German Home Life*, p. 17.

The consequence is that the German households do not lay claim to what the most careless Englishwoman would require—in appearance, at least—respectability in their women servants. In England there may sometimes be shams; wedding rings are assumed occasionally with the connivance of the lady of the house; but the very deceit shows a different state of things from that in which the *Amme*—a far more common institution in Germany than here—seldom is even supposed to be married. Those who have ever tried to find a safe service for a penitent in England can hardly believe in such sentences as these :—

‘I never got anyone to be in the least surprised, sympathetic, indignant, hurt, or otherwise emotional on the subject. German ladies take all this—as indeed, to do them justice, they take most things—very philosophically. It was the custom—*ländlich sittlich*. That which precedent has consecrated let no man or woman cavil at. It had its conveniences. “I partly agree with what you say,” a friend once replied, to whom I had been stating my grievances; but I was always particular that my *Amme* had only one *Bräutigam*.’—*German Home Life*, p. 18.

Nor does there, according to this book, appear to be any of that ordinary supervision of the ways of servants that—religion apart—English families of the better class think due to their own respectability.

‘In engaging a servant you will find that she invariably bargains for her “Sunday out.” She belongs to a *Kränzchen*, or club, and it

¹ We are glad to learn that of late there has been some relaxation of these laws.

will be her privilege to depart early on Sunday afternoons to the coffee garden, where the festive meeting is held. Of church-going there is in Protestant Germany no question, but of much dancing during Sunday afternoons with the *Bräutigam* of the moment there can be no evasion. This is a matter of custom and right, to which it would be useless folly to demur. Of walking out nothing much is said. At seven o'clock a servant's work is considered to be finished. It is then her privilege to take her stand in some convenient corner of the garden, or under the *porte cochère*, and there, stocking in hand, finish the day with gossip and flirtation.'—(p. 8.)

On the other hand, it is fair to state that candid travellers declare that they have found, both in lodgings and families, excellent, faithful, and capable servants, useful and active, though not like English ones, being used to a much simpler style of furniture, and to far more personal help and supervision from the lady of the house. There are also good German nurses all over England, and German waiters everywhere; but a German out of his Fatherland is generally far more active and effective than one in it. The men, who in their own homes take advantage of the comfortable but hopeless system of monopoly to drone on in sluggish indifference, become models of thrift, industry, and resource when once they reach the United States and have a stimulus for free exertion.

Let us turn from German peasants and servants to the same class in France. There we find the same universal thrift, and an indifference to personal comfort or display very puzzling to English ideas. The owners of large sums of hoarded money toil as severely and live in more sordid hardship than the most hardworking cottager in England. Taking Mr. Hamerton's *Round my House* as our authority, we find that he considers the French peasant to be ignorant to the last degree, and yet very intelligent. The women are religious. As to the men, 'the real feeling of the male peasant in this part of France seems to be that religion is a sort of precaution, which may not turn out to be of any use, but which it is as well to take, according to the universally known proverb, "*Si ça ne fait pas de bien, ça ne fait pas de mal.*"' And certainly the gross superstitions which are allowed to encumber religion as presented to them are enough to revolt the more intelligent. Mr. Hamerton thinks the peasantry hard, self-interested, but in general honest, upright, and well-conducted. Their first purpose in life is to retain and transmit their modicum of the soil, their next to have a sufficient sum to buy off their sons from the conscription,

and after that to portion their daughters. Honesty is tolerable among them; morality also is fair in the villages, though at a much lower ebb in the towns, owing not only to the laxer public opinion, but to the exceeding difficulty and expense of getting together the necessary documents when one or both of the parties does not happen to be a native. That amusing paper 'How Pommier was Married,' in *Macmillan's Magazine* for August 1877, shows that, in the first place, it is needful that Government should be certified of the birth of the bride and bridegroom; also of their baptism; also—whatever their age—either of their parents' consent or 'act of death.' If the bride be an orphan, she must have the authenticated consent of her nearest surviving relation; the bridegroom must have a certificate of exemption from military service—all these to be written on stamped paper, and each requiring a fee to the notary. Very good for the revenue, no doubt, but not equally good for morality. 'Oh! mademoiselle,' says poor Pommier, 'if I had only known, I would never have begun to get married!'

And these red-tapisms, subsisting under the bureaucracy which survives under every form of government in France, are, as Lord Lytton showed us in the *Parisians*, one powerful incentive to the hatred of the poor against those above them. When these cumbrous and expensive preliminaries of marriage are dispensed with, and yet the parties are faithful to one another, they can hardly help being at war both with the State system which has well-nigh forced them into sin, and with the Church that cannot but condemn them though her State fetters hinder her from preventing the evil.

However, as we have said, most girls are bred up either by *sœurs de charité*, or at any rate in connection with or allegiance to the parish priest, and even boys as uniformly present themselves for their first Communion as in Germany for the Confirmation, which there serves as a certificate of being ready for service. The instruction in the village schools of France does not (or did not a few years ago) go very high. The letters of the poor are of the 'This comes hopping you are well' order. We have seen a specimen written by a soldier, informing 'Monsieur le Mère' of his village that he has had the misfortune 'de perdre une jambe, avec lequel je vous salue.' Their arithmetic, in spite of decimal coinage, does not go far; and as to their books, we once heard a class reading to a *sœur* an instruction on the manners of society—the handing in and out of dinner, and the rinsing of the mouth after eating; the moral being pointed by the story of a *jeune*.

personne who denied that she had eaten garlic, but who was detected, and thus lost an excellent *établissement*—not by the falsehood, but by the neglect. The inclination to teach making lace and flowers for the churches, instead of plain needlework, is said to be the snare of these sisters' schools. But, whatever their deficiencies, it is worth while to turn from the chapter on servants in *German Home Life* to that on the same subject in *French Home Life*. Two things must, however, be taken into account—one, the national character; the other, the much greater good-humour and good-nature of the writer on France. Yet even he (or she) sees much that is terribly harmful in the Parisian system, which is declared to be thoroughly rotten.

'The thirty servants, male and female, of the different tenants of a large house are all perched on the sixth storey in thirty numbered rooms; each has a key, and can either receive by the *escalier de service* all the visits which he or she may wish for, or may go out to visit other sixth floors. . . . With such liberty as this it is wonderful that Paris servants should be as good as they are. There are scamps enough amongst them, but there are a great many excellent creatures too, and quantities of brave girls, who stick to their religious duties, who get up in the early morning to go to Mass, who walk to their beds down those foul corridors with their eyes straight before them and their ears resolutely closed, like little saints whom no temptation can touch.'—*French Home Life*, p. 25.

These girls have been trained in something more refining than reading and writing. And though the *femme de chambre* seems to be somewhat changeable and capricious, yet while she is in your service she has high merits; and in the country

'the general characteristics of French private servants may be said to be activity, cleanly aspect, cheery temper, simplicity, and economy. . . . Adaptability is another great merit of both men and women. They are able and willing to do each other's work. None of them would ever dream of saying, "It's not my place to do it." If there be any reason for it, a cook will clean the drawing-room, a footman will cook the dinner, a lady's-maid will black the boots, without any growling, and rather as fun than otherwise. . . . A good man-servant always knows a little of carpentry and upholstery, can mend a broken lock, can sew, can fry and stew, can bottle wine, and make beds, and dust rooms, as if he had been born for nothing else. The women—most of them, at least—can do all sorts of women's work, have some idea of doctoring and nursing and of the use of medicines, can wash and iron and wait at table. Never was the notion of being generally useful more clearly understood or more gaily practised than by the better part of the Paris servants, and by country servants almost without exception. And when your household is an old one—

when you have had the luck to get together a group who do not quarrel, when the duration of service in your house begins to count by years, when the heart has grown interested on both sides—then you find out what French servants are capable of being. Then, when sorrow comes, when sickness and death are inside your walls, then you get the measure of the devotion which quality can alone produce. Then come long nights spent together watching by feverish bedsides, in mutual anguish and with mutual care; then come tears that are shed together over the common loss, and hands that wring yours with the earnestness of true affection; and afterwards, when you are calm enough to think, you recognise that these servants are indeed your friends.'—*French Home Life*, p. 33.

Of course we are not unreasonable enough to expect everywhere French grace and versatility, but surely the folding of papers and building of cubes can be of little purpose if they leave the mind and fingers as unprepared for improvement and as awkward as ever. We do not believe that English finish and neatness in the belongings of a house are desired or attained by either nation, but the Frenchwoman's person and room are always neat, while the German servant is rough and slovenly, and goes about the house in slipshod, dirty untidiness. And in those essentials of which refinement is but the most distant outwork it would seem that while the girl of the one nation has a pure ideal, and often acts up to it, the other has no ideal at all, and hardly a sense of transgression when she fails. Is it culture that makes the difference? Is it not something of quite another order?

Into the lower middle-class developments we cannot here enter; indeed, we believe that neither in Germany nor in France is there the separation of ranks in education, especially among boys, that we are used to in England. Mr. Walter C. Perry, in a paper on 'German Schools' in *Macmillan's Magazine* for June 1877, says:—

'I enquired into the social position of the pupils whose performances in his form had excited my admiration, and was told that all classes of society were represented—*noblesse*, bankers, wealthy merchants, down to the smallest tradesmen—and that four of the boys in the form were sons of day labourers, who were unable to pay, without assistance, the marvellously small *Schulgeld*. This was about 4*l.* per annum.'

Prussia provides, besides the *Kindergärten* and elementary schools of which we have already spoken, the *Gewerbe* or business school; the *Realschule*, leading to a professional life, and teaching Latin; and the gymnasia, which teach the classics thoroughly and prepare for the universities. Of the

completeness of the teaching Mr. Perry, Mr. Matthew Arnold, and others speak highly, though the Rev. Edmund Guibert, an American clergyman who has contributed a set of papers on 'German Life' to the *American Churchman*, does not think it sufficiently thoroughgoing, nor equal to that of good American schools. The object kept in view is the cultivation of the average boy, leaving the superior intellects to cater for themselves, and in general avoiding the stimulus of prizes, honour lists, and competitive examinations, 'as tending to foster a servile view of education and to lead to spasmodic and exhausting efforts and feverish excitement rather than to the healthy and harmonious development of the mental powers.' Need we say how wise we think this decision?

In all these schools religion forms one lesson, given three times a week in the lower forms, twice in the upper. Being mostly day schools, the devotion and Sunday training do not form part of the scheme, so that they are specimens of the effects of teaching technical religious knowledge unconnected with either worship or moral conduct, since we are distinctly told that the master is merely a professor, not charged with the discipline of his boys, nor *in loco parentis*, like the head of a boarding school or house. Order depends on the class-master (*Ordinarius*), and, after him, on the 'Herr Director,' beyond whom is the 'Minister der geistlichen Unterrichts und Medicinal-Angelegenheiten.'

Out of school there are compulsory gymnastic exercises, but no conveniences for games, and the boys, to Mr. Perry's eyes, seemed quiet and spiritless. One of the directors assured him that

'the German boy was not indifferent to play, but that the authorities did nothing to promote it. I think,' he added, laughing, 'that they like a tame Philistine people; and besides, there is an ebullient energy in the English nature of which we know but little.'

Mr. Guibert adds, when advising his countrymen against sending a boy to these schools, that religion, as he has been trained to regard it, is unknown. Sunday, he is taught, is a day for secular pursuits, and the day above all the others in the week for attending the theatre or concert-room. Further, in all those methods of treatment which develop manliness and honour in a boy the German schools are thoroughly deficient. From the start it is taken for granted by his teachers that the boy will deceive and prevaricate whenever occasion offers.

The girls' schools are on the like system.

'It is the proud boast, and the just one too, of the German women that they alone, of all the modern femineities of the earth, are absolutely well educated. In ladies' schools it is not, as a rule, the mistresses who teach; they confine themselves to attending to the "creature comforts" of their pupils, and superintending the lower branches of needlework, &c. Competent masters are engaged to instruct their pupils in history, literature, modern languages, &c. The same professors that lecture to their brothers and cousins within the university halls and college class-rooms come down from those greater altitudes to teach the children and young girls in their day schools. They are taught regularly, systematically, patiently, lovingly.'—*German Home Life*, p. 179.

The Victoria School at Berlin, instituted by two Englishwomen—the Crown Princess and Miss Archer—educates 950 girls under the direction of Dr. Haarbrucker. It numbered, in 1876, 950 scholars, with 28 teachers—835 being Protestant, 107 Jewish, 2 Dissidents, and 2 Catholics. The curriculum of obligation consists of religion, German language and literature, French, geography, history, natural history (with physics), writing, drawing, singing, needlework (excused in the higher classes, if desired), and gymnastics; English is optional, but is generally studied. Mr. Payne witnessed a lesson of which he says:—

'There was nothing so remarkable as the fixed attention of the children. The order was perfect. All the sixty seemed to give themselves up to the work as if they were one; yet I consider that the number in the class was at least double what it ought to have been, and even the perfect order, which was unbroken, helped to cover the delusion that the minds of all could be suitably and simultaneously developed.'—*Visit to German Schools*, p. 152.

It was a class of girls between nine and eleven, who were learning to divide seventy-nine by five. Most village girls in England would surely be capable of far more at the same age, though probably they would work more mechanically.

There is very little active play among either German boys or girls, according to all observers. The boys sit about and smoke; the girls are not allowed to run, ride, take walks, boat, nor even to enjoy archery and croquet. The sexes are kept entirely apart, and the little girls chiefly amuse themselves with fancy work, eating sweetmeats, and giving small coffee parties among their schoolfellows, where little secrets, gossip, and sentimental friendships, and by-and-by small love-fancies, begin to prevail. At least such is the judgment of an Englishwoman in Germany, and we have certainly seen corroboration thereof in the tales and stories of domestic life.

'The rite of Confirmation now comes. In Protestant Germany it means nothing of the religious enthusiasm, the ardent aspiration, the passionate resolves, that often mark the epoch in the minds of our young people. There is nothing of "recollection," or piety about the rite. It simply means, to those whom it most concerns, a long dress, visiting cards, a bouquet, a lace-frilled pocket-handkerchief, the *Du* of childhood exchanged for the *Sie* of young-ladyhood, and the potential *Schlafröck* and *Morgenhaube* for early hours. Visitors pour in to offer congratulations and presents; cake and wine and bustle pervade the domestic atmosphere; a droschky is hired, and the confirmed young Christian is driven out to pay visits and show off her finery.'—*German Home Life*, p. 127.

Let us shift to our other neighbour. The mother is the pervading influence of French education, as the school is of German instruction. The girls never leave their mother. Most of them never sleep out of her room, or one adjoining with the door open, till they are married. The boys, till they go to school, are likewise with her from morning to night. There is no nursery; the children eat and drink with their parents, and if there be a *bonne* she stands behind the high chair of the little one and feeds it. The children can hardly bear to be out of sight of their mother; and as the families are usually small, the constant companionship is possible. Moreover, their strong affection makes them singularly docile.

'The fact is—and it is a fact, however prodigious it may appear to people who have always believed the contrary—that the family bond is extraordinarily powerful in France. What we call "united families" are the rule there, and the unity goes far beyond our usual interpretation of the word. It means not only affection and mutual devotion, but it affects the instincts of the nation to such a point that colonising, and even to a certain degree foreign travel, are in many cases rendered impossible by it.'—*French Home Life*.

There is a good deal of minor indulgence, and want of discipline even while there is loving obedience. Many Frenchwomen view regularity and method as signs of a cold heart, incapable of feeling, and there is apt to be an easygoing disorderliness about the whole home life—doors left open, toys and clothes left about, loud shrill voices, and general untidiness and late hours—which with us would be bad signs, but which with the French mean nothing. Some girls, carefully guarded, attend classes in the towns, others are educated in convent schools, but the great proportion of them remain by their parents' side, living the family life, never going out alone, even in the country, and hardly ever spending an hour by themselves, and never entering into an independent conver-

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sation with any person of the other sex. Thus French girls remain young longer than those of any other nation, and are on the whole ignorant of book-learning, and very simple-minded, and backward in all except the little arts of domestic economy and in amiable caressing manners. They never read novels (and very little of anything else), and are absolutely shielded from the knowledge of evil, even to the falsification of history to prevent them from knowing of scandals. When childhood is passing away comes the first Communion.

‘From it dates in many a girl the formation of her character, the consolidation of her faith, the frank acceptance of her duties and her pains. It goes home to every heart; its memory rests; old women talk of it as “le grand jour de ma vie.” The night before it the child kneels down and asks her father and her mother to pardon all her faults; then she goes gravely through the house and begs the same forgiveness from all its other inmates. When the morning comes she goes in white all over, shrouded in a long muslin veil, to join her comrades at the church; they, like herself, have been preparing themselves by two years of special instruction at the public catechism for the great day which has come at last. Then, amidst the roll of music and the pomp of ceremony, two columns of young children march slowly down the aisle and kneel right and left, boys on one side and girls on the other, until they have filled the nave. The church seems to be half choked with snow as the white sea of veils spreads over it. And when the great moment is reached at last, and the children advance slowly to the altar, there is not a dry eye around. Fathers, mothers, watch eagerly for their own, and afterwards, if death should take them while still young, that is the moment of their lives which is most tenderly and most tearfully remembered.’
—*French Home Life*, p. 63.

Of course we here allow for the fact that sensation and excitement are life to the French nature, and that our notion that quietness and earnestness go together, and that waters must be still to flow deep, is utterly alien to our neighbours and quite untrue of them. What here seems evident is, that religion is a real force, telling throughout the education of these girls, and that it bears fruit in their lives. The weak point is, as we know from the earnest exhortations of Bishop Dupanloup, that the intellect is left fallow, and that these good girls are taught not to think or argue, but simply to be pious, useful, and submissive. Mr. Hamerton, living in provincial society, is more emphatic on the almost ideal innocence of the French *demoiselle* and her subsequent excellence as a wife and mother. Her failures are chiefly owing to the narrowness of the ideal. She is not educated to stand alone, and she easily falls a prey to the petty and superstitious side of

her religion, and therefore fails to influence the men of her family.

Turn we to the boys of France. The mother is as careful of her son as of her daughter as long as he is under her wing, but that is seldom for long. She teaches him with all her heart 'to love his family and to believe in God. He learns one of two lessons almost always, but he rarely learns the other.' The mother, we are told on the same authority, cannot 'lift her boy into a thorough man.' No mother can alone. That is left for the father, and still more for other lads of his age, to do. And every boy is well-nigh compelled to go through a regular graduated course of instruction at *lycées*, the Parisians and other inhabitants of large towns being day scholars, those from the country being boarders. We have not the materials for describing the intellectual training of these *lycées*, but we believe it to be thoroughly methodical and uniform, and tested by regular examinations, when the foremost scholars are rewarded by prizes of books, and at the same time crowned with artificial laurels, gilded or green, according to their merits. Once a year the head boys of the different *lycées* have a general competition, and to succeed in this is glory indeed. Unwillingness to study is not the ordinary fault of a French boy, for in him, as in all his nation, the intellectual inclinations surpass those of the animal.

But the whole *lycée* system is constructed with the most elaborate care, on purpose to prevent that kind of education which boys, without intending it, bestow on one another whenever they are left to themselves, and not, as in Germany, so much instructed as to have no room or energy for sport. We quote from the personal experiences of the Rev. Stephen Hawtrej, which are indeed of forty years ago, but which describe pretty accurately the plans of management still in vogue ever since. We give the outline of a day:—

'We were awoke by a servant knocking at and unlocking the doors of our *cellules*, and presently the master (*maître d'étude*) who presided in our room for study (*salle d'étude*) appeared, and walked up and down in front of our *cellules* while we dressed and washed, our washhand-basins being placed in the alcoves of the windows of the wide, airy corridor in front of our *cellules*, where the *maître d'étude* was walking up and down. Of these *maîtres d'étude* I should think there were about eight—one for each class. There were in each class about twenty-five to thirty boarders (*internes*).

'When dressed we fell into rank, two and two, and, under the guidance of our *maître d'étude*, marched to a long corridor in front of the eight *salles d'étude*, where the lessons were prepared. Here the different classes fell into their proper places, each under their especial

maitre d'étude, and forming a long double line, we faced inward and . . . knelt for morning prayer.'—*A French Eton*, p. 18.

Then followed the preparation of lessons—a master sitting at the head of each table, not to assist, but simply to keep his eyes upon the boys. Then came breakfast—*i.e.* a hunch of bread taken from a basket in the playground, and eaten walking about, and usually dry, though in some cases parents provided butter, jam, or fruit to make it palatable; nor was there any drink save water from pitchers ranged round the wall. Meantime the boys were watched not only by the *maitre d'étude*, but by the censor and sub-censor.

Two hours of work with the professor—the real teacher—followed. There was good teaching, and a fair amount of attention from the boys, though with plenty of ingenuity mispent in eluding the stress of study. Then came writing out of notes or exercises under the eye of the *maitre d'étude*. Dinner followed, and recreation, but with the guardians still walking about the playgrounds, never losing sight of the boys. The playgrounds were large turfed enclosures, and the boys had gardens, rabbit-hutches, and the like, but everything they did was under surveillance. After an hour came preparations under the *maitre d'étude's* eye, then two hours of lessons from the professors, *gouter*, an hour's play, two hours' preparation, supper, recreation, prayers, and bed; but even when the lads were thus disposed of there was a servant walking up and down the passages all night.

The whole, as Mr. Hawtrey testifies, was thoroughly considered and intended to prevent the possibility of wrongdoing. It is, in fact, the Jesuit system, more or less secularised, and it prevails in all the boarding schools of France, satisfying the excellent anxious mothers that their sons can neither hurt themselves nor do wrong.

But, says our witness—

'it was an entire failure. This system of constant supervision was deadening, stupefying. The eye ever resting on us was oppressive to the last degree. You will not be surprised to learn that it induced a morbid habit of mind; we were oppressed by a morbid and unhealthy longing to *get out of sight*.'—P. 28.

Five boys dug a burrow under a rabbit-hutch for the mere purpose of feeling themselves unseen, and Mr. Hawtrey himself used to spend his time in a dry ditch, modelling clay, merely because he was there sheltered from the watchfulness, which, though incessant, was merely mechanical, and included neither companionship nor sympathy. The studies were

watched, not assisted ; the sports guarded, not shared ; nor was there any attempt to comfort or help in sorrow. The repression of possible misbehaviour was the whole moral training, except what might be derived from sermons, from the preparation for the first Communion, and from the confessor—both these last being voluntary and standing quite apart from the machinery of the school, as we are now often told the religion of our children ought to do. Let us take the result from *French Home Life*:—

‘The boys are girlish ; at least no other adjective expresses so correctly their peculiar disposition. The word is not quite true, however, for the boys have defects which the girls have not. The latter are frank and straightforward ; the former are not only feminine, they are something more and something worse. One word has been found sufficient in our language to express it. We must perforce say “sneak ;” and here is the great distinction between boys and girls which was alluded to at the commencement of this chapter. . . . The boys are little-minded, pettifogging, and positively cowardly as we understand cowardice in England. . . . Want of religious faith, of political conviction, of resolute will, of devotion to a cause, will continue to mournfully distinguish the population of France so long as the boys continue to be sneaks. Many of them, however, are agreeable enough to chatter with. They generally have good manners (they beat us there) ; they are almost always tender-hearted and loving ; they are even tolerably obedient ; and, judging solely from the outside, it might be imagined that they promise well. They are devoted sons and faithful brothers ; they work hard at books ; while they are little they say their prayers ; but there is no stuff in them. Discipline makes them brave if they should become soldiers ; tradition does the same for the better born amongst them ; but it is wonderful that such boys should have any latent courage at all, for their whole early teaching seems to us invented on purpose to drive it out. They are forbidden to fight, and scarcely ever get beyond scratching.’—*French Home Life*, p. 72.

In truth, the French notion of training seems to be nothing but constant espionage, which is tenderly affectionate in the family ; religious, and therefore loving, in the convent and the seminary ; mechanical and hard in the *lycée* ; and petty and hateful beyond measure in the ordinary *pension* for girls, to which our mania for Parisian pronunciation makes English governesses resort.

The upshot of it is that the ordinary Frenchman has intensified the natural failings of his race. He views religion as the grace and protection of woman, the *spécialité* of priests, whom he hardly views as men ; he is a devoted son, a kind brother ; but he has no notion of a strong restraining spirit of

piety exalting morality. Religion has come to him as something apart from either culture or self-government, and is connected with such a quantity of 'pious opinions' and commandments of men taught as doctrines that his growing intellect has rejected it altogether. More or less of dissipation involves his youth until he is induced to *se ranger*, when he becomes in general as loving a husband and father as he has been a son, although his choice has in general been simply a matter of interest and family arrangement, and his wife would have regarded a preference for him on her part before marriage as an impropriety. Home is his religion, and it is passionately loved; but there his principles and affections begin and end. The religion that has disconnected piety and material truth cannot hold its men, and he views it only as the sentiment and the police of females, lives without it, and if he dies with its rites does so more in concession to his wife's tears than from any conviction of its truth.

The national faults that have thus grown up do not seem to be the corrupt morals which the Court of the last century and the novels of all times have led us to associate with the French, so much as an utter lack of manliness, steadfastness, and appreciation of truth. A brilliant falsehood is vastly preferable to a sober truth in their eyes. Therefore they believe in nothing save that France is invincible and that all her battles are victories. And thus they have frittered away the substance of that national character which has produced the noblest and most attractive among the children of the West—S. Bernard, Louis IX., Vincent de Paul, Fénelon, Montalembert—and which still produces persons of a peculiar sweet saintliness of which we know not till they pass from earth and take their place as stars in the firmament of the Church for ever.

Where such grow up it is under Catholic training. But it is as if it had been said to France, 'Half of thy heart we consecrate,' and while Eugénie de Guérin grows up a gentle, resolute saint, her brother Maurice becomes a wretched, sickly sceptic, pining for the faith of which he has been robbed.

Religion for woman, culture for man, says France. We see the result—admirable women in all classes, unfailing in grace and good manners, though lacking the power of thought and influence which deeper studies might have given, and did give in the early seventeenth century; and men for the most part stunted and one-sided, and strangely deficient in manly qualities. They may all be studied in the admirable typical portraits drawn by Lord Lytton in his *Parisians*, and certainly

the siege of Paris has shown that French culture too often fails in producing manliness.

We turn back once more to the results of culture on the great nation which is at present the successful rival of France. We will begin with the religious status of Prussia. Curiously enough, that country, after owing its greatness to a Julian, came, after an interval, under a Constantius, who, with a more absolute despotism than even that of the Augustus, succeeded in crushing up together, rather than blending, the Lutherans and Calvinists of his dominions, and in the process squeezed out of them both whatever small remnants of spirit and zeal were left. Since that fusion, which some among us regard as an example, nothing has remained but the driest, most tasteless residuum, for which no one cares. The present Emperor, one of the few men who cherish and avow faith and devotion, was derided throughout his dominions for professing, like the benighted princes of the Middle Ages, to reign 'by the grace of God.' When he strove to revive religion in his dominions he found it a dead letter.

'Orthodoxy (what was orthodoxy?) was no longer required in a clergyman; but the new programme prescribed that piety must be petted, parsons encouraged, and the public invited to raise a louder voice in the affairs of religion. Congresses were called, synods were summoned, but all to no effect.'—*German Home Life*, p. 304.

There was utter indifference; 'the heart of Prussia was pagan to the core.' Theological students fall off, *though* orthodoxy be no requisite. In 1831 the two Prussian universities reckoned 2,203 divinity students. In 1873 there were but 740. One-third of those who had gone up intending to study theology gave it up before the time for ordination, and hardly any of the educated burgher class, who used to furnish the clergy, now think of entering the pastorate. There are not enough to be found even of those who would gain social rank as *Pfarren*, and many parsonages stand vacant in the country from absolute lack of clergy. The stipends have remained stationary in the general depreciation of the value of money; no one cares enough about the matter to enlarge them, and there are no prizes, nor is there influence enough to tempt an earnest man to assume the care of souls without fee. All the pastor has to do is to farm, to pass candidates for confirmation, to read the inoffensive expurgated liturgy of the late reunion, and to preach a colourless sermon on Sunday; and when the *Herrschaft* happens to be at the family seat, he is summoned to take a hand at cards on the Sunday

evening, not even enjoying the consideration of his brother at the manse in Scotland.

In towns, there is still generally some able and eloquent man whose church is frequented by the ladies at whom their neighbours sneer as Pietists. But not even these meet on an equality. No one thinks of finding in him a comforter, adviser, or guide *ex officio*; he is the associate of the shopkeepers from whom he has sprung and nothing more.

Nothing amazes Germans so much in our domestic novels as the status of the clergy and their families, but they take this, as well as our church-going habits, as an outcome of that insular enthusiasm at which they smile. And it is not only the men to whom these observations apply. The ladies can vie with their husbands in regarding religion as a contemptible mummary. We extract a terrible passage:—

‘It is true that in Northern Germany every sort of graceful legend and saga has been invented to clothe the Child Christ and render Him attractive in infant eyes. And what is the outcome of all these fanciful fables? Simply that they sow the seeds of unbelief in the little mind, which later on finds, to its dismay, that the religion of childhood can never be the religion of riper years. All the fanciful fictions and wild sweet myths, which made the child worship with the Magi and tremble at the manger, he finds to be but so many foolish fables invented to cheat his innocence. He has no time to sift the wheat from the chaff; the whole Christian faith is but a field of tares to him, across which his path no longer lies. Heaven has been brought down to the child, the child has not been drawn up to heaven, and as a being drawing thoughtful breath, he turns away disgusted from these sickly human inventions to reach, if it may be through hail and storm, a purer air. “What!” cried our hostess at a coffee party, “what! is anyone hypocritical enough *heut zu Tage* to say he or she believes the Bible or the Testament to be different from any other book?”

‘Indignant disclaimers of such base superstition re-echoed on all sides.’—*German Home Life*, p. 281.

The ladies do not, for the most part, busy themselves in studying the speculative opinions of their lords. They are much more absorbed in their *Wirthschaft* than in controversy, and content themselves with knowing that they need not trouble themselves about what their husbands say is all nonsense, and is only believed by the stupid and unenlightened. So their faith fails as soon as they have ceased to watch for the *Christkind* coming down the chimney to put their gifts on the Christmas tree. His cradle songs have become about as sacred to them as the *Nibelung*, and the tree

revives the story of the ash Yggdrasil, thus drawing all mankind together by sweet common sentiments free from dogma.

To this point of intellectual culture has the maiden advanced when she has finished her education and been confirmed, which is analogous to 'coming out.' She has learnt her languages, her music, drawing, and other studies more scientifically and thoroughly than most English girls, far more so than the generality of French ones; but the force of public opinion is in favour of affecting to be the uninstructed, soft, interesting creature who was the fashion in England at the beginning of the century. Any pursuit of intellectual subjects is denounced as blue, strong-minded, or the like, and when the women of a family do read, they keep their books out of sight, and have no notion of making them part of the attractions of the drawing-room. The energetic spirit of self-improvement, and the longing for usefulness, which is part of an average English girl's nature, is unknown to the generality. Charity has gone with faith and hope. Institutions founded by English-born princesses are barely kept alive by subscriptions out of deference to the Court. The exceptional women in whom the struggling embers of Christianity awake yearnings for the care of the poor find openings as deaconesses, and in a few of the towns ladies visit and inspect the schools; but whereas in England half the girls one meets in society are cottage visitors, district visitors, Sunday school teachers, members of working parties, managers of church music, parish workers of some sort or other, the German *Fräulein* is merely ornamental in the afternoon.

The avowed object of culture is, we suppose, to produce the most perfectly effective and refined beings of their kind possible—men and women brave and strong, yet large-minded, pure, gentle, courteous, and appreciative of beauty in literature and art, and carrying this appreciation out in every word and deed of public or domestic life. That German men are strong and scholarly, and German women domestic, no one has ever doubted; but what has the present form of culture done for their civilisation and refinement? It may be a national custom that German gentlemen sit still to be waited upon by the ladies, and a chivalrous Englishman, who cannot bear to see them carrying his coffee cup and cake, is simply supposed to be dreadfully restless, and unable to wait for his turn to be helped. But it does not seem to us to be so much refinement as a remnant of barbarism.

Again, it may be more refined to 'call a spade a spade,' if you have to mention it, or anything else less fit for ears

polite. But true refinement certainly shows itself in never mentioning such things without necessity, and, if we may trust our author, such reticence is not to be found among the ladies with whom she associated. Indeed, as a rule there is all over the Continent much more simplicity and directness of speech than we are accustomed to think of as delicate. But coarseness does not lie so much in calling things by their right names as in mentioning them gratuitously. In the matter of interjections neither German nor Catholic French women have what we call any regard for the Third Commandment. In the case of the latter we can only suppose that their confessors and catechisms cannot consider such exclamations sinful. At any rate, the mere law of refinement would surely condemn exaggerated and inappropriate exclamations, and to English ears the calls upon sacred Names on all trivial occasions are simply dreadful.

According to our authoress, scandal reigns pre-eminent in the coffee-drinkings of the high-born matrons. We will not take the statement as universal. There are, no doubt, circles where there is more of intellectual conversation ; but when we consider the pains that are spent on the education of these ladies, surely the general tone of conversation ought to be on something beyond the household, its servants, its births, deaths, and marriages. A lady who translates a poem, or carries on the work of self-improvement, should not be put down as not in good taste in model cultivated society.

And as to sense of beauty, the reception room is bare of all ornament save a cluster of family photographs on the walls, a glass cabinet with a few bits of china and such curiosities in it, and the wool-work on chairs and sofas, arranged without an eye for colour. Upstairs, refinement takes the, to us, curious form of thinking a bath an improper article of furniture, and reducing the size of the washhand-basin. The room is as bare as a servant's bedroom, and the German matron replies to the Englishwoman who has been used to make her nest graceful and pretty, ' You are unpractical. Who would there be to see it? No one but my husband, who would scold me well and never cease grumbling at my extravagance. Dark window-blinds, well-covered cotton curtains, a strip of bedside carpet, and a few chairs are enough for anyone's wants.' Art is all very well for a picture gallery or a theatre, but in German opinion it is merely unpractical at home. There is no attempt to bring beauty and grace into the home side of life. Perhaps we are, especially at this moment, inclined to indulge too much in the quest of

the beautiful, and the average Englishwoman may overload her table and crowd her rooms with what is not strictly in good taste. If German bareness sprang from the desire to be strictly neat and clean with little expense, we should not complain; but, alas! cleanliness is not a virtue in vogue. The terrible scourge of typhoid fever testifies to the general indifference to such matters as one would have thought it the first duty of physical science to inculcate.

No baby's head is ever washed for six months, and the English fashion of using cold water is credited with the blindness of the King of Hanover. The ordinary morning *déshabillé* in which the family stand, snatching their morning meal round the bare table, is the dressing-gown and loose cap. Our authoress, appearing in the usual trim quiet morning dress of an English gentlewoman, was laughed at, and asked whether she expected the Grand Duke. The afternoon visiting dress and the evening garb are splendid in comparison with an English lady's, but—if we may take the verdict of France, England, and America—alike conspicuous for servile and tasteless adhesion to French fashions and ill-assorted colours. Trifles, perhaps, but symptoms certainly, and symptoms are estimated by what they show, not by their size.

At the beginning of *German Home Life* there is a letter from a German, owning that its chapters (which had appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*) thoroughly photograph German society, but excusing much on the ground of the national poverty. We allow that the bareness of the rooms and much besides are thus accounted for, but we cannot allow the plea for coarseness of manners and want of delicacy. 'Plain living and high thinking' should go together, and we have only to turn to American literature to see how compatible they are. For if there are colossal fortunes and boundless luxury across the Atlantic, there are also thousands of families where the ladies are the only housewives and the means are small, yet where the treatment of woman is chivalrously, almost spoilingly, tender and considerate, language is chastened into purity (we do not mean of accent), and taste and refinement are cultivated. No, we cannot accept the German's plea for the national boorishness.

Nay, there are other matters on which we hardly dare touch, above all on the authority of a book that paints so much *en noir*, but we fear that it is a patent fact that the 'holy estate of matrimony' has lost much of its holiness in the eyes of this people. The toleration of lax morals in servants, to which we have alluded, is the token of a strange

indifference to purity. Marriages are reckoned at 39 per cent. in England, but at only 19 per cent. in Germany. The restrictions and difficulties in all ranks are as numerous 'as though it were a state of vice instead of a state of virtue,' and the long delay too often leads to the man, at least, living in 'a state of vice.' And even marriage itself is but a feeble tie. Mutual dislike, family quarrels, and various trivial pretexts are sufficient for a divorce. Astonished English may hear a gentleman at the *table d'hôte* say, speaking of the portly countess opposite to him, 'When I had the honour of being the husband of madame;' nay, the writer of *German Home Life* declares as a fact that in her own family there was an old general, a Waterloo man, who played whist every evening with three divorced wives. Again, she tells of two brothers marrying two sisters, quarrelling, divorcing, exchanging partners, and finally, on the death of one husband and one wife, the two survivors being remarried. The famous 'Double Arrangement' in the *Anti-Jacobin* is here surpassed.

All this is not the growth of one generation. Immorality has been the bane of Germany throughout its history. The little courts of the last century were hotbeds of vice, and the memoirs of German princesses such as Elizabeth Charlotte of the Rhine and Frederica of Prussia are too plain-spoken to be readable in the present day. These things may not be new; but what is the mission of culture, if not to change them?

There used to be a belief among English parents that the *Sorrows of Werther* were all that was to be read in German, except what were freely classed as infidel books, therefore that it was as well not to let their daughters read that language. Then came a revulsion. There were Schiller, and Schlegel, and Fouqué, to say nothing of the great Goethe. The world smiles at its past weakness; and every young lady in the land puzzles at her *Lesebuch*; everyone who can string a rhyme attempts a translation of the *Erlkönig*. Not very unfortunately, a good many still remain floundering in the compound sentences when they are released from the school-room, and never do acquire German enough to read for amusement.

For though of course there is much that is innocent and excellent reading, yet, besides those works of Hegel, Strauss, &c., which, as everyone knows, well deserve the old stigma, the nation has reflected its corruption in much of its lighter literature. Take, for instance, Friedrich Spielhagen's *Breaking of the Storm*, translated, we are sorry to say, by two English

ladies. It is a picture of terrible hollowness and corruption of society, both among nobles and burghers, and of hatred of classes one against the other, while the plot is founded on a fraudulent speculation conducted with more than common treachery. The two most honest men in the book are—sad omen—of the elder generation, an old general and a master builder ; but the sons of both are alike worthless men, whose vices are treated almost as matters of course. The builder, Ernst Schmidt, regards the nobility with so bitter and unrelenting a hatred that even when General von Werben, on the discovery of how far matters have gone between Lieutenant Ottomar von Werben and Ferdinanda Schmidt, would have waived all objections and consented to the marriage, he refuses all consent. The real heroine, Elsa von Werben, and old Schmidt's nephew, an able and upright merchant captain, do indeed conduct themselves fairly well, and marry prosperously ; but the story of poor Ferdinanda's love and death is that of a heathen woman, and throughout love is so entirely the lord of most, if not all, the women of the story, that Christianity seems to be never looked on as a restraining power. Even the good old general feels no shame or doubt in sending his innocent daughter Elsa to associate with his sister, who had disgraced her marriage and was still living in the power of her former lover, an Italian adventurer, whom she could not marry on pain of forfeiture of her estates. He is the prime villain of the book, or rather the demon moving all the minor villains, of whom Ottomar is the chief victim. Having been drawn into the web of fraud, so as to taint his honour as an officer, the miserable young man is tried by court martial and dismissed the service. This is viewed as tantamount to being condemned to die by his own hand. His father himself loads the pistol with which he is to end his life, and sends it to him ; but Ottomar's escape, and with Ferdinanda, is managed by a certain easy-going and disreputable Bertalda, only, however, to be overtaken by a maniac lover of the girl's. She perishes in saving Ottomar from his dagger, and Ottomar is soon after killed in the great tempest which gives name to the book and does a great deal of execution in the third volume. The tissue of wickedness and horror connected with this madman, and the unprincipled conduct of almost every person concerned in the story, can hardly be described. Even the almost angelic blind girl, Cilli, promotes and counsels the flight of Ferdinanda after this fashion :—

‘And may God be with you,’ said Cilli, laying her hands on

Ferdinanda's head, who had thrown herself on her knees before her—'with you both. He only asks for love, and yet again for love, the love that beareth all things. You can now, you can both now prove that your love is true love.'

This is to an unmarried girl fleeing with a dishonoured, disgraced, and guilty soldier. It was to save his life indeed; but is not this the dangerous confusion of right and pseudo-generosity that is most to be deprecated, the blasphemous application of what is said of heavenly love to that which is 'earthly, sensual, devilish,' the very fault of the worst French novels?

And we fear that this is not an exceptional book, and that it does to a certain degree represent the tone of feeling and morality where the Christian faith has become little more than a vague sentiment, and *der liebe Gott* is little more than the God of nature, and is chiefly known in expletives. Alas! we fear that Prussia was but too truly, though unconsciously, portrayed in the romance of *Sintram*, the offspring of her best days, when fresh from the patriotic struggle with the First Napoleon.

Is not the Fatherland only too like the youth, a Christian in name indeed, but with his gentle mother, the Church, driven away to pray for him in her cloisters while he is delivered up to the might of his strong hereditary passions for ambition, violence, and dominion, while the demons of lust and gain haunt his dreams? May the better hope, the truer spirit of faith and love, return! May he take hold at last of better things, not as the demon prompts, but in patience and penitence!

For if *Sintram* had followed the bidding of the Little Master and had snatched at Gabrielle, she must either have perished or have lost all that rendered her truly lovely and precious. Is it not even thus with things fair and good, and all that culture gives? If it do not come through, and for the sake of, God, it is nothing worth, and fails in the using.

For verily we have not written these things in censoriousness of our neighbour nations, but in fear and trembling for ourselves. The experiment of culture alone is urged on us, and it would be tried all over the country were it not that we have a strong tenacity of purpose and habit of acting and managing for ourselves, and of paying dearly in order to do so, such as cannot easily be forced into a centralisation.

Before submitting, then, it is well to look forth and see the effects on our neighbours. Culture has been tried to the utmost on both sexes in Germany, and on the men in France. What has been the effect? In France, apparently, the strength of

manhood has been sapped, while in Germany, though there is no lack of strength and vigour, the intellectual training of the boy and girl has left untouched the rude coarseness and narrowness of the men and women.

It is the old story of knowledge apart from wisdom. It is wisdom that purifies and refines, and to dis sever it from instruction is a fatal thing. Where the teacher of the intellect is not in his degree the guide to faith, devotion, and morality, the three mysterious threads of the human being of the pupil are pulled away, and unequally, and there will be a jar of body, soul, or spirit. Consider this, you who argue that a non-religious education is not an irreligious education, and that while the intellect is fed at school religion may be a dessert offered by a different hand, while conduct is an extraneous matter.

ART. VII.—A BROAD CHURCH BISHOP.

Memoir of Alexander Ewing, D.C.L., Bishop of Argyll and the Isles. By ALEXANDER J. ROSS, B.D., Vicar of S. Philip's, Stepney. 1877. (Daldy, Isbister, & Co., 56 Ludgate Hill.)

IF there be a country in the world in which Episcopacy is on its trial, that country is Scotland. It is there exposed to the rivalry of a form of the Christian religion which retains the fundamental doctrines of the faith; it ministers to flocks composed of elements identical with those of the various Bodies, Free and Established, around them; and it is inevitable that comparisons should be constantly drawn between the two polities—the Episcopal and Presbyterian. The spiritual results of each will be carefully scanned. The Scottish Church, like all branches of the ancient Catholic organisation, makes a high claim for itself; and the inquiry will certainly be made how far that claim is justified by facts, how far the intensity of spiritual force generated within her pale, how far the spiritual standard reached by her sons and daughters, recommends the claim made in her traditions and formularies to an organisation of Apostolic authority, to a ministerial commission transmitted through successive generations, direct from the Founder of Christianity Himself.

Especially will such a severity of criticism follow the persons and the actions of the Bishops themselves. Upon the Catholic theory to which we have been referring, they are the foremost men of their communion—the *élite* of its entire ministry. It is true that the ‘gift which is in them’ does not include personal infallibility, and has never been even supposed necessarily to guarantee learning, or ability, or even holiness of life. It has a strictly defined purpose, viz., to continue the ministry of the Church and to guarantee the grace of the Sacraments. Whatever is not precisely involved in these objects cannot be supposed to be supplied by that which is confined to the attainment of them alone. But, nevertheless, the higher be the conception which is formed of the Episcopate, the more exacting surely will be the tests applied to the men who are to bear and to exercise it; and any Church will be acting with criminal levity and disrespect of the gift committed to its guardianship, which selects, or suffers to be selected, any other than its foremost sons to fill an office so exacting and so august.

The Episcopate may be characterised in fact as *the most highly vitalised* portion of the Church’s organisation, and the motive power of the whole. If even a part of its spiritual force be neutralised by its being committed to unfit men,—men, that is to say, whose natural powers or whose acquired habitudes do not work in harmony with the requirements of their office—men whose want of learning causes it to be lightly esteemed, whose secularity of temper finds a *spiritual* office uncongenial, or, worse than all, whose want of faith paralyses spiritual energy, and saps with secret decay all the life of the dioceses entrusted to them—then the Church whose chief pastors are such as these will find herself, just in the proportion in which their influence and example extend, unfruitful within her own borders and unable, perhaps even undesirous, to extend those borders; in short, she will have failed in her mission. Of so great importance to a Church are pious and faithful bishops. And in following this train of thought, which the perusal of the memoir before us has aroused in our minds, we by no means intend to prejudge the career of the bishop who is its subject, but merely seek to indicate some of the conditions under which it was run.

Alexander Ewing, first Bishop after its revival of the ancient diocese of Argyll and the Isles, was born in 1814 at Aberdeen, and was therefore a Highlander *pur sang*. His childhood was not eventful until the loss, when he was but in his fourteenth year, of his father by death, which was followed

in the next year by that of his mother, and speedily afterwards of an only sister, thus leaving him and his brother alone in the world. We need not linger over his youth and early manhood. It was a scrambling kind of education that he got; first at one place, then at another; and for a considerable time not even the pretence of learning was kept up. The two youths received occasional attention from their guardians; but in a general way they seem to have lived where they pleased and done what seemed good in their own eyes. 'It surprised their neighbours somewhat,' says their biographer, 'that two youths, without a tutor or other senior, should be left so entirely without any visible control over their actions.' Well it might!

One consequence of this unrestrained freedom of action was that the elder brother became engaged to be married before he was twenty; but on the whole it answered better than could have been expected. The younger brother, John, was, indeed, afterwards brought under more systematic training at Oxford, was ordained in the Church of England, and is at the present time, we believe, rector of Westmill, in Herts. But with a brief attendance at some of the classes of the University of Edinburgh in 1834-5, Alexander Ewing's *status pupillaris* came to an end. The deficiency in theological learning, as in power of exact thought, which the inadequacy of his early studies left in his mind, cannot be said to have been ever quite filled up. The miscellaneous gatherings of his subsequent reading, which, however, seems to have lain but little along the severer and more arduous paths of literature, and the powers of a mind rather elegant than massive, enabled him to reach a respectable proficiency in one or two directions. But there was always an amateur air about most of his work. He never at any period of his life had any pretension to have gone below the surface of systematic theology; and the consequence was that he was always more or less at the mercy of theological quacks. What he might have been and have done, had his unquestionable powers been educated and bent to work in youth by serious and continuous training, and his memory stored with the elements of the higher knowledge, it is hard to say. For the present we resume the thread of the narrative before us.

He married in 1835, three months after he was twenty-one, and tried to settle down to the tranquil enjoyment of that 'love in a cottage' which so many have dreamed of in their callow youth. He does not seem to have felt the slightest need or desire for a *career* at this time. We hear nothing

of any whispers of ambition, or any stirrings of latent powers in his nature. 'Here I should like to live all my life,' he says, 'with Katherine and John, and my books and the river.' But his Eden-dream was soon shattered by an attack of illness which came near being a fatal one; and a long tedious convalescence, followed by a change of residence, opened new horizons in his life; and it is at this point that we hear first of an inclination towards the sacred ministry. He was attracted at first towards the English Church. 'He had discovered,' we are told, 'and been attracted by the comprehensiveness of many of her great affirmations on the subject of the redemption of humanity; while life in an English country parsonage seemed to him the ideal of quiet beauty and secluded usefulness.' But we are not surprised to find that he shrank from the labour and excitement of a career at Oxford or Cambridge, although encouraged by the Bishop of Winchester, to whom he applied on the subject, and ultimately he *drifted* by the force of events towards the ministry of the Scottish Episcopal Church. His biographer relates the circumstances which precipitated his decision at last, in a passage whose curiously infelicitous wording is characteristic, and will meet us often:—

'He was led by a special combination of circumstances seriously to entertain the thought of applying for orders in the Scottish Episcopal Church. For there were those, and they too Episcopalians, who seemed to have been of opinion that Mr. Ewing was possessed of ministerial gifts which no ordination by human hands could insure, and on the 9th of March, 1837, a formal proposal was made to him to undertake the charge of the Episcopalian congregation at Elgin. This proposal he declined, chiefly on the ground of his own inexperience; but that it should have been addressed to him while still a layman, and only in his twenty-third year, by his own immediate neighbours, must be regarded as the highest testimony that could be borne by them to his religious character and intellectual endowment; and there is no doubt that this entirely unexpected manifestation of feeling on the part of the Elgin congregation first suggested the question whether there might not be special work for him to do in the Scottish Episcopal Church.'—(p. 35.)

Still more odd are the circumstances that followed. This proposal from Elgin seems to have dropped; Mr. Ewing determined to spend one or two years abroad; and, *therefore*, 'formed the resolution of applying for admission to the ministry of the Scottish Episcopal Church.' We confess that after all the biographer's elaborate explanations, we are unable to understand the *therefore*; and we refrain from ascribing hypothetical reasons. The material fact is that he was

ordained deacon by Bishop Low, of Ross and Moray, in 1838, without cure or title as far as appears, and left Scotland a fortnight afterwards to spend some years upon the Continent. On this we must needs observe with his biographer that the determination to give some years to foreign travel 'might have been reason enough for deferring to a future day' this step of ordination. Probably his course was regarded as nothing unusual in the Scottish Church then. We have no reason to suppose that the same Church, in the earnestness of her great revival, would tolerate anything like this now. But in that day of small things in the sister Church it was then more unusual than happily it is now to find men of good family and competent fortune offering themselves for ordination; and they were eagerly accepted when they did come. Still, it is manifest that to treat the ministry as a mere ornament and subordinate adjunct of a country gentleman's life was not to give it its due; and there must have been a certain sense of unreality in a solemn ordination to the ministry which was followed by no corresponding action, and, for the moment at least, was treated as if it were of no account.

He remained abroad at Pisa, Lucca, and Rome about three years, living the usual *dilettante* life of the English abroad, but growing strong physically, and growing also in mental breadth and stature. His correspondence during this time is much occupied with Italian Art, as was not unnatural.

In 1841 he returned to Scotland, was ordained a priest by the Bishop of Aberdeen, and undertook clerical *duty* for the first time in the charge of a congregation at Forres. During some four years of quiet work in that charge, Mr. Ewing distinguished himself, as his biographer seems to think, by the part which he took in the controversies of the day. It may, at all events, be conceded that he had taken his line and declared it decidedly enough on two important questions—the disabilities of the Scottish Episcopal Church and the Scottish Communion Office, to which he thus early declared his hostility. He was now thirty-three years of age; and we are next to find him elected and consecrated Bishop of Argyll and the Isles. The circumstances under which he became bishop were somewhat peculiar.

The office of bishop in the Scottish Church is an onerous one; and apostolic as in other respects, so in this, that it is not burdened with the goods of this world. Bishop Eden, speaking in 1861 at London House on behalf of the Argyll Fund, makes the remarkable statement that 'the Scotch bishops for some years have been living on incomes of £127

a year, and that without any house or residence.' We believe that matters are somewhat better now; but at that time it was evidently impossible for any but rich men to accept the Episcopal office in Scotland. Mr. Ewing was a man of competent means, and did not need to depend upon the small endowment of the see (which never amounted to more than £270 a year); on the contrary, he spent his own private fortune liberally upon it in his early years as bishop. But the fact of the general poverty of the see tended most undesirably to limit the choice of possible men for bishops; and to make the selection turn, not so much upon learning or mental power or personal fitnesses of any kind as on the possession of pecuniary means to enable the bishop-elect to live independently of official emoluments, and to uphold in temporal matters the dignity of the Episcopate. We are not saying that the other necessary pre-requisites were in practice neglected, but that they could not be made the *sole criteria*; and this was bad. Bishop Ewing himself draws the inference in a letter to the Hon. G. Boyle in 1855:—

'In the Episcopal Church, according to the theory of its constitution, more than in any other system, it must always hold good that, "if the head suffers, all the members suffer with it;" and I am of opinion that, until something is done to enable us to hold our episcopates without constant pecuniary anxiety, no real good will be effected by our Church. It is true that we *can* get down wealthy men from England; but this mode of filling the Scottish bench does not develop the resources of the native Church, does not foster the real growth of the native plant. I do think that, if our bishops and deans could be provided with such means for the efficient discharge of their offices as are supplied even to the Colonial bishops and deans, we should find the road opening to a better state of things in Scotland.'—(p. 244.)

Without undervaluing the many estimable qualities that afterwards showed themselves in him, it was probably more because he was a wealthy man than for any other reason that Mr. Ewing, a comparatively young man, and quite undistinguished in every way, was selected by Bishop Low to administer the refounded diocese for which he himself had, with marked and splendid generosity, provided a modest endowment of £7,000. He was confirmed as bishop after some delay and demur, consecrated at Aberdeen in 1847, and seems to have thrown himself at once with great energy and devotion into the work of his diocese. 'He was at once initiated,' says his biographer, 'into that locomotive amphibious kind of life which must be led by every Bishop of Argyll

and the Isles who simply does his duty.' He had made the circuit of his scattered diocese, we are told, before a month was over ; and then at once proceeded to hold a Synod of the revived diocese at Oban. His first charge, delivered at this Synod, appears to us a very suitable one. It shows, indeed, already the signs of that disposition in the bishop's mind habitually to dissociate the sign and the thing signified—the outward and the inward—in the ordinances of the Church, and to depreciate the former, of which we shall see the workings later on. For the present the material interests of his diocese required his consideration ; and no man could have set himself to supply these with more judgment and goodwill, nor, we may add, with more munificent liberality, than did Bishop Ewing. The scattered communities of Episcopalians in the Highlands and Islands were sadly in want of his pastoral care. 'There were wanted additional pastors, schoolmasters, schoolmistresses, churches, parsonages, school-houses, Gaelic Bibles and Prayer-books.' The Synod service was held, it seems, 'within the old abbey [at Iona], and was the subject of a sketch in the *Illustrated Times* of the day ;' but 'so great was the sectarian bitterness displayed by certain Scotch papers, that the Duke of Argyll was moved to write to the bishop a remonstrance on the invasion of his private property,' a want of courtesy which seems scarcely credible to those who have no personal acquaintance with the rancour which theological differences can occasion in Scotland. The bishop was not without other reminders that his very existence was an offence to some of his Presbyterian neighbours, who seem hardly to have realised that the Church in Scotland had obtained even mere toleration :—

'In journeying to Iona, Bishop Ewing made the acquaintance of the Rev. H. B. Wilson, of "Essays and Reviews" celebrity ; and on the return voyage of the steamer the latter, forgetful or unaware at the time of the relation of the Episcopal Church of Scotland to the great majority of the population, stood up and proposed, at the crowded dinner-table, a toast that he was sure would be specially acceptable to all present, "The health of the Bishop of Argyll and the Isles." The English tourists on board were, of course, ready to drink the Bishop's health ; but the words of Mr. Wilson called forth from the Scottish passengers expressions and looks of utter astonishment, which for a brief space threatened to convert the dining-saloon into an arena of ecclesiastical controversy ; but in the end the good humour and good breeding of the majority of the voyagers prevailed.'—(p. 141.)

Besides this gentleman, whose zeal, it may perhaps be thought, outran, though very innocently and pardonably, his

discretion, we find other well-known names with whom the bishop delighted to surround himself. Dean Stanley was an *habitué* of the new church at Oban; with Mr. Jowett the bishop maintained a close friendship; and his biographer relates how Dr. Sumner, the Bishop of Winchester, who had 'come down to Oban rather disposed to regard the Church in Scotland as a very questionable daughter of the Reformation, with Laudian proclivities,' went back with 'an entirely new feeling of interest in the future of Episcopacy in Scotland,' and ever thereafter maintained 'a life-long intimacy' with the 'Highland chieftain,' who was then the Bishop of Argyll. This we presume to be one of the examples of the biographer's historical imagination; for, let a man have the dialectical skill and the gift of tongue of a Crichton, he could hardly produce such wondrous effects in a ten minutes' conversation.

It now, however, became abundantly clear that Bishop Ewing meant to take, or took without meaning, a line in the Scottish Church strictly analogous to that taken among ourselves by Dr. Stanley or Mr. Jowett. But, as the Poet Laureate says of another matter, he was

'Not like in like, but like in difference.'

He was broad enough in all conscience; but, as became his nationality, he was *broad with unction*. Other differences occur to us. His liberal views on religion were the outcome of far less culture and scholarship than those of his southern congeners, and, as a consequence, they were far less original. He took them up from time to time from one or another among more powerful thinkers; as, for example, Mr. Erskine, of Linlathen, of whom the bishop wrote in his impulsive way, and with a momentary forgetfulness of his usual good taste, 'he is the man of God, indeed, and with reverence I may say of him that he takes away the sins of the world from all who have the happiness of knowing him,' and to whom he wrote still more strongly:—

'Now as to your two letters, I cannot say what help and comfort they have been to me and others; for you know, my dear sir, I am but a medium for communicating your spirit rappings and sensations, a bank for issuing your notes. Stanley, Jowett, the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Oxford (with the last of whom, *en route* here, I stayed three days last week), Miss Winkworth (who is here), and many others have read, and were all more or less benefited by them.

'It is a most charming place. I wish you were able to come, or I to go and see you. I owe you more, dear sir, than to any man alive: *I owe you belief in God—in God as my and our true friend and Father.*'

Mr. Campbell of Row, Mr. F. H. Myers, the author of *Catholic Thoughts*, may also be mentioned as sources from which he derived *what was peculiar* (which, after all, was not much) in his theology. So far as it was original, it appears to us to be the common-sense method of a mind rather receptive and intelligent than powerful, and for the most part ignorant of theology in the scientific sense. He did not, we fully believe, know what treasures of divine thought there are in the 'queen of sciences,' and would have been far more respectful to it had he known. He was so *good* a man, and so sincerely modest and deferential (as we have just seen) to those few men in whom he recognised the leaders of his mind, that it was a pity he allowed himself to adopt so violent a tone of partisanship, to use terms so disparaging and undignified in controversy as for example at the time of the Lambeth Conference; terms which stand now as an exception to his usual amiability and tolerance of disposition. His charge before his Diocesan Synod in 1860, also, belongs to this class of little-worthy utterances; indeed, the language which he uses in it about the Catholic view of the Holy Communion,¹ calling it 'an apparatus manipulated by a priestly caste, from contact with which alone eternal life was to be secured' (p. 304), and saying that, 'according to the materialistic conception of the Sacrament, the secret of Hamlet would be mastered by eating a bit of Shakspeare's body' (p. 305), seems to us simply horrible; and, considering the official character of the speaker, and the occasion upon which it was used, we cannot characterise it as it deserves without using strong language ourselves. His complete misunderstanding of the Catholic doctrine is evident enough. And he had a *feminine* kind of way of jumping to conclusions which was also characteristic.

Going back for the present to the point we had reached before our digression, we find the next noticeable point in the bishop's career to be the Gorham decision in 1850 on baptism, and the action taken thereon. It is true that this 'great liberating decision of the Privy Council,' as the present biographer calls it, had no legal authority in the Church of Scotland, as the bishops took care immediately to make known. But the body of the Scottish clergy were laudably anxious that the doctrine of baptismal regeneration should not be compromised. The effect of the decision of the State was to make the question an open one in England, as far as

¹ It was at the time of the Brechin and Cheyne trials for alleged unsound doctrine on this subject.

the Establishment was concerned. The Scottish clergy and most of the bishops were determined that it should not be so among them. A demonstration was immediately organised in support of the protest of Bishop Blomfield; and an agitation arose for a fresh definition of doctrine, which Bishop Ewing did his best to stem. He disliked, as we know, dogmatic 'fetters' each and all. In this case he had the further ground for opposition that any fresh doctrinal decision would 'erect a fresh wall of partition between their own communion and that of the Church of England,' which he held, not without reason, would be a 'fatal blunder.' For there can be no doubt whatever, that, if the Church of *England* has suffered grievously from its isolation, the Church of Scotland has very nearly died from the same cause; and that there is a real necessity that the smaller and the weaker community should seek in all respects, as far as is possible, to share the fortunes of its southern sister; and to recruit with the lifeblood of a larger and richer organisation the energies which unpropitious circumstances, and a poverty far from fully deserved, have sometimes caused to flag. And such a connection is almost as advantageous to England as to Scotland. Any step, therefore, which would have had the effect of hindering this intercommunion in the very smallest degree would have been a mistake; and it seems to us that their projected action would have been a mistake. It was eminently praiseworthy, and was prompted by the purest of motives; but it was a mistake all the same; and it was well, that, whether by Bishop Ewing or somebody else, it should be quietly shelved. Not that Bishop Ewing's plan of action seems to us in all respects admirable. His strategy was a little uncandid; and that he disliked the Aberdeen resolutions, although he gave his adhesion to them, is evident enough. His object, he says, was '*to prevent a general Synod*, which would probably have undertaken to lay down some formula on baptism, which might have been the cause of severing our connection with the Church of England. To avert such a catastrophe, I went further than I had intended, as you will see; but I could not set myself in opposition to the words of our formularies, and the resolutions are almost entirely based upon them.' Nor was there, if we are to take the following letter to his brother, as representing a deliberate view of doctrine, any reason why he should so set himself in opposition:—

'What I objected to in the Declaration was the Declaration itself; for I did not see that we were called upon to take any action whatever in the matter, and I do not think that we are affected by

the Gorham decision. The Catholic Church has always held that some special benefit was attached to the due administration of the rite of baptism ; and, so far, I am not prepared to dissent from the teaching of the Catholic Church, and take part with the Zuinglians.'—(P. 175.)

In short, he was altogether right here. Not so in the matter of the Scottish Communion Office, 'the Dagon of a Scottish office' as he called it. In this case, strong dislike of the doctrine which the Formulary was supposed to teach, combined with his wish to efface all marks of distinction between his own and the English Church, to make him its most bitter and persistent opponent ; and we shall find him in later years making effort after effort to get rid of it.

At the present time his mind was full of another scheme, and one which could hardly have been entertained by any other bishop of the entire Anglican Communion. This was nothing else than to settle himself in Turin as a bishop *unattached*, and supply episcopal ministrations to the non-Catholic Vaudois—or as he puts it in a letter to his brother :—

'I think it not unlikely that a bishop representing the Church of England, and whose mission it would be to form a centre of unity for the descendants of the 'slaughtered saints' among the Vaudois, and for others who are claiming liberty of faith in Sardinia, would be acceptable in Turin. . . . This position for a year or two would suit me delightfully.'—(p. 227.)

Strange as it may seem, this preposterous scheme was a pet project of his, and one which he made great efforts to carry out, going so far as even to make a public appeal for funds. But after endless correspondence, the plan fell through the hands even of Bishop Ewing and his friends. Cooler thinkers pointed out that the *English* population of Turin was at all times small and essentially fluctuating in character, that there was little probability of the Italian Protestants caring for episcopal ministrations, and a *great* probability that the Italian Government would regard such a mission with marked jealousy and disfavour ; if indeed they had not put a *veto* upon it altogether. In short, the thing *would not do* ; this those persons who were in an authoritative position gave Bishop Ewing distinctly to understand, and its abandonment followed of course. It does not seem to have occurred to any one of those concerned, what an enormous and unprovoked breach of Church order and propriety it involved ; for it would not have at all fallen under the

shelter of the principle upon which the Gibraltar bishopric was founded, upon British territory and for British subjects.¹

It was not surprising, considering the views which Dr. Ewing² held, that this should not have occurred to him in the least; and as a matter of personal choice to be made by himself, the scheme had much to recommend it. The climate of Scotland had been too severe for his always feeble and uncertain health. He 'talked with Bishop Trower about going as a missionary bishop to foreign parts' (for which, with his feeble health, he was most unfit), in order to live in a milder climate. Then the pecuniary responsibilities of his diocese (from which he had all this time but 270*l.* a year of income) were too heavy for his means. So he writes to his brother, his constant and confidential correspondent:—

'I am almost afraid of my ability to carry on the work of this Argyll bishopric. The expenses are very heavy, and the continual journeying is as laborious as if I were a bishop in New Zealand. I have not as yet obtained the income arising from the endowment of the see, and I have had to sacrifice no inconsiderable amount of my capital. If this kind of expense goes on, in the event of my being called out of the world, my children would be ill provided for. I have, therefore, been thinking of offering myself as a missionary bishop to our Church. Some years ago a proposal to send out such a missionary from the Scotch Church was mooted, but no definite action was taken in the matter. In fact, the project was reckoned premature. I have no doubt it would receive a more general support now, and might be carried through. I believe the Bishop of London would lend it all his influence, and our Church would give to the mission all she now contributes to the various missionary societies. Probably Australia or a Pacific island would be the spot or sphere chosen.'—(p. 189.)

However, all these various plans came to nothing; and at length he resolved to bear to the end the burden laid upon him in Scotland, and we hear thenceforth no more of projects for removal. But to the end of his life, we are told, so persistent is a fixed idea, he remained of opinion that in the Turin scheme a great opportunity had been missed.

We must pass over, without special notice, the bishop's efforts in furtherance of the Highland Emigration Fund, to relieve the widespread distress among the Highlanders,

¹ 'One of the Oxford authorities, while warning him against "the Waldensian heresy," said, greatly to his surprise, "You are surely far more needed in your own country, to proclaim there the Church's great message of the redemption of all mankind by Christ."—(p. 235.)

² We ought to have mentioned that he had received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford in 1851.

caused by the failure of the potato crop, and go on to give some slight sketch, so far as it is narrated here, of Bishop Ewing's connection with the College at Cumbrae, the munificent foundation of the noble family of Boyle. The Church in Scotland has sometimes been accused of 'lairdism.' But if the 'lairds' were always willing to display a similar liberality to that shown during a long series of years, in the foundation and nurture of this college, the charge would become the highest title to honour of the laity of the Scottish Church; and specifically, the clergy would ere this have a less inadequate provision than the pittance which, in some dioceses, is to this day all they receive. As to Cumbrae, after being originally founded in 1849 by the present Lord Glasgow, then the Hon. G. F. Boyle, for the training of theological students to minister as clergy in the diocese of Argyll and the Isles only, it has gradually extended its scope until it is at the present time one of the two great feeders of a native ministry to the Scottish Church. To the same liberality it owes the imposing pile of collegiate buildings, of which the central portion is a noble cathedral church, occupying the island of the Little Cumbrae, in the Frith of Clyde, which is some three miles long by two broad.

The objects of this foundation were of a pious and Catholic kind, and the language of the statutes recalls those 'Ages of Faith' with whose noble benefactions this institution may of right be classed. Its intention was to further 'the worship and service of Almighty God, by daily prayer and frequent celebration of the Holy Communion.' There was to be a provost and three to six canons, and, besides being a theological college, it was to be a centre for clergy to be habitually engaged in mission work somewhere in the diocese; and the bishop was to be provost. Accordingly this noble gift, with a suitable endowment, was made over by the founder to trustees, representing the diocese of Argyll and the Isles, and solemnly accepted by the Synod which met at Lochgilphead in 1853, when a unanimous and well-deserved resolution of thanks was returned to the donor. The following year the bishop was himself installed as provost; and we find him writing to Lady Glasgow of 'the ceremonies of the installation, the splendour of the evening services, and the solemnity of those of the next day. . . . Our services in church and meetings for various purposes are really doing us all good.'

But these bright anticipations were too soon overclouded. The ritual and service at Cumbrae fell under what was, we

have no doubt, very unmerited suspicion. The bishop began to 'feel a difficulty in being officially connected with an institution which was generally regarded with extreme suspicion as a seminary established for the diffusion of anti-Reformation principles' (as they were then understood, it may be, in Scotland). In 1858, when the Declaration on the Eucharist was causing widespread strife throughout the Scottish Church, we find the bishop observing that it was 'hot at Cumbrae.' In fact, in the 1860 Synod of Argyll and the Isles, Mr. Cheyne's case was brought forward by Mr. Cazenove, Mr. Keigwin, and Mr. Mapleton, the first two being canons of Cumbrae, which thus espoused the condemned Eucharistic doctrine. An English visitor, a clergyman, observes on this:—

'Whether Cumbrae, with the tone of mind prevailing there, is a benefit to your brother's diocese, seems to me a question. Whether Episcopalians there look to their church as a means of sustaining their inner life, or whether they regard their ritual only as the expression of a high-caste religion, seems to me also a question. My complete ignorance of course suggests these questions; and I speak of them only as questions, and not as convictions. Mr. Boyle himself, beyond a doubt, looks to his Church in its best and highest sense.'—(p. 307.)

There was undoubtedly a wide divergence of opinion from the first, and it grew wider as years went on. The bishop was altogether out of harmony, not only with the authorities at Cumbrae, and with the religious and Catholic tone which the founder had with sedulous care impressed upon the place, but with the entire body of clerical opinion throughout the Scottish Church. And so, after holding the Provostship for thirteen years, though his connection with the college was not much more than nominal, it was felt by him too irksome to be borne, and he severed it. We are anticipating somewhat the course of events; but we shall complete our view of this episode in the bishop's career if we insert here the letter, dated 1866, in which the bishop expressed to the founder his resignation of the office of provost:—

'The fact of my having, in all probability, to be abroad for the next three or four months, induces me to come to a conclusion on a subject which I have long had on my mind, and which I feel ought no longer to be delayed—my resignation of the office of provost of the college. I need not say with what regret I have formed this resolution, but I feel that it is due both to you and to myself. I am of no active benefit to the college, and I feel that my spirit is not in unison with that which is most precious to you. You may feel quite sure that this resignation which I now make is prompted by no

greater divergence on matters of opinion than that which existed between us from the first. My acceptance of the office was prompted by the difficulty which existed at the time of finding a suitable head ; that difficulty does not now exist. No one, I conceive, could be found more suited for the post than your present excellent vice-provost, Mr. Cazenove, who has had so long experience of the work. In severing my nominal connection with the college, I hope I do not sever any real bonds between us. Believe me, I shall ever retain for you and yours a feeling of the deepest honour and friendship.'—(p. 457.)

It should not, however, be imagined that the Bishop's personal relations with the staff of the college were other than most kind and cordial throughout. The personal winningness and amiability which were remarkably characteristic of Bishop Ewing prevented the theological divergence ever hardening into a rupture of friendliness. And he more than once withstood attacks made by others upon the Institution. And when (we have been told) an alteration of the Canons of the Scottish Church appeared to discountenance the use of the simple vestments which had always been worn at Cumbrae, the Bishop, far from taking advantage of this to urge their discontinuance, said that he did not read so the new Canon and would be sorry to see the vestments discontinued.

When he had divested himself of *responsibility* for the College his kindly interest increased. He was in the habit of attending, whenever he could, the meetings of Chapter ; and it was, we are told, 'the dearest wish of his heart to see the Collegiate Church raised to the position of Cathedral of the Isles ; and on the last occasion when he was present in Chapter, he expressed himself strongly on this head. Owing to the peculiar circumstances of the College at that time, he was unable to see his wish realised, but the difficulties having at length been removed, one of the first steps taken by his successor was to carry out his wishes in this respect.'

In 1856 Mrs. Ewing died ; and the bishop, a man who was always, as we have seen, particularly home-loving and affectionate, was heart-broken. His letters at this time, though inexpressibly touching, breathe an utter depression and complete abandonment to sorrow, too absolute, we may say, or at all events very unusual for a man. He says himself in one of his letters, 'No *man* understands me—I fear I was intended to be feminine !' He felt acutely the deprivation of a helper the strength of whose character seems to have made up what was wanting in his own ; and some of the letters are so unreserved in their expressions of feeling, that we almost doubt

whether they should have been printed. A sorrow, so full and overshadowing, so almost bitter at times (p. 271), would naturally be peculiarly open to the beneficent influences of time. He grew calmer and more resigned after some years, and in 1862 he married, for the second time, Lady Alice Douglas, daughter of the Earl of Morton.

Meanwhile his work went on; and he was brought face to face with that subject which had already been, and continued still more to be, one of the great preoccupations of his life,—the doctrine of the Eucharist and the Scotch Communion office; for 1857 had seen the issue by Bishop Forbes of his famous charge on the doctrine of the Eucharist, which at once ‘alarmed the Protestant feelings of many, both of the clergy and laity,’ and was freely stigmatised as ‘Romanising and materialistic’—terms of opprobrium, whose meaning it may be fairly questioned whether many of those who used them understood. An episcopal declaration which Bishop Ewing, after some hesitation, signed, condemning the Bishop of Brechin’s views, proved insufficient to calm the storm; and a formal trial for unsound doctrine was resolved on.

The bishop’s hesitation arose partly from his dislike to new ‘definitions on the Eucharist,’ and partly because he thought a more drastic measure was needful—the disuse of the Scotch office. He had long disliked it as ‘Laudian,’ and as an obstacle to ‘identification in all points with the Church of England.’ In his own diocese, he had, as far as he could, put an end to its use; and he would fain have done so universally. Now the time seemed favourable for an attempt. So he went into print with his ‘letter to the Primus,’ which he followed up by a motion (in the Synod that condemned Bishop Forbes) to depose the office from its position among the formularies of the Church; but even here he had *not one* supporter. Then came on the charge against Mr. Cheyne, and by this time Bishop Ewing was himself senior bishop,¹ and presided at Mr. Cheyne’s trial, though without voting or taking any active part in the proceedings.

‘In fact, he could not have spoken at all without seeming to affront the right reverend brethren by whom he was surrounded, for while agreeing with the majority of them in their beliefs as to the symbolic significance of the Holy Communion, and while he could not regard with indifference the blundering materialism of Mr. Cheyne, he deprecated from his inmost heart all doctrinal persecutions. He

¹ The Primus was just at this time laid aside by a stroke of paralysis.

shrank from "definitions of the undefinable," and, in the present instance, his rooted conviction was that the prosecution struck the wrong object. The sentence of indefinite suspension was pronounced by the Synod against Mr. Cheyne, but Bishop Ewing could not record his vote in favour of "a judgment involving penal consequences."—(p. 285.)

'Mr. Keble,' he writes immediately afterwards, 'was at the trial, and left to-day in very low spirits. We all thought Mr. Henderson too much for the Bishop of Brechin. As to the judgment itself, I should be prepared to move that we should not deliver any penal sentence, and chiefly on the ground of our sanctioning the use of an office for the Holy Communion which teaches we know not what. So long as that is used, similar troubles must and will arise.' He expressed sentiments strongly resembling this, besides entering fully in his usual *à priori* way into the doctrinal aspect of the question in his Charge this year (1860). For this he was (justly as we think) exposed to the reprehension of his brother bishops, one of whom told him that 'he deserved a presentment'

The two following years were marked chiefly by the institution in London of an Argyll Episcopal Fund, which was very successful. By its success, the bishop was reimbursed some part of the great pecuniary advances he had made for his diocese, and may be said to have been freed from anxiety upon the subject for the future.

In 1862 and 1863 the Scottish Church was again convulsed with the question of the abolition of the Scottish Office, on which two successive meetings of Synod voted with varying results, the more decided course of entire abolition from the service of the Church not proving to be sustained by the feeling of the various Diocesan Synods, to whom, in accordance, we believe, with the constitution of the Scottish Church, it was submitted in the *interim*. Bishop Ewing was, of course, in the forefront of the abolition party. It was one of the great questions which he had made his own all through his career. But his success was only partial, notwithstanding that he had a great body of lay opinion at his back, and that a gradual modification of view had been proceeding among the bishops themselves. The Upper House in the Scottish Church is so small (only *six* bishops sat on this occasion), that when opinions are evenly balanced, a defection of *one vote* from either side decides a question; and that was precisely the issue on this occasion. A compromise, therefore, was arrived at, by which the English Prayer Book was to be ordinarily and generally used; but that each new *congregation*

might elect to use either the Scottish or the English Office in the Holy Communion. The bishop called this 'a great victory for the Scottish Office party,' which it certainly was not, unless it be a victory to avoid entire defeat; and looking to the circumstances of the case, we cannot but regard this compromise (which is still in force, and forms the rule of the Church) as a wise and statesmanlike course. So one of Bishop Ewing's great objects was at length partially attained; and although he protested, 'This synod has thrown back our Church twenty years. We have, I fear, done a very foolish or a very wrong thing. There was no feeling for the Scotch Office until the last fifteen years. It is altogether a Tractarian galvanisement;' yet he was well contented to let the matter rest, and have an end of it so far as he was concerned. In truth he saw and said that there was 'nothing else for him to do.' The matter had been fought out to the end, and there was no more to be said.

The 'Essays and Reviews' controversy was to the bishop as a storm looked upon from a safe distance, and it does not appear to have extended at all to the Scottish Church. We find abundant evidence in his letters, however, that he viewed it with the keenest interest. 'I would,' he says, when writing to Bishop Tait, 'be a Liberal as to the future, a Conservative as to the past, *i.e.*, tolerate Wilson and ask Stanley to leave the standards alone.' On this latter point he is emphatic; and there is a striking letter from him to the same prelate on the subject which is worth transcribing in part:—

'I am not, and I have not been, ever satisfied that much can be done at present in the way of alterations of subscriptions or standards. The questions now at issue are beyond solution by small amendments, and great ones none of us are prepared to make. I think that when such questions are in the field as "has God indeed spoken, and to what extent?" any move which does not relate to them is, in military language, changing our front in face of the enemy—an operation of great hazard. I do not think, moreover, that any great number of men whom it is desirable to satisfy would be satisfied by such alterations as we are prepared to make, and the others are not worthy of much consideration—not so much, at least, as removing landmarks for their sakes. I am, on the whole, inclined myself at present to an attitude of simple conservatism, believing that the only difficulties really pressing are not those which alteration of standards or subscriptions would satisfy. My own opinion is, that standards go a very little way towards the formation or maintenance of belief, and that this is pretty much formed and held apart from standards and is untouched by them, people throwing them off, perhaps, with violence when they oppress the conscience by their sanction of visible evils,

as at the time of the Reformation ; but when they do not, sitting quietly under them, as if unconscious of them, or signing them merely as conventionalities. If the clergy could agree by memorial to their bishop upon what they would like done, I would gladly go along with them. I doubt if it is wise to go ahead of them, except in matters of faith. I look upon standards as a sort of property, which, without their own consent, I would not take from the clergy. Let us seek to alter opinion rather than change the standards. These must be changed (or will be) so soon as opinion is really formed and pressing. I doubt very much if it is so yet. I am sure that it is not so as to what changes are desirable.'—(p. 358.)

The question especially of future punishment was of intense interest to him, and he had strong views on the subject, which we find expressed in various letters *à propos* of the Wilson and Colenso cases. 'I think,' he writes to his brother, 'that the Bishop of Capetown has weakened his case by introducing so many counts in his indictment against Colenso ; for by so doing he has censured views, that on future punishment among the number, on which Colenso has sympathisers.' And in the same letter : . . . 'Observe that Colenso was only killed on the head of every man, by Capetown firing off the Creed of S. Athanasius. Do not *you* fire that *Mons Meg*. It is a barbarous old piece, honeycombed, rusty, more dangerous to friends than foes.' To Bishop Wordsworth (of S. Andrew's), he says, 'I am against altering the standards, save S. Athanasius !'

To Bishop Tait again : 'Evil has nothing divine in it, and must end.' Such utterances show clearly enough in what direction his sympathies were tending, and what *he would have called* his doctrinal position was. Yet there is a pregnant utterance in a (somewhat questionable) letter to his brother some time before :—

'One sentence, however, before I close, on 'Eternal Judgment.' That expression, as I conceive, simply means *that we are always under unchanging laws*. It reminds us that God is *always* judging us, or rewarding us, 'according to our works,' ordaining for us that that which we sow we shall also reap. But whereas it is said that 'after death is the judgment,' I can only understand the words as conveying to us the intimation that the righteous judgments of God which are now always taking place, but which we do not always recognise, will at last be made manifest to the heart and conscience.'—(p. 319.)

Such utterances were the *intuitions* of the man, and show the manner of his inmost thought. But they do not seem to have been got by any deliberate reasoning process. They are utterly arbitrary and *à priori* in character. *Cogito*—not *ergo sum* but '*Cogito ergo credo*.' Owing, it may be to the some-

what slender outfit of theological knowledge upon which we have remarked before, the bishop was thrown back more than was good for himself or others upon this method ; and a very dangerous method it is for most men. Thus it was that his treatment of most questions, broadest of liberalising Churchmen though he was, was wanting in the *breadth* which a fuller study would have given to him. It proceeds invariably upon a single line of more or less valid inference, which was always liable to be upset by the fact that he was dealing with *one face* of the question only, and that fuller knowledge would probably modify the premises which he took for granted.

In 1864, he sojourned at Ems, and afterwards at Palermo and various Italian towns. From Sion, in the Valais, he writes to the Bishop of London. *à propos*, we suppose, of the movement for a new Court of Ecclesiastical Appeal :—

‘ But now of Dr. Pusey and this movement, of which I see a lengthened account in the *Guardian* just sent me. He cannot do much harm, there is so much good in him ; but the Church of England would surely have been on the wrong tack (and he knows it), in a Catholic sense, if she had *defined* in the Gorham case, or any of those matters left undecided by the Privy Council. Dr. Pusey seems to think there is no belief if there is not definition of every thing seen in the Mount, even to the scarlet and blue edgings. In this age, when the conveyance of property is simplified, property is as much property as before. He is a religious botanist, with a large *hortus siccus*, and long dry names. Nevertheless, the poor and ignorant are saved, and although England may be hazy as to the Monophysite question, I think the mass of the English people are in a healthier state of mind than Dr. Newman.’—(p. 387.)

We may say once for all, about Bishop Ewing’s letters, that they are among the most charming letters we have ever read—clear, pleasant, and with a bright lively touch for persons and things, which he puts not seldom in a new point of view. The writing of letters was a very congenial occupation to him, as the great number of them inserted in this memoir proves ; and it suited the light artillery of his mental equipment better than laboured disquisitions. A curious incident is recounted as having happened to him on this tour :—

‘ At Bologna there was a service in the hotel, and the bishop came down to be among the worshippers. The service began by the officiating minister giving out a hymn, and then asking if there was any one among the congregation who could ‘ raise the tune.’ As no one volunteered, Dr. Ewing himself led the music. It was not until the service was over that the bishop discovered that he for the nonce had been ‘ precentor ’ to a Wesleyan preacher.’—(p. 387.)

We find in these later years the bishop's aversion to dogma stronger than ever, and *now* we observe with regret some want of that kindliness of temper always observable in earlier years. He refused to concur in the approval expressed by the other Scottish Bishops, of the sentence on Bishop Colenso. 'Can I join in an excommunication,' he writes, 'because a man will not say that six times six is thirty-seven? Can excommunication alter a matter of fact?' and so on; which is painful to read. Against Bishop Gray, his cry was Law, law, law: the law of the Church of England as a State Establishment; and he looks no higher. One would suppose from his letters at this period, and on this subject, that he had never heard of the Church Catholic, or that he supposed it to have no existence out of England, or that it had no laws of its own. The Erastianism which had so got hold of him by this time is unintentionally illustrated by a passage in one of his letters to the Bishop of London, after the latter's serious illness:—

'Pray, my dear bishop and brother, keep yourself for these things. *Any one can do your ordinations and confirmations, and other such business*, but no one can take your place at the Privy Council, or in Parliament, or in Convocation. Pray tide over the summer anywhere out of London, and come and spend the winter with me in Italy. *I am quite serious. All your other work is nothing to that which you can do, and you only*, in the Privy Council in the years to come.'—(p. 447.)

Our readers will perhaps wonder that they have heard so little of Bishop Ewing's performance of similar duties to those he thus relegated to the second place; or of the administration of his diocese, and the progress of his people. But the fact is that we hear little of them after the first years of organisation, of keen energy and interest, and that they apparently ceased to be the chief business of his life. His Diocesan Synod consisted of twelve clergy, as far as we can gather; and his 'charges' were manifestoes, for the most part, to the world without, and not to the 'few sheep in the wilderness' within his pale.

With a few words on the description given here of the Pan-Anglican Conference, and of Bishop Ewing's attitude towards it, we must bring this review of his life to a conclusion.

What is said of the former must be considered to be the biographer's work; and it could not well be worse in taste and temper than it is. The one aim of the writer appears to be to *belittle* the Conference itself, and especially the colonial and foreign bishops, to deny their statements, to ridicule their

pretensions, and to represent the entire meeting as 'a conspiracy against Protestantism in the interests of sacerdotal dictation.' Of such words and of such a temper we cannot approve. Nor is Bishop Ewing's own language better. It needs hardly to be said that he was in the Extreme Left all through; he was averse to the action attempted to be taken about the Bishopric of Natal; he fully approved of the inexcusably discourteous refusal of Westminster Abbey for the closing service. But we had better quote entire what is represented to be the record of a conversation held between the bishop and some unnamed interlocutor immediately after the closing, which will speak for itself:—

"What," said the interrogator, "is your main feeling after the Conference?" "Relief, relief, relief."—"Was there any sense of solemnity at any part of the proceedings?" "Only the solemnity of being on board a ship that might blow up at any moment."—"Any possibility of thinking that it was an assembly in which the Spirit of God was at work?" "That depended on where I sat. When I was with the Bishop of Chester (Jacobson), yes; but when near, &c. &c., quite the reverse."—"What was your impression at the conversazione?" "It was like a scene from Hypatia."—"What is the worst thing that has been done?" "That the meeting has taken place at all. You will never get rid of it. They will always be clinging to it. They know that they have got fifty-six names which they can append to any document that they choose."—"What do you think of the pastoral letter?" "It is words, words, words, and nothing else. It was written by the Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce), and very much shortened and cut down by the others. The Bishop of Winchester (Sumner), by one clean sweep, took out the whole viscera of a sentence in the Declaration on the Councils, and remained the hero of the field on the first day. We fought through it paragraph by paragraph, and by that evening reached the word primitive. Then the Bishop of Oxford proposed that the remainder of the sentence should be referred to a committee, which endeavoured on the next day to undo what had been done on the day before, but they were beaten."—"Great havoc made on the second and third days on the schemes for establishing ecclesiastical tribunals? A splendid speech from the Bishop of London (Tait), knocking them all to pieces. The Metropolitans were kept down by a masterly argument of Bishop Harold Browne. . . . The Natal Question was brought on at the very last moment by a kind of *ruse*. . . . One or two comical things took place. On the 28th, at Lambeth Church, the first lesson was Tobit ii. None of the American bishops would read it, so the Bishop of Lincoln (Jackson) did."—(p. 481.)

'I am not sorry that the battle of the Establishment (*in re* Colenso) was dropped. It never could have been fought on worse ground. For, consciously or unconsciously, the Bible was felt to be the question at stake, and all the Evangelicals, &c., were to a man with the

priestly party. Had not Dr. Pusey, by a strange infatuation, thrown over the Americans by his tract on the Scandinavian admission first, before the meeting at Lambeth (in which he sneered at the American Church as a whole), they also would as one man have joined the Metropolitans! Happily the Americans' *amour propre* made them hang in the wind.—(p. 486.)

After the Conference had separated, he wrote an article upon it, containing even stronger language, which several magazines declined to publish, and which its author at length put forth at his own expense in pamphlet form.

From this time his activity of mind took for the most part a literary direction. The 'Present Day Papers' which the bishop himself projected, and to which he contributed no less than eleven papers, besides editing the whole, served as the outlet for many of his most cherished ideas; and the series ran to three volumes before it was discontinued. There is much in these volumes that is admirable; and while they exhibit the characteristic faults of the writer's mode of thought, it would be unjust not to acknowledge that they show also much earnestness of thought, considerable charm of style, and an increased degree of spiritual insight. Thought is the best of educations; and Dr. Ewing had now been a thinker for many years.

At this point, however (1871), we must bring to an end our long scrutiny of this interesting life; a life which, however we may lament some incidents of it, was one of high aims, pure affections, and blameless tenour, not unworthy of a Christian bishop. Bishop Ewing passed away in 1873.

We are by no means certain that it is needful to say anything more by way of painting the moral of his career. That he had many winning and lovable qualities as a man, is perfectly clear; and we have already pointed out the unselfishness and generosity with which he discharged the duties of his office. But the Episcopate is not a mere matter of routine to be worked by (as it were) turning a crank. It requires a clear undoubting belief in the spiritual powers of the office, and a strong and straightforward purpose, in order that the Episcopate may convey its full weight, and do the entire work for which it is intended. How far the subject of the present memoir came up to these requirements, we must leave it to our readers to determine.

Another point that occurs to us is, the demoralising tendency of ecclesiastical controversy, and that Bishop Ewing's career exemplifies it. Too often, it is to be feared, the *haute politique* of parties calls to its aid passions and tempers the

very reverse of spiritual ; and we cannot but think that the hard, partisan tone of the Bishop's letters and public utterances in the later years of his life, so unlike the sweet persuasiveness of his earlier years, shows that this influence had told upon him for evil. He is not the first—we fear he will not be the last—to whom 'our unhappy divisions' have done harm. History repeats itself ; and the embittered party-spirit and mutual repulsion which are caused by the wide divergence of belief, and still more of speculation, among us in this age recall nothing so forcibly as the factions of the Lower Empire, and the bitter comment of S. Gregory Nazianzen.

ART. VIII.—EARLY MSS. AND MINIATURES.

1. *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*. By Prof. WESTWOOD.
2. *Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.* By Prof. WESTWOOD.
3. *Peintures des Manuscrits Français*. By Count BASTARD.

THESE works are on a magnificent scale of size and ornament, which appears to us to be one of the least of their merits. The first is, perhaps, the best introduction in existence to the study of different styles and periods of caligraphy ; the second, an illustrated account of early Northern miniature work, only paralleled by Count Bastard's *Peintures des Manuscrits*. All of them have the great advantage of illustration by the hand of the author. The title of 'amateur' may be applied to them, because no professional workman either could or would do them. We believe we may mention that the late Sir Digby Wyatt resigned in despair the labour and eye-strain of copying the Irish spirals of the *Book of Kells*, which no precision or patience except Professor Westwood's could render ; and everybody who can get at the books, and will try to follow only one interlaced pattern in any of the Celtic illustrations, will soon see that the backslider was not much to blame.¹ Nothing but specially trained hands and eyes could reproduce, and so make easily accessible to all students of art and history,

¹ The photographs published in the great work of the *National MSS. of Ireland* (by Government) fail in reproducing the more minute portions of the works.

the terrific intricacies of the Hibernian and Northumbrian scribeshood. Critics are apt to forget, we think, that though, generally speaking, an amateur is not a professional artist, every professional ought to be an amateur, or lover of his subject and his work. So, in an important sense, ought every artisan to be too. The universal complaint in art and craft alike is that men do not care enough for their work to do it well, or put their hearts into it. And if we had to refer to art work which should be a standing testimony against half-hearted imperfection, and avaricious or fraudulent scamping, we should produce (along with much of Professor Ruskin's minute naturalism) the plates of these volumes.

The historical importance of the study of miniature is like that of any other branch of fine art. From the eighth to the tenth century it seems to be one of the best means of tracing the classical influence on Northern literature; because it shows what the mind of the Northern scribe was full of, what his imagination dwelt on and suggested to him, and what manner of man, in fact, he was. And from the date of the earliest existing MSS. of the decadence, their ornament and illustration, such as it is, is always an important means of following out the changing but imperishable effect of Græco-Roman art on the derivative styles, Byzantine or barbaric. There was a time when each of the arts in turn died out of practice in Italy, and indeed elsewhere: sculpture, fresco, and mosaic are no more, during the ninth and tenth centuries, except for some of the earliest and rudest of the Lombard bas-reliefs. For a long time nothing is left, we have no trace or record of art work, excepting the Evangelaries, Missals, and Psalters which the monasteries kept producing. These gave free scope to the spirit of the painter and the scribe, and in fact identified them. In the scriptoria copyists seem to have been raised, by honestly devotional zeal for their work, into the higher sphere of fine art. They did unquestionably believe the things they illustrated, and their intense interest in these gave them the greatest vigour of imagination, even in literal illustration to assist imperfect readers. This was the obvious use of the pictures to barbaric students. The miniatures not only adorned, but explained the text. Anyone who is beginning to read illuminated MSS. in various hands and of various periods will understand this well enough: he will feel how the pithy pictures express the meaning of the text and help him to decipher it. He will be able to enter into the mind of Alfred beginning his study of reading, or of Charlemagne turning his

sword-hand to attempts at illumination. Pictures have helped men to read in all times. These illustrations continued true art, because they kept alive the imagination, invention, and fancy of the monk painter. Having strained his thought to form the idea of what some great Scriptural event was like, and worked out his quaint conception of it as an imaginative reality,¹ he could let his fancy have its way for recreation, and ornament his borders and margins with any play of curve or colour he enjoyed. To a Saxon Englishman, taught his work in Rome or Ravenna, as many were, David, Asaph, and Heman may have seemed to have conducted Hebrew psalmody with the long Northern horn and psalter; as some such person has represented them in the Augustinian Psalter.²

Great things were possible for the race whose earliest workmen could produce the Psalter of Athelstan and the Alcuin Bible. The connection asserted by Prof. Westwood, and evident to most draughtsmen, between this work, Count Vivien's great Bible of Charles the Bald, and the Vatican Bible of S. Paul, is most important to every student of history, whether he cares for art or not.³

The great work of D'Agincourt, *Histoire des Monuments, &c.*, will give a sufficiently good idea, in scantily shaded outline, of the style of decorative painting, and even of finished pictures, to which the primitive ages were accustomed, and Mr. Parker's photographs have the additional importance of being exact renderings of original work in its present state. The 'Aldobrandini Wedding' (D'Ag., *Peint.*, xxvi.), with various Pompeian pictures, easily accessible in Gell's and Dyer's books, may give an idea of the highest form of first-century decoration. D'Agincourt (*Peinture*, pl. xxvi.) gives a capital illustration of the transition, or decadence, from the pretty Pompeian subject of the lady painter in her *atelier* to the

¹ Subjects in the great Cottonian copy of Ælfric's (d. 1006) *Heptateuch* (Claudius, b. iv.) :—God upheld by angels in the oval Vesica Piscis ; downfall of the rebel angels (devoured by a great red serpent) ; Creation, many subjects ; expulsion from Paradise ; translation of Enoch ; the first rainbow ; vineyard and winepress ; Tower of Babel ; Abraham and five kings (Abraham crowned, and clad in the ringed mail, or *byrn*, borrowed from the Phrygians—one of the earliest representations of this kind of armour) ; appearance of God to Abraham on a ladder and with angels ; journey of Abraham and Isaac, and interrupted sacrifice ; Lot and his wife led by angels ; deception of Jacob ; his dream ; the Ark, &c. &c.

² See Westwood, *Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.*, plate iii., and *Pal. Sacra*, Psalter of S. Augustine.

³ See Count Bastard's *Peintures des Manuscrits*, vol. ii., and *Palæographia Sacra*, sub nominibus.

meritorious but awkward representation, in the Vienna MS. of Dioscorides (sixth century), of a naturalist painter illustrating the book and depicting a root of mandragora, which invention or nature holds up for him.¹ This MS. was written for the Empress Juliana Anicia (early sixth century), and contains her portrait, with many illustrative drawings of plants and animals. But there is something to be said first about classical books in their cheaper and more popular forms.

Though illustrated books certainly existed in ancient Rome, they do not seem to have been very numerous, and this essay may begin with an important observation of Prof. Milligan's² that books in Augustan Rome were much cheaper and more numerous in a humble form than the surviving relics of MS. would lead us to believe.

'We are apt to think,' he says, 'that the precious MSS. of sacred or classical literature which now adorn the great libraries of Europe, with all their elaborate ornamentation, are but specimens of all ordinary book-making previous to the date at which the art of printing was invented. We forget that not one common copy of even far later times than those of our earliest MSS. survives. All have perished—perished from the frailty of the material on which they were written, from their very slightness, their cheapness, their adaptation to the multitude. The great Codices—the Sinaitic, the Vatican, the Alexandrine, and others—do not give us the slightest idea of a MS. intended for the mass of men. . . . Numerous allusions in the Roman writers about the beginning of the Christian era leave no doubt that books were then multiplied with a speed, sold with a cheapness, purchased with an avidity, and sold throughout the whole Roman world to an extent almost incredible.'

He refers to Dr. W. Adolph Schmidt's *Geschichte der Denk- und Glaubens-Freiheit*, and goes on to explain that the MSS. were multiplied by the use of slave labour and the habit of dictation—a hundred trained slaves, perhaps, acting as scribes at once:—'A single bookselling firm at Rome could produce without difficulty, in a day of ten working hours, an edition of one thousand copies of Martial, book ii.; and a somewhat similar work, plainly bound, if sold for sixpence, left the bookseller a profit of 100 per cent.'³

This has an important bearing on a right estimate of the literary character of the age in question. But all these

¹ See *Palaeographia Sacra*, p. xiii.

² The 'Early Christian Age,' *Contemporary Review*, vol. x. p. 590.

³ Schmidt, pp. 131, 137. S. Columba copied out his great *Evangelarium* in twelve days with his own hand; this must exclude the illuminations.

slighter works have vanished, and it is only from the fifth or sixth century that more valuable and durable books remain to us.

Earlier than the *Dioscorides*, however, is the *Vienna Codex Geneseos*, with forty-eight miniatures. D'Agincourt places it in the fourth or fifth century. It is on purple, and the pictures are well and classically composed, though they show traces of the habit of crowding in figures, or heads, which is observable in Trajan's Column, as in the mosaics of Sta. Maria Maggiore 230 years after.¹ But, as in the last work, there is a graphic zeal for the facts, which is observable in the finest Byzantine and Gothic compositions. The Garden of Eden is decoratively treated, but with well-drawn figures. Rebekah and Eliezer are particularly interesting, with very well-drawn camels, and a Greek nymph at the fountain or well; and the history of Jacob and Esau, with the burial of Jacob in the Cave of Machpelah, are very meritorious.

Of the two Vatican *Virgils* (both probably sixth century) one has returned, we believe, to Paris. They are illustrated by D'Agincourt (*Peint.*, xx.-xxvi. lxiii. lxv.) He considers the latter as of the twelfth century, from its rudeness; but the writing is fine rustic Roman, and it has important relations to the other Virgil in its drawing. The caves in both are alike, all the eyes in both goggle similarly, and the originality and goodwill of the artist are very similar. Dido's Amazonian pelta and the evidently Barb character of the horses in the Paris MS. are features far beyond a twelfth-century scribe. These pictures, too, are all rectangular, not at all combined with the writing, which would probably have been attempted at the later date.

The legitimate use of imagination in realising your idea of great truths, in order to set them forth to others, was at full liberty in the monasteries; and the way to the Teutonic schools of religious painting was prepared by the succession of earlier monk artists, who preached the Scriptures in form and colour. One can see the pithy daring of the miniaturists repeated by Giotto; and in Italy this progress is distinctly traceable through him to Orcagna and the Sienese school; and into the life of Angelico, who began with Missal-painting. Some steps of it, at least, were made in the Cisalpine schools, though they were, perhaps, diverted into glass-painting, or were again turned towards sculpture.

¹ There is a curious and interesting comparison of these works by M. Vilet in Parker's *Mosaics*, and by D'Agincourt, *planches* xiv. xv., *Peinture*, vol. v.

The work of the scribe was held to be great and glorious by reason of his subject. To him the text was hallowed, and his feeling at his work was strictly that of the sacred artist. Dom Guéranger¹ dwells with justice on the devoted care with which the holy books were transcribed and edited in early days. The MSS., when completed in the scriptoria, were corrected under the care of bishops and abbots, who either entrusted that duty to competent hands or executed it themselves. The copyists would have thought it sacrilege to depart in any degree from the words given them to reproduce. So it was till the time of Charlemagne; and he began a season of special exertion and splendour in multiplying and adorning Evangelaries, Psalters, and Sacramentaries, which were often destined for presents to his bishops for the use of their dioceses.² There can be no doubt of the effect produced in the true master-minds of the time by the lovely ornament, and sometimes the powerful realisations of event, which are found in the great MSS. of early years. Mr. Macaulay's contempt for them is amusingly expressed in his Essay on Byron. The historian and his party were unfortunately unable to endure the notion of monks of the past, or clergy of the present time, doing anything right; but Alfred and Charlemagne in their day thought very differently. It is hard to say what importance may, or may not, have attached to Mr. Macaulay's opinions about pictures or sculpture; but in this instance he failed to allow for the intellectual habits of a time far removed from the periods he had himself realised. At all events, the two first and best men in Europe of the eighth century thought MS. illumination of consequence enough to want to learn the art themselves, in the midst of wars involving personal combat for life, and negotiations on which the fate of nations and Churches depended. There is no reason to doubt the story that Alfred received help in the pursuit of knowledge, if he was not induced to learn to read, by the ornamented letters of a MS.;³ and Charlemagne's devotion to the subject induced him to practise caligraphy and illumination rather unsuccessfully with his own hand, says Eginhard. 'Tentabat et scribere, tabulasque et codicillos ad hoc in lectulo sub cervicalibus circumferre solebat, ut cum

¹ *Institutions Liturgiques*, vol. iii.

² Kräger, *De Liturg.*, p. 224; Capitulare, 62, l. i. Caroli M. Imperatoris ita statuit, 'Pueros vestros non sinatis eos vel legendo vel scribendo corrumpere; et si opus est, Evangelium vel Psalterium et Missale scribere, perfectæ ætatis homines scribant cum omni diligentia.'

³ Asser, pp. 7-8, ed. Walsingham.

vacuum tempus esset, manum effingendis literis assuefaceret. Sed parùm prosperè successit labor præposterus et serò inchoatus.' It is more important than the Emperor's personal success that he should have so well understood the power of picture symbols to impress truth and convey instruction; as the ecclesiastical body had for centuries made a more dubious use of art to excite emotional devotion.

Before we go further, it may be as well to explain one or two terms. The word *illuminator*, *enlumineur*, does not belong to an earlier period than the end of the twelfth century. It marks a new period of renaissance, when the painters had begun the study of natural beauty, in the animal and vegetable kingdom more particularly. Their work consisted in beautiful studies of flowers, birds, and insects, used as ornament and in pattern, no doubt, but carried further as imitation of nature than in the preceding ages. Again, calligraphy is elegance or splendour of *writing*, and miniature means, in the first instance, pictures arbitrarily let into the writing. The derivation of the word is from *minium*, or red lead, which was always the first and principal pigment used to enliven black and white writing. In some instances, as in the purple or azure MSS., the letters were entirely in gold or silver, and were ornament enough without pictures; though purple MSS. with miniatures are to be found, as that in the Remonstrants' Convent at Prague, and one of the eleventh century in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. With these we are not concerned. They are a part of the fruitless pomp of the decaying Empire of Rome, and have nothing to do with the Greek inheritance of true beauty. The first on record, a purple MS. of Homer, is said by Guéranger¹ to have been presented to Maximin the younger by his mother, and the use of such books seems to go back to the comparatively early days of the Empire, shortly before the triumph of the Christian faith. But the distinction still remains, whether the pictures or miniatures form a part of the writing or are only attached to it, and inserted in squares or oblongs wherever their proper place may be, without having the text worked about them so as to combine the writing and pictures into one effect of the whole page. The text and its pictures are united, in all Gothic writings, by the use of grandly ornamented capital letters. Perhaps only one modern artist may be said to have revived this idea of the old calligraphers in an original way, though with exact analogy. The illustrations and ornamental writing of

¹ Jul. Capitolinus in *Maximinum*.

many of Blake's poems, copied and executed by his own hand, repeat that excellent moderation of the old scribes, who made their pictorial ornament most beautiful indeed, but always subsidiary to their caligraphy. The pictures were pretty, they thought, whereas the text was sacred; but even because the latter was chief, and the one thing needful, too much attention could not possibly be given to the former; and in the very earliest MSS., as the Alexandrine, ornament in coloured inks is freely introduced. The East was, of course, in advance of the West. Guéranger goes back no further than the seventh century for the first employment of artistic design by the liturgical caligraphists of the Latin Church. They began, naturally, with their initial letters, making the writing and illustration minister equally to the effect of the whole page. In the earlier Eastern MSS., as has been said, the illustrations are independent of the writing.

This was one obvious way of ornament, and another was nearly as inviting. The Canons of Eusebius were very early added to the Sacred Text, as in the Rabula MSS. (589 A.D.) (where luxuriant ornament is added to the columns and spaces) and in the Evangeliary of Ulfilas, written, it is supposed, nearly at the same period. The idea of ornamental pillars to separate a calendar may have been derived from the fronts of ancient sarcophagi; at all events rows of parallel columns and arcades, with wreaths, scrolls, flower-work, and birds among their traceries, were a natural and pleasing kind of decoration. The seventh-century Evangeliary named after Colbert (Bastard, vol. i.) has its columns drawn firmly and beautifully with the pen; and it is most interesting to any true draughtsman, in an age of mechanical copying, to observe the extraordinary skill which steady conscientious practice gave the scribe in this and other MSS. It seems to raise the ancient caligraphy quite to the dignity of fine art. The O of Giotto was doubtless a fair test of his great executive power, but it is excelled in difficulty and interest by these free pen-drawn birds and grotesques. It is singular that the last reminiscence of the vanished art should still be the swans or birds of the modern writing-master's flourish.

One or two pathetic examples of commendatory paragraphs by copyists may be added here from Guéranger. They have nothing to do with our main subject; nevertheless it may interest the reader to compare them with the earliest inscription of the kind on record—the quiet greeting of S. Paul's secretary—'I, Tertius, who wrote this epistle, salute you.'

From a Greek Evangeliary (eleventh century) :—

‘This book has been written by the hand of a sinner. May the most holy Mother of God, and S. Eutychius, vouchsafe to accept its homage ; and may the Lord God, by intercession of the most holy Mother of God and S. Eutychius, grant us eternal life in heaven. Amen.’

From the Missal of S. Maur des Fossés :—

‘This book belongs to S. Mary and S. Peter, of the Monastery of the Trenches. He who shall have stolen it, or sold it, or in any manner withdrawn it from this place, or he who shall have been its buyer, may he be for ever in the company of Judas, Pilate, and Caiaphas. Amen, amen. Fiat, fiat.

‘Brother Robert Gualensis [of Wales?] being yet young and a Levite, hath devoutly written it for his soul’s health, in the time of Louis [le Gros], King of the Franks, and of Ascelin, abbot of this place. Richard, prior and monk, caused this book to be copied, in order to deserve the heavenly and blessed country. Thou, O priest, who ministerest before the Lord, be mindful of him. Pater noster.’

The distinguished caligraphists of the ninth-century Evangeliary of S. Emmeran, at Ratisbon, must have been fair scholars ; but their names—Berenger and Luther—are somewhat ominous.

‘Bis quadringenti volitant et septuaginta
Anni, quo Deus est Virgine natus Homo.
Ter denis annis Karolus regnabat et uno,
Cum codex actus illius imperio.
Hactenus undosum calamo descripsimus æquor :
Littoris ad finem nostra carina manet.
Sanguine nos uno patris matrisque creati
Atque sacerdotis servit uterque gradum.
En Berengarius, Leuthardus nomine dicti,
Queis fuerat sudor, difficilisque nimis.
Hic tibimet, lector, succedant verba precantis,
Ut dicas, capiant regna beata poli.’

MABILLON, *Iter Germanicum*, p. 53.

But all these epigraphs yield to the intense interest of the initial and final writing of the *Book of Durrow ; or, Gospel of S. Columba*, in Trin. Coll., Dublin.

On the fly-leaf of the MS. itself—

‘Liber autem hic scriptus est a manu ipsius B. Columbkille per spatium 12 dierum an. 500.’

At the end—

‘Rogo beatitudinem tuam, sancte presbyter Patrice, ut quicumque hunc libellum manu tenuerit meminerit Columbæ scriptoris, qui hoc

scripsi ipsemet evangelium per xii. dierum spatium, gratia Domini nostri.'

Below, in a contemporary hand —

'Ora pro me, frater mi : Dominus tecum sit.'

The name of S. Columba may lead us to consider the necessary allowances for Northern subject, and quasi-barbaric pattern and colour, as introduced in English or Scoto-Irish MSS. We do not mean by the word 'barbaric,' 'ugly' or 'offensive;' it is only applied here to work which has originated in the natural tastes or associations of Teutonic or Northern scribes, and not come to them through the Græco-Roman medium East or West, Byzantine or Roman. English interlacings and Irish spirals are not traditional or taught ornament; they are the special fancies of a race. Nevertheless there always was a great inheritance of traditional form, pattern, subject, and treatment in MS. ornament; and it is especially noticeable in the MSS. mentioned at p. 2. There may be added to them that interesting and provoking subject of polemical interest the Utrecht Psalter, which almost unquestionably belongs, by the way, to our own Cottonian collection, however it came into the hands of its present holders. Whoever may be the scribe or scribes of that singular work, there can be no doubt that one or more of them had seen Rome and Italy, and some of the classical subjects in it are here given from Professor Westwood's list, duly verified by ourselves:—A circular temple and oblong basilica, in the frontispiece, 1; ditto, Ps. li. *ad fin.* and Ps. lxviii.; temple, signs of the zodiac, sun, and moon, Ps. lxviii.; Atlas, Ps. lxxxi., with the Hebrew temple as an oblong peristyle; river-gods, or tritons, blowing long trumpets, Ps. xcii.; boats, with steering-oars, and tiled buildings, *passim*.¹ Angles and Gaels, Franks and Lombards, learnt from Old Greece through Rome the ornamentation of their houses, their temples, their books, and their furniture. Often they fell short of the beauty that had been; in some qualities they sometimes excelled it; the standard they have reached is a matter of dispute in some cases. One authority calls the vine of Torcello badly imitated from the Corinthian, and we strongly demur to the word 'badly.' But, whether it be a good vine or not, it is Greek. You may not like the Torcello acanthus, but it is Greek. No human ingenuity can alter the Greek forms of bell or lily capital; and however a man may conventionalise nature, still

¹ *Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.*

if he looks to nature he will be working like an Athenian so far, though he produce nothing less stiffly decorative than the vines or olives of S. Mark's. This is the technical inheritance, conveyed northward through Italy.

Then, there is this in the spirit or principles of the old and the new Greeks—that the art in the possession of the latter is once more religious, as in Phidian days; not only intellectual or imaginative, and so spiritual, but a part of religion, of defined and organised service of God. Phidias ignorantly worshipped the divine wisdom of Athene; Methodius may have had difficulty in drawing near to Christ, the Son of God. There is infinite distinction and difference between their Liturgy or Service; but both used their art in liturgy. Phidias lived in national glory and sense of power, which extended itself to every citizen of Athens; Methodius was a Greek monk to whom the world, and all in it, were only worth what they would fetch him in the world to come. Consequently Phidias looked on Nature with delight and awe, Methodius did not trouble himself about her any more than S. Bernard; Phidias carved the birth of Athene under Pericles, and Methodius executed the Last Judgment for Bogoris of Bulgaria.

The names of Methodius and his brother Cyrillus are, like those of other true workers, known only by their work. They represent the conversion of Bulgaria and Bohemia to some reality of Christianity, not utterly dependent on the Court of Rome. They were certainly the apostles of the Slavonic race, being Greek monk painters,¹ and probably of those who kept up the reputation of the Schola Græca at Rome. Like Theodore of Tarsus before him, Methodius seems to have been one of those zealous servants of the Eastern Church who supplied the energies and veiled the corruptions of the darkest centuries of the Western. He came in contact with races whose language he could hardly understand. He is said to have joined Cyrillus in inventing the Slávonian alphabet; and if that be so (there is no reason to dispute it) the adoption, by a race, of a phonetic language of letter symbols, along with painting, as symbolic of things and ideas, is very remarkable indeed. Ulfilas had been a 'wulfling' of Goths among Goths, and probably embalmed the letters of his race in his version of the Bible.² Pauli-

¹ Methodius was certainly born at Thessalonica.

² The *Codex Argenteus* (so called from its far-famed silver binding), now in the library of the University of Upsal, is one of the most renowned MSS. of the world. The singular discovery was made by three coun-

nus of Nola had had the easier task of instructing the wild converts of the middle Apennine by paintings and ornament; and, to go back to the very origin of the Christian faith in Rome, the earliest Greek- or Hebrew-speaking disciples must have had no slight difficulties to contend with in preaching to and catechising Latins. It seems possible, accordingly, that some ground truths of history and doctrine from the Old and New Testaments may have been embodied in symbols, and painted in the catacombs in the earliest days. But the painter Methodius seems to have arisen in a time of depravity and distress, when Mohammedanism was gaining fast on Christianity in the East, to form new outworks, and indeed new realms, for the faith. His life extends over the ninth century.¹ The terror and splendour of the great Carolingian power in Western Europe no doubt assisted him in his labours eastward, or perhaps the whole energies of the Eastern Churches were driven inward from Asia to his help; at all events his work lasted longer than the Empire of the Karlings, and must have given proof of its value by enduring the terrors of the later ninth century. Whatever tone of contempt, regret, or respect we choose to assume for the Empire and Church of the East, the latter endured and endures, through the despair of that age and the ruin of 1453, and later times.

The Carolingian Empire ended with the unworthy rule of Charles the Fat in 888.²

‘That time was, indeed, the nadir of order and civilisation. From all sides the torrent of barbarism which Charles the Great had stemmed was rushing down upon his empire. The Saracen wasted the Mediterranean coasts and sacked Rome itself. The Dane and Norseman swept the Atlantic and the North Sea, and pierced France and Germany by their rivers, burning, slaying, carrying into captivity; pouring through the Straits of Gibraltar, they fell upon Provence and Italy. By land, while Wends and Czechs and Obotrites threw off the German yoke and threatened the borders, the wild bands, pressing in from the steppes of the Caspian, dashed over Germany like the flying spray of a new wave of barbarians, and carried the terror of their battle-axes to the Apennines and the sea. Under such

cillors and professors that the letters in it have been produced, not by writing, but by some kind of stencilling process—an early approach to the art of printing. Found in the sixteenth century in the monastery of Werden; became the property of the University of Upsal about 1655. Purple, with gold and silver; letters of fine uncial form.

¹ See ‘Sclavonic Biblical MSS.,’ *Palæog. Sacra*, for Cyrillian character and illumination. The former was originally Greek; now modified into Russian.

² See Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 87.

strokes the already loosened fabric swiftly dissolved. No one thought of common defence or wide organisation. The strong built castles; the weak became their bondsmen, or took shelter under the cowl: the governor, court, abbot, or bishop tightened his grasp, turned a delegated into an independent, a personal into a territorial authority, and hardly owned a distant and feeble suzerain. The grand vision of a universal Christian Empire was utterly lost amid the isolation, the antagonism, the increasing localisation of all powers; it might seem but a passing gleam from an older and better world.'

The Western Empire, in fact, which had divided Christendom, fell to pieces itself; Leo and Charlemagne, 'the Senate and people of Rome,' had tried to undo the change of Constantine, and had re-established the division of Valentinian. The Eastern Empire was to fall, but not yet; at present it was the central Christian power, and protected its own frontiers—through the fierce converts, for whom Methodius, it is said, would not translate the wars of the Kings of Israel, for fear their love of battle should be nourished by the histories of Joshua and David.

As to the Ruthenian or Slavonic and Bulgarian MSS. we possess, it can only be said, that whatever traces of skill they possess are Byzantine; and that they often show the severity of the ascetic engrafted on the ferocity of the savage warrior, and possess great force of animal character. But they are rude and few, and seem to have little to do with us at present. And we must here take leave of the ascetic Byzantine scribes of Athos and S. Saba and Mount Sinai, choosing from their scattered archives one great and typical example of the highest art-work of Eastern Christianity—the matchless and priceless MS. of Rabula, a monk of the Syrian convent of Zagba about A.D. 580.

It is necessary, and it is natural, in elementary study and teaching about ancient and mediæval art, to lose sight of the connecting transitions from the one to the other, and to insist chiefly on differences. People must know what is Gothic and what is Greek before they think of taking a view of progress from Greek to Gothic. But then most students stop at the distinctions, and never understand the connecting kinship. They know that the temple is horizontal and the cathedral vertical, but they do not follow the conversion of the Attic temple into the Roman basilica, or the Roman-Christian change from the entablatures to arcades, and the Northern change from round arcades to pointed. They think Gothic ornament so entirely different a thing from Greek that Goths cannot have learnt any of it from Greeks. This is more

excusable in England, where the classical impression is undoubtedly much feebler, and where the thoughts go back less willingly to the ancient lessons of Greece and Rome, because Rome is their reservoir, if not their fountain. But it is an important thing to preserve the continuity of history; and to see the real though distant effects of ancient civilisations on more recent ones: the whole history of the Renaissance, in fact, turns on inherited tradition of art and knowledge, which is not yet fully traced. And so many links of it are to be found in MS. ornament that we make no further apology for mentioning once more some special examples of illuminated works from different parts of the world, which seem to prove the Græco-Roman or classical connection North, South, East, and West.

We fully agree with Prof. Westwood that the Bible of S. Paul's fuori le Mura in the Vatican,¹ the great Bible of Charles the Bald, presented to him by Count Vivien and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Alcuin Bible in the British Museum, and the Augustinian Psalter described in *Palæographia Sacra*, have a classical element in common. He also notices elsewhere the great resemblances borne by the early Vatican *Virgil* and the MS. of Rabula² (which, as has been said, is in some respects the most interesting of all) to these and other Northern works. It shows what we know perfectly well, that Anglo-Saxons and Franks learnt much design at Rome and from Rome, and that Syrian monks got instruction from her and through her also, though they may not have visited her as the Northern pilgrims did. The Græco-Roman or classical element is common to them all, and forms a great part of their style. It may still be called

¹ Ninth century. D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, vol. v. planches xl.-xlv.

² In the Laurentian Library at Florence. I have alluded to the similarity between the ornaments of the ancient Syriac MS. of Rabula and the most ancient Anglo-Saxon MSS., and may here add that 'the very peculiar and common pattern found in Irish or Anglo-Saxon MSS., formed of several spiral lines united in the centre of the circle, with the ends dilated, is evidently identical, on a smaller scale, with the pattern employed by the artist of the "Miracle of the Pool of Bethesda" to represent the waves of the pool. These apparently trifling circumstances seem to prove, more forcibly than the most laborious arguments, the connection between the early Christians in these islands and those of the East—so strongly insisted on by various writers.'

The form of the waves in the pool (in *Pal. Sacra*, plate vi.) seems to me that of the Greek volute, doubtless common to Syrian and to Saxon after the seventh century; but there can be no doubt about the Eastern element in the English work. Eastern ascetic expression was, in fact, cosmopolite, and all monastic faces wore it more or less.

Græco-Roman; for such conventional grace, such study of nature as they have, is Greek-taught; but there certainly is not much of the latter quality, and beauty departs from all the figures accordingly. The eyes goggle universally. It seems that no artist, monk or other, had cared, from generation to generation, to look at his neighbour's eye and see that its pupil was half hidden between the lids. Kings and archbishops sit on curule chairs in Carolingian MSS., as in the bas-reliefs of ancient days; but the inference is forced on us that the artist did not even claim the license allowed—possibly through all ages—to the domestic cat; and never looked at the king or his chair, but was content to record the conventional protrusion of his knees, elbows, and feet, without even seeing what he was like. Vegetation is often introduced, but it is generally conventional without order, and unnatural without pattern. The dark age of Roman ornament, in fact, like the end of the Irish school of MS., is distinguished by general neglect of nature. The time was coming when in such works as the *Sacramentaire de Gellone*, and parts of MSS. already mentioned, new life of study should begin. But still, through all these works, that extraordinary element of the human soul called character, or power, recurs in its fitful, unmistakable way. It makes us understand that a man whom we might have admired and learnt from passed the desert before us at such a time, and was in his time a master capable of awing others, or guiding them, or of expressing their thoughts for them, or even of grotesquely amusing them. Few results so much as the last can have been attained by the later Vatican *Virgil*, which D'Agincourt evidently errs in placing so late as the eleventh century. The storm in the sixth book of the *Æneid*, with Dido and Æneas, is happily represented in *Peinture*, pl. lxiv., and we wish we could place a copy of this irresistible performance before our readers. Dido's evidently principal share in the love-making, her Amazonian pelta, the prudent attendant who has turned his round shield into an umbrella, the cheerful composure of the other in the Phrygian cap, and the hydraulic fury of the rain—are altogether beyond praise. This MS., as we have noticed, is much more like fifteenth than twelfth-century work; and the admittedly early *Virgil* of the Vatican, which D'Agincourt illustrates (*Peinture*, pl. xx.-xxv.), is of the same school.

Very different and yet very like these works is the MS. of Rabula (586 A.D.) Its Crucifixion¹ is the earliest known

¹ Figured in Rohault de Fleury's *L'Évangile*, and in the frontispiece of Tyrwhitt's *Art-Teaching in the Primitive Church*. S.P.C.K., 1874.

representation of the death of our Lord ; and is distinguished from almost all others by the fact that the soldiers are represented, not as casting dice, but as playing at *mora* on their fingers for the coat without seam. But yet more interesting is the 'Chariot of the Ascension,'¹ which connects, with evident intention, the vision of Ezekiel i. with the *Zōa*, or beasts, of the Apocalypse ; and also with all the *imagines clypeatae*, and later 'Glories of Angels,' represented as upbearing the Lord on His chariot.

It is well worth the time and trouble, for anyone who has the opportunity, to compare, through D'Agincourt, Prof. Westwood, or otherwise, one, two, or more of these MSS. with each other, representing, as they do, the earliest Eastern, Carolingian, and English work. Whoever will do this will get an idea of the difficulty of determining what age and school a MS. really belongs to. They prove at a glance, if nothing else proved it, that the art of old Rome, derived from ancient Greece, is the substratum of all these works, whether in its classical or Byzantine form. Except the Irish school, and so much of it as survived in the Northern English, all seems to come from the same source. Calligraphy and miniature painting were always taught through religious houses or persons ; and hence in all these MSS. there is that cosmopolitan style of world-renouncing men, formed on the pilgrimage and in the monastery, which makes Rabula like Columba, or the English draughtsman of David, and both of them like Count Vivien. Just in the same way the Eastern Greek or Byzantine prevails alike in the Ruthenian, Bulgarian, and Oriental work, and crosses us again through the Greek school of painting in Rome, in Western mosaics and other documents ; connected, perhaps, with Theodore of Tarsus and other Greek evangelists of Rome. In their barbarised state the two styles are hardly distinguishable, as in the far-famed Diptych of Rambona.² It is not easy, and hardly necessary, to say whether they are Byzantine or Roman. The dark ages certainly obscure the traces of the Attic teaching ; but Rome had communicated much of it to the world, and in Rome it had been charged with a mighty message to the Western nations ; for through her wide rule or wider memories the moderns were to have access to the language of the graphic

¹ Figured by D'Agincourt (*Peint.*, pl. xxvii.), also in the late Mr. Whar-ton Marriott's *Worship of the Blessed Virgin*, and by Tyrwhitt (*Art-Teaching*, &c.)

² Figured in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, s.v. 'Crucifix.'

arts—and far more than that, to the language of the New Testament.

One school of ornament there was, however, of which some brief sketch is necessary, though it stood apart from all others, since its relics to this day command an admiration due to, perhaps, no other; and are, at all events, most singular and interesting. The early achievements of the Irish scribes and draughtsmen can hardly be appreciated except by readers of Prof. Westwood's works, or by the use of his numerous books of reference; which, in fact, requires the neighbourhood of a large library.

The origin of the Irish Church, and its relation to those on the Continent, has long been the subject of enquiry and dispute. Perhaps one side may have been more inclined to prove the Church by MSS. than the MSS. by the Church, and the other to ignore any Christianity not traceable to Rome. But it is not directly denied that there was an Irish, Scottish, or Celtic Church before Augustine came to England (the name *Scôt* meaning Irishman in early ecclesiastical record, in which sense it was applied to Erigena). On this matter we have duly verified two passages from Chrysostom and Tertullian, which seem important and almost decisive; and for the rest we may refer to the more recent, but on main issues conclusive, testimony of Mr. Green.¹

¹ Green's *History of the English People*, ch. iii. 'The Heathen Struggle.' . . . It was not the Church of Paulinus which nerved Oswald to this struggle for the Cross (A.D. 635, after Penda's defeat of Eadwine in 633). Paulinus had fled from Northumbria at Eadwine's fall, and the Roman Church in Kent shrank into inactivity before the heathen reaction. Its place in the conversion of England was taken by missionaries from Ireland. . . . Christianity had been received there with a burst of popular enthusiasm, and letters and arts sprang up rapidly in its train. While the vigour of Christianity in Italy and Gaul and Spain was exhausted in a bare struggle for life, Ireland, unscourged by invaders, drew from its conversion an energy such as it has never known since. The science and Biblical knowledge which fled from the Continent took refuge in famous schools, which made Durrow and Armagh the universities of the West. Patrick, the first missionary of the island, had not been half a century dead when Irish Christianity threw itself with a fiery zeal into battle with the mass of heathenism which was rolling in upon the Christian world. Irish missionaries laboured among the Picts of the Highlands and the Frisians of the Northern seas. An Irish missionary—Columban—founded monasteries in Burgundy and the Apennines. The canton of S. Gall still commemorates in its name another Irish missionary, before whom the spirits of flood and fell fled wailing over the Lake of Constance. For a time it seemed as if the older race that Roman and German had swept before them had turned to the moral conquest of their conquerors, as if Celtic and not Latin Christianity was to mould the destinies of the Churches of the West. Chrysostom—Ὅτι θεὸς ὁ Χριστός. Op. Savile,

The Anglo-Celtic Church is real enough, from the Synod of Verulam and its condemnation of Pelagius in 429 with the help of the bishops of Lyons. There is no doubt about S. Patrick's being a real person, or that his work was real work, ending 465 A.D. ; nor yet as to S. Columba at Iona before 563, nor of S. Columban and S. Gall in the Rhætian Alps, nor of S. Aidan's mission to Oswald of Northumbria, nor of the foundation of Lindisfarne in 635, nor of the final submission to Rome at the Synod of Whitby in 664.

The first characteristic of Irish ornament which the student must infallibly notice is the plaited work. It is not peculiar to the West, as Westwood gives a specimen of it from an Arabic MS. in *Palæographia Sacra*, and the guilloche border exemplifies it. It is to be seen in Professor Ruskin's Byzantine capitals in vol. i. of the *Stones of Venice*, and may even be, as he says, in its Eastern form a remembrance of the chequer work and braided work of the Temple of Solomon.

The wonderful development of the almost universal taste for interlaced pattern is common to the Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS. The pure Irish work is always distinguishable from the English, however, by the entire sacrifice of every consideration, save colour, to complexity of pattern ; and also by the extraordinary skill and minute beauty of its spiral lines, which are almost untraceable to the outer world, though Professor Westwood has had the incalculable energy and patience to copy some of the most elaborate. A great gift of colour is perceptible in the strange miniatures of the *Book of Kells*, where Scriptural subject is attempted not without power or beauty, but with a quaintness which marks the work of an isolated Church which owed Rome nothing, and to which Greece or Syria had taught nothing but the Faith. The study of natural beauty, as a man may see it in leaves and flowers and sunset and sunrise, is not found in these MSS., and their art dies away in complexity. The pious zeal for the text remained, but He who gave the text for knowledge gave also the Book of Nature for ornament. The Irish monk would not read in the latter, and his art begins in rudeness and ends in madness of involved lines ; he still desires to represent the facts and symbolism of the Church, but he has forgotten in his scriptorium what any man or thing is really like. The Crucifixion at the beginning of the Psalter

t. vii. p. 635. Καὶ γὰρ αἱ Βρεττανικοὶ νῆσοι, αἱ τῆς θαλάττης ἐκτὸς κείμεναι ταύτης, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ οὐσαι τῷ Ὁκεανῷ, τῆς δυνάμεως τ. ῥήματος ἡσθοντο· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκκλησίαι, κ. θυσιαστήρια πεπήγασι. Tertullian adv. Judæos, c. vii., Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita, c. A.D. 200.

of S. John's College, Cambridge, with its attendant angels, or it may be sun and moon, is an interesting and lamentable example of the decay of the intellectual energies of a Church to which such great work had been committed, and which had done it so faithfully. However, the gift of colour often redeems much, as in the *Book of Kells*, where the deep blues, purples, and greens are exquisite, as also the azure and green in the MS. of Brith MacDurnan. As far as I know, it is best paralleled in Ravenna mosaics; and this consideration is important, as it confirms the idea of Professor Westwood that much knowledge of ornament was obtained for the North by English and Irish pilgrims or preachers, who studied the colour of the mosaics, then in their first splendour, and tried, not in vain, to reproduce the play of tessellation in the sacred writing which so delighted their souls. Such copying, or rather imitation, would account for the Byzantine appearance of so many of these works, and perhaps for the attachment to dots and zigzags; except that the Northern students of Ravennese form seem to have missed the severe, though not incorrect, lines of drapery, and neglected the conventional reference to nature, which still preserved the life of the Eastern schools.¹

At periods when art is hanging between life and death it is not easy to distinguish the archaic from the barbarous; to say which style will grow out of its obvious errors, and which will never arrive at doing anything right. Good Byzantine work is archaic, for it is the second childhood of Old Greece, and the nurse, if not the infancy, of the Gothic Renaissance, or return to Old Greek. But for certain Irish and English ribbon and dot ornament, I fear there is no word for it but barbarous. The interlaced work, variously derived from Gothic hurdles, British wicker-work,² Runic knots, Saxon leg-bandages, &c., has already been spoken of as found in architecture. It is certainly more rare in Eastern art³ (there is none, for example, in the Syrian MS. of Rabula, though it contains chevrons, lozenges, zigzags, flowers, fruits, and

¹ 'Byzantine Olive,' *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. p. 179.

² I have Professor Westwood's authority for the following facts:—Mr. French, of Liverpool, celebrated for his antiquarian knowledge, orders a wicker cross to be made in Ireland, forwarding a pattern. It comes home admirably executed, with the exception that a ring has been added round the arms, forming the perfect Runic cross. It was impossible, the workman said, to fasten them securely without using it. What a light this throws on the origin of ornament, interlaced and other. It is only the great constructive rule of architecture over again.

³ See Westwood, p. 8, *Arabic MSS.*

birds).¹ In Northern miniature and writing it is universal, and in Irish and English work passes into the wildest intricacy of spirals and every variety of ribboned and spotty ornament, with a grotesque use of lacertine or ophidian forms everywhere, which frequently border on the diabolical. In fact, we here come in contact with a wild and morbid grotesque, the earliest forms, perhaps, of the Northern love of jest and feverish play of invention, and perhaps a century older than the Lombard extravagances of S. Michele of Pavia.² The difference is that the South Scandinavian work (for such is the Lombardic) was based on observation of nature, however excited and irrational; and the Irish was that of incurious ascetics, who saw no good in nature. It seems to have given considerable offence to the Benedictine authors of the *Nouv. Traité de Diplomatique* (ii. 122), as they complain with some acrimony of the 'imagination atroces et mélancoliques' of the derivative Anglo-Saxon MSS., which they charitably attribute to climate. Their remarks are not unfounded; but this kind of work may have been occasioned by echoes or reflexions of contest with ophidian and Gnostic symbolism, as we have heard the interlaced work traced, not without probability, to the wicker of the great Druidical idols. Still this form of grotesque points onward to the future Gothic taste for oddity and putting right heads on wrong shoulders. A kind of awed and half-terrified spirit of jesting may possibly be detected even in Greek representations of the serpent, as in the extraordinary quadruped-snake of Eden in a seventh- or eighth-century MS. in the Vatican. He stood for evil; and to monks of that time all nature may have seemed like a masque or mystery of evil.

The middle of the ninth century is the period assigned by Professor Westwood for the evident influence of artists of the schools of Charlemagne on the productions of English scriptoria. For though many Frankish schools were presided over by Alcuin and other learned Englishmen, yet both they and the Franks were led, by more frequent intercourse with Rome, to a higher appreciation of the relics of classical art; and thus followed the decay of the old ingenuities of unmeaning pattern. The British Church had much to receive in exchange for her liberty.

'Increased communication with Rome,' says Professor Westwood, 'led to the adoption of a *more realistic treatment of the human figure*,

¹ See, however, *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii.; *Pal. Sac.*, 'Arabic Gospels,' No. 8.

² See *Stones of Venice*, vol. i. app. 8, 'The Northern Energy.'

as well as to a more *general adoption of foliage* as an element of ornamental design. Indeed, after the ninth or first half of the tenth century I have been unable to find any Anglo-Saxon MS. executed in the Lindisfarne or Irish style, although, as we have seen, it remained for several centuries longer in use in Ireland, considerably modified, however, in its ornamental details.'

These two points of improvement in Anglo-Saxon (or English) work mark the Professor's agreement with what we have been contending for on the purely pictorial side—the evidence of renewed study of nature in French and English work, learnt from the relics of Græco-Roman art. It was part of the firstfruits of the new life of Christian civilisation north of the Alps, and existed as it could, only in religious hands. In Lombardy the noble and beautiful life of the great cities of Milan, Pisa, and Florence, with the great genius of the population, soon produced far higher results. Emerging from heavy trials, and preparing for yet more, Christianity was now monastic; but the Church bore her arts with her, in their ascetic form of caligraphy and miniature, whithersoever she fled into the wilderness. She issues from Ireland, and from Rome, to possess the English race for ever. From Ireland her fairly written MSS. testify to the peace that they had, even in days of general massacre, who loved the laws of God; to the sacredness of the word, and the delight of the caligrapher in it; and his patterns show in their intricate beauty and gift of colour the monk's pleasant simplicity and contented labour, without much thought, and happy for a time in his skill only. From the seventh to the tenth century Rome is prostrate, except for the alliance of the new Empire; and the stream of Christian teaching, verbal and pictorial, bears its Celtic missionaries over the Continent, bearing help to Latin Christianity. Rome is for a time reformed by Gregory the Great, and then allied with Pepin and Charlemagne; and the relics of her art and learning are eagerly embraced by Lombards, Franks, and English, so that the Anglo-Saxon caligraphists begin to take lessons in their turn of Greece and Rome, and to prefer miniature to mere pattern, and emulate (or produce) the grand Carolingian MSS. In these the study of nature is a leading feature, a more important one than their Imperial splendour, or than their Merovingian and Visigothic grotesqueness; and with the study of nature the Gothic copyists now combined the faithful emulation of classical models, such as they knew. Their willingness to learn of the past was equal, but some had better models than others. There is great difference in the genius, the opportunities,

and the success of Niccola Pisano, Count Vivien, Rabula the Syrian monk, or the writer of the Augustinian or of Athelstan's Psalter, who has not even a name; but the artistic excellence of their work is due to the same principles of study; nor in any of these cases could it have existed but for the operation of the Faith which alone made study possible to them.

ART. IX.—THE LIFE OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE PRINCE CONSORT.

The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort. By
THEODORE MARTIN. Vol. III. (London, 1877.)

THE labours of Mr. Martin on the life of the Prince Consort have been marked by conscientious diligence not less noteworthy than his talent and his equitable temper. With these qualifications, and with the free access to the innermost centres of confidential information, which has been so graciously accorded to him by the Sovereign, he has in his two former volumes presented to us a personal portraiture of the Prince Consort so complete that it scarcely allows the addition of a touch. The biographer, as he proceeds along the course of the revolving years, can indeed lengthen the catalogue of his wise and good actions, and can show how time, as it gives new force, depth, and dignity to the human countenance, even into a prolonged old age, so also imparts a riper mellowness, and a more compact solidity, to mental faculty and work.

Monumental commemoration, which reminds man of his weakness even more than of his strength, and which has been carried farther perhaps in the case of the Prince Consort than of any other distinguished personage, has something in it that jars when it goes beyond the modesty of custom. Yet every statue and memorial of the Prince may in some sense be considered as a sermon made visible. He is one of the few, the very few, characters on the active stage of modern life, in whom the idea of duty seems to be actually personified, and to walk abroad in the costumes of State. It is good for us to be taken back, again and again, to see the spectacle, and so to learn its lessons. After making every allowance for a

work composed almost within the precinct of a Court, and without pretending to determine the precise place which history will finally accord to him upon the roll of greatness, we are safe in saying that upon the extended surface of society we may travel far and wide, before the eye is blessed with so strong and happy a combination of mental and of moral force. Nor can it be questioned, that such combination is more precious to mankind in exact proportion as its seat is found, and its activity developed, near to the summit of the social fabric. Born with all these faculties to a high station, and lifted up by marriage to one of unusual splendour, it was his fate, being torn away in the very flower of his manhood and the vigour of all his gifts, to add to the lustre of his career that peculiar touch of pathos, given by the master artist of heroic character to his Achilles; to whom the consummation of his glory was only permitted on condition of the shortening of his life.¹ In the attentive reader this volume will probably deepen the impression he may have received from those which preceded it, that few indeed have been the lives, in this curiously chequered age of ours, which upon the whole come nearer to the fulfilment of the ideal.

This repeated presentation to the public eye of such a picture, with all its elevating and all its calming influences, is indeed so wholesome that we feel anything rather than displeased with Mr. Martin when he informs us, in his Preface, that the work has in spite of him outgrown the limits which he had appointed for it, and that it must extend through a fourth of these large and portly volumes. The consequence, however, is, that it assumes, as we proceed, the character less of a biography and more of a history. It may also be stated with some confidence that for a final history of the times, and of the great events it touches, it is both too near and too brief. Mr. Martin has evidently been guided in his course by the consideration that the history of the period he has here to traverse was really a part of the Prince's life; so operative was the force that he had exerted in the making of it. Of this the Prince himself, for once, allows himself to speak in significant terms:—

‘The things of all sorts that are laid on our shoulders, i.e. on *mine*, are not to be told. People feel that a certain power exists, which has not thrust itself ostentatiously forward, and therefore they fancy it must be doing harm, even although the results of what it does must all be admitted to be good.—(p. 457.)

¹ *Iliad*, B. ix. 410–6.

There are, indeed, those who surmise that this extension of Mr. Martin's plan has been effected in order to carry back the public mind in large detail to the associations of the Crimean War, and thus to revive the sentiments of hostility to Russia, which at that epoch naturally and warrantably prevailed. But, even apart from the remembrance of the high auspices under which he writes, we know of nothing to justify the imputation to him of a mischievous and paltry trick. The imputation itself is probably due to the exultation with which the portion of our newspaper press, that is hostile to the subject races in Turkey, has gloated on his reference to the cruelty with which, in some instances, our wounded were treated by the Russian soldiers as they lay on the battle-field. This is an excess to be severely reprobated. Prince Menschikoff alleged, in justification, that English prisoners had made use of concealed revolvers (p. 159) to shoot down their captors; but this must have been rare, for he finds it necessary to put in other excuses also, which are frivolous. Attempts have, however, been made to treat this proceeding as parallel to the wicked and indeed fiendish proceedings of the Turks in mutilation and cruel torture on the fields of recent battle. To compare the two is truly *minima componere magnis*. To give no quarter, and to put an end to the life of the wounded, is one thing; to mutilate, to torture, and to burn them is another; and these are the practices, too well attested, of the last few months.¹ Mr. Martin for a moment happens to deviate from his usual impartiality, when he seems (p. 160) to match the simple privation of life with this more than bestial delight in torture. We do not know if it has ever been stated to him, as it has been to us, on the authority of Lord Gough, that there were too many acts of this description committed by the British soldiers, in the war of the Punjaub, on their wounded and disabled enemies.

There is a supposition, much more rational as well as much more charitable, which may tend to account for Mr. Martin's having altered and enlarged his plan at this particular juncture. For this alteration has enabled him not only to show the part which the Prince took in all the anxieties of the Crimean War, but to give us the Prince's evidence in his own detailed and repeated language as to the policy, in furtherance of which it was undertaken. So much has been recently stated, or mis-stated, in regard to the aim and motive

¹ See e.g., the article of Mr. Forbes, in the *Nineteenth Century* for November, p. 571.

of that war, that nothing can be more seasonable than the opportunity he affords us of learning something on the subject from high and dispassionate authority. For the authority is, in truth, very high. We are to regard the Prince Consort as having been while he lived the mind's eye, so to speak, of a Sovereign, who entered with energy into all great transactions. There was such a standing partnership, and common movement of the two, combined with such a harmony of character and feeling, that we may regard the will of either one as speaking for both; and, jointly, they had unrivalled means from day to day for estimating what the French call the 'situation.' From near presence, and close and constant intercourse, reaching far beyond established forms, they knew not only the resolutions of the Aberdeen Cabinet, but the interior mind of all those members of it, who had special titles to exercise an influence on its foreign policy. Of these, the most important were Lord Aberdeen as Prime Minister, and Lord Clarendon as Foreign Secretary. Next to them came Lord Palmerston, on account of his great knowledge and experience in foreign affairs; and Lord John Russell, as the leader of the House of Commons, and as the person who took the seals of the Foreign Office on the formation of that Ministry, and who resigned them shortly afterwards to Lord Clarendon, without doubt for the very sufficient reason that no man can efficiently discharge in conjunction, especially at a time of crisis, the duties of the Foreign^{*} Department and those attaching to the leadership of the Commons.

It is a favourite idea with some, that we have had handed down from a remote date a traditional policy of upholding the Ottoman Empire, like Portugal, or Belgium, without much regard to collateral questions. We believe it would be difficult to establish this doctrine by historical evidence. To those who care to examine the question ever so little, we recommend an examination of the speech of Lord Holland in the debate of January 29, 1828. It was delivered at a time when we were engaged in a policy of coercion against Turkey, out of which, just before, had grown the battle of Navarino. Lord Holland appeared to show in that debate that we had indeed ancient alliances with Russia, that we had no treaty at all with Turkey before 1799, that the treaty then concluded was only for seven years, that it was simply part and parcel of our military measures against France. And it commenced with these words:—'His Britannic Majesty, connected already with His Majesty the Emperor of Russia by the ties of the strictest alliance, accedes by the present treaty

to the defensive alliance which has just been concluded between His Majesty the Ottoman Emperor and the Emperor of Russia,'—with certain limiting words which need not be cited in this place.

It would be curious to ascertain the precise date at which the idea was first broached, that British interests required the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire. We have little doubt that it is posterior to the debate which has just been cited, and that it was far from being generally recognised by the statesmen of the last generation. It may probably be traced in the policy of 1840, and the armed assistance lent to the decrepit Empire against its Egyptian vassal. It grew, however, with rapidity, fostered by the rather womanish suspicions and alarms on behalf of India, of which Russia gradually became the object. It has grown with greater rapidity since the Crimean War, in proportion to the increased susceptibility of the country, which has almost learned to regard political alarm as standing in the first class of its luxuries, those namely which are daily and indispensable.

It may boldly be affirmed that this doctrine of British interests, as involving a necessity of upholding the Ottoman Empire, was not the avowed doctrine of the British Government in the proceedings immediately anterior to the Crimean War. Some there are at the present day who believe that war to have been a war for British interests, founded upon the traditional policy of maintaining the Porte, with all its crimes, in its 'integrity and independence,' as the proper bulwark of our own sway in India. Others have thought that we undertook the war upon a ground certainly more chivalrous; that, seeing a weaker country oppressed by a stronger one, we generously interfered on behalf of the weak against the strong. Of course, such a theory provokes the question, how far it is to reach, and whether we, of all mankind, have taken out a general roving commission of knight errantry,—

'To ride abroad redressing human wrongs.'¹

The work of Mr. Martin supplies weighty evidence, that the policy of the Crimean War was based neither upon the cynical selfishness of the first of these conceptions nor upon the high-flown Quixotry of the last. Unless the Sovereign and her Consort, with their matchless opportunities of knowledge, were absolutely blindfolded, the policy which led us into the war was that of repressing an offence against the

¹ Tennyson's *Guinevere*.

public law of Europe, but only by the united authority of the Powers of Europe. Public law and European concert were in truth its twin watchwords. From the pages before us we will now supply the proof.

‘Our conduct throughout,’ says the Queen, writing to Lord Aberdeen, on April 1, 1854 (p. 59), ‘has been actuated by *unselfishness* and honesty.’

This was at the commencement. At the close, on March 31, 1856, the Queen writes (p. 471) that to Lord Clarendon alone (i.e., alone of those in Paris) ‘is due the dignified position the Queen’s beloved country holds, thanks to a straightforward, steady, and *unselfish* policy throughout.’

So much for the British interests. On June 21, the Prince Consort delivers a speech at the Trinity House, in which (p. 69) he says :—

‘All these difficulties, however, may be considered to be compensated by the goodness of our cause, “the vindication of the public law of Europe.”’

And also, he proceeds to say, by the French alliance. On July 5, he writes to the Emperor Napoleon (p. 88) :—

‘Il me sera en outre du plus haut intérêt d’assister à une concentration de troupes de cette noble armée, rangée dans ce moment à côté de la nôtre, pour la défense du droit public européen.’

On November 19 he writes to Lord Clarendon (p. 164) that the aim of the war was

‘to put a term at last to a policy which threatened the existence of the Ottoman Empire, and, by making all the countries bordering on the Black Sea dependencies of Russia, seriously to endanger the balance of power.’

To the King of the Belgians, on February 16, 1855, the Prince writes, complaining of the charges made against us (p. 447); and, among others, of this—that we were ‘making a tool of France for our own objects in the East (because of India, &c.)’ :—

‘The truth of the matter, on the contrary, is, that a great European question was at issue, and France and ourselves were, and still are, the only Powers possessed of the firmness, the courage, AND THE DISINTERESTEDNESS to grapple with it.’

That other and lower views gradually found acceptance in lower quarters, we do not doubt. But these were the views embraced at the Court, guided as it was by rare integrity, unsurpassed intelligence, and ample *connaissance de cause*.

And the language we have cited is in full harmony with the general strain of the correspondence laid before Parliament. At the outset, the quarrel was one between Russia and France in regard to ecclesiastical privileges at the Holy Places. England was but an *amicus curiæ* ; and, in that capacity, she thought Russia in the right. As, however, the communications went on, the Czar, unfortunately, committed his case to a special envoy, Prince Menschikoff, whose demands upon the Porte appeared to the British Government to render harmony in the Turkish Empire, if they should be accepted, thenceforth impossible. In the further stages of the correspondence, which had thus shifted its ground, we found ourselves in company with France ; and not with France only, but with Europe. At one particular point, it must in fairness be allowed that Russia, with her single rapier, had all her antagonists at a disadvantage. They had collectively accepted, and they proposed to her a Note, known as the Vienna Note, which she also accepted ; and they afterwards receded from it, upon objection taken to it by Turkey. Russia, however, covered the miscarriage of her opponents by sustaining the Turkish interpretation of the words, and thus sheltered their retreat from the support of the document they themselves had framed. But it was not upon this miscarriage that the dispute came to a final issue. The broken threads of negotiation were pieced together ; and, about the time when the year expired, a new instrument, of a moderate and conciliatory character, was framed at Constantinople, and approved by the Cabinets of the five Powers, still in unbroken union. It was the rejection of this plan by the Emperor Nicholas, when it was presented to him in January 1854, and not his refusal of the Turkish amendments to the Vienna Note, that brought about the war in the following March.

Thus far the Prince and the Queen have enabled us to vindicate the British policy against the accusation of selfishness. Let us now see how it stands on the other side, as against the charge of Quixotry. If it is wholly unwise and unwarrantable for one Power to constitute itself the judge and the avenger of European law, is it wholly wise and reasonable for two ? So far as a question of this kind can be answered in the abstract, undoubtedly it is not. It is a precedent by no means free from danger ; a couple of States cannot claim for themselves European authority. But this was not the enterprise, on which France and England advisedly set out. They began their work, say from the time of the Menschikoff mission, in close association with Austria and with Prussia ; and the four to-

gether were the only Powers who, by established usage, could represent the concert of Europe, in a case where the fifth and only remaining Power of the first order was itself the panel in the dock. They pursued their work in harmony through the whole of the year 1853. With March 1854 came the crisis. Austria urged the two leading States, England and France, to send in their *ultimatum* to Russia, and promised it her support. She redeemed the pledge, but only to the extent of a strong verbal advocacy. Without following out the subsequent detail of her proceedings, she rendered thereafter to the Allies but equivocal and uncertain service, without however disavowing their policy either in act or word. It was Prussia, which at the critical moment, to speak in homely language, bolted; the very policy which she had recommended, she declined unconditionally to sustain, from the first moment when it began to assume the character of a solid and stern reality. In fact, she broke up the European concert, by which it was that France and England had hoped, and had had a right to hope, to break the stubbornness of the Czar, and to repel his attack upon the public law of Europe. The question that these Allies had now to determine was whether, armed as they had been all along with the panoply of moral authority, they would, upon this unfortunate and discreditable desertion, allow all their demands, their reasonings, their professions, to melt into thin air. They were, in the view of public right, perhaps entitled to decline the heavy responsibility of executing alone what they had counselled and designed with others. At least there could have been no one with a good title to reproach them. But would such a retreat, such a *λιποταξία*, by two such Powers, have been for the permanent advantages of European honour, or legality, or peace?

We shall now produce evidence of the same class as before, and from the same sources, to show that the views we have thus expressed were those of the British Court at the epoch of the Crimean War. We shall show how it was there and then believed that the continued concert of Europe would abash the offender, and settle the dispute without bloodshed; how the Powers, and especially the Power, were regarded, which paralyzed that concert, and broke it up.

On August 28, 1854 (p. 98), the Prince writes thus to the King of Prussia:—

‘The four Powers acted in perfect harmony up to last March, when Prussia rejected the Quadruple Treaty, which Austria, with the wisest intentions, had proposed.’

On November 8 (p. 143) he addresses his uncle, King Leopold, and describes the danger that France may be tempted 'to cherish her traditional *arrière-pensées* of territorial aggrandisement':—

'This danger, I repeat, Austria, Prussia, and Germany may avert, by acting with us, not in the manipulation of Protocols, which leave everything to the exertions of the Western Powers, and have no object but to make sure that no harm is done to the enemy. Such a course is dishonourable, immoral, leads to distrust, and ultimately to direct hostility. Already the soreness of feeling here against Prussia is intense.'

And as to France, October 23, 1854 (p. 137):—

'In Boulogne the army, as I now hear, was in hopes to have to fight next year with Prussia.'

Much later, on October 29, 1855 (p. 385), the Prince writes to Baron Stockmar:—

'The position taken up by Austria and Prussia is alone to blame for all ; and I tremble for the Nemesis !'

Mr. Martin himself, describing this condition of sentiment, says (p. 161):—

'As the tragic events of this terrible war were more and more developed, more and more keenly was it felt that all its miseries and carnage might have been prevented, had the German Powers gone heart and hand with those of the West in telling Russia that if she persisted in her aggression on Turkey, she would have to meet them also in the field.'

When, however, the fight had been fought, and the allied Powers were about to obtain the fruits of it in a Treaty of Peace, then Prussia made her claim, as one of the great Powers, to take part in the negotiations. With respect to this claim, the Prince shows, on February 16, 1855 (p. 449), that it is inadmissible. Powers must not, he says, take part in the great game of politics, without having laid down their stake:—

'Besides, the question here is between Powers who have waged war against each other, and wish to conclude a peace. What right, then, have others to interfere who have taken no part in the conflict, and have constantly maintained that their interests are not touched by the matter in dispute, and that, therefore, they would not take any part in the business?'

Prussia was accordingly excluded from the arrangements between the belligerents ; and only afterwards was allowed to appear at the meetings of the Powers for the purpose of

considering the general and European arrangements embodied in the Treaty of 1856.

The restrained and sometimes mysterious conduct of Austria is repeatedly censured ; but her case was entirely distinct. Her occupation of the Principalities had at least the air of a qualified co-operation ; her menace of an entire junction with the Allies (p. 425) had to do with the final succumbing of Russia ; and her moral weight was with them throughout.

There are those who will draw comparisons, *mutatis nominibus*, between the drama of 1853-6 and that of 1875-8. There was in each case an offender against the law and peace of Europe ; Turkey, by her distinct and obstinate breach of covenant, taking on the later occasion the place which Russia had held in the earlier controversy. There were in each case prolonged attempts to put down the offence by means of European concert. In 1853-4, these proceeded without a check until the eve of the war. In 1875-7, the combination was sadly intermittent ; but, in the singular and unprecedented Conference at Constantinople, it was, at least on the part of the assembled representatives, perfectly unequivocal. In 1854, the refusal of Prussia to support words by acts completely altered the situation ; and in 1876-7, the assurance conveyed to Turkey from England, that only moral suasion was intended, had the same effect. The difference was that, in 1854-5, two great Powers, with the partial support of a third, prosecuted by military means the work they had undertaken ; in 1877 it was left to Russia alone to act as the hand and sword of Europe, with the natural consequence of weighting the scale with the question what compensation she might claim, or would claim, for her efforts and her sacrifices. This parallel we may leave to the impartial criticism of our readers.

Thus far we have seen that the design of the Crimean War was, in its groundwork, the vindication of European law against an unprovoked aggression. It sought, therefore, to maintain intact the condition of the menaced party against the aggressor ; or in other words, to defend against Russia the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire. The condition of the Christian subjects of the Porte in general was a subject that had never before that epoch come under the official consideration of Europe. The internal government of a country, it may safely be laid down, cannot become the subject of effective consideration by other States, except in cases where it leads to consequences in which they have a true *locus standi*, a legitimate concern on their own particular

account, or on account of the general peace. In the case of Greece, an insurrection growing into a civil war, and disturbing the Levant, had created this *locus standi*; and the interference of three Powers, led by Great Britain, had redressed the mischief. No like door had then been opened in the other Christian provinces of Turkey. The dispute upon the Holy Places in 1853 had very partially opened it, when Russia demanded for herself exclusively a right of intervention on behalf of the Oriental Christians. It thus became necessary, in determining the policy of the future, to take notice of the condition of the subject races. The greatest authorities, and pre-eminently Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, believed in the capacity of the Porte by internal reforms to govern its subjects on the principle of civil equality. The resolution therefore was taken to pursue this end, but without that infringement of the Porte's sovereign rights which Russia had attempted; and this resolution was formally embodied in a Protocol at the outbreak of the war by the Allies and by Austria. The conclusion of the peace in 1856 fell to the lot of Lord Palmerston and his colleagues. In the interest of the Porte, and of the general peace of Europe, they cancelled the rights of separate interference previously possessed and claimed by Russia. They took the Principalities under a direct European protection. On behalf of the subject races generally, they embodied in the treaty the record of the Hatti-humayoun, or edict issued by the Sultan, which purported to establish securely the civil equality of all races and religions in Turkey. This was undoubtedly a covenant on the part of the Sultan. But it was a covenant without penalty for breach; for the Powers expressly renounced any right to call him to account, not, however, generally, but only as growing out of the communication he had made. It was thus, in cancelling the Russian treaties with the Porte, that the Powers of Europe first became, by the Treaty of Paris in 1856, responsible in the last resort for securing the government of the subject races in Turkey on principles of civil equality.

The terms demanded from Russia before the war had been exceedingly moderate. When the war had broken out, the Allies justly availed themselves of their understood right to enlarge these terms. Now, in July 1854, appeared on the ground for the first time the celebrated Four Points. After the fall of Sebastopol, they were again enlarged; a territorial cession, the extinction and not merely the limitation of naval power in the Black Sea, and some provisions relating to the Baltic, were exacted from Russia. In like manner we are

now (as far as is known) witnessing the expansion of the minimised demands of the Conference at Constantinople into a real and effective liberation of Bulgaria, the cession of Armenia, and perhaps other conditions. But what it is curious to note is the relative attitudes of the Court and the Cabinet of Lord Palmerston at the time of the Peace. We must look upon that Peace, according to the evidence of Mr. Martin's volume, as due to the Cabinet, and as accepted at Windsor on constitutional grounds, rather than because it was approved on its own merits. On March 21, 1856 (p. 470), the Prince writes:—

‘The Peace is to be signed on Monday. It is not such as we could have wished ; still, infinitely to be preferred to the prosecution of the war, with the present complication of general policy.’

The views of the Queen are expressed in a letter to the Emperor on April 3 (p. 473):—

‘Although sharing in the feeling of the majority of my people, who think this Peace is perhaps a little premature, I feel bound to tell you that I approve highly of the terms in which it is couched, as a result not unworthy of the sacrifices made by us in common during this just war, and as insuring, so far as this is possible, the stability and the equilibrium of Europe.’

Even those who do not at all think the Peace to have been premature must, as witnesses, corroborate the opinion of Her Majesty with respect to the popular sentiment at the time. This had, during the negotiations of 1853, been calm and moderate in a high degree. It was first thrown into excitement by the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinopè ; which, being simply a military *coup*, was, under some unknown code of sentiment, branded as a massacre. The sufferings of the army during the winter very greatly heightened, as was natural, the susceptibility of the country. But now in October, 1854, the Prince writes (p. 137), that men, ‘if they have seen blood, are no longer the same, and are not to be controlled The cry now is for the annihilation of Russia.’ It was much to the credit of Lord Palmerston and his Cabinet, that the Peace was actually made ; for it was not without hazard to their popularity that the work was carried through.

Such is, we believe, a fair outline of the case of the Crimean War, as it is exhibited in this volume. That war passed through all the phases of popularity ; the people, and especially the newspapers, were so fond of it while it lasted, that they were, as we have seen, reluctant to let it end. It is

an unquestionable fact, that Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, who stoutly and most disinterestedly opposed it, and who, with the bloom of the Corn Law triumph upon them, were before it began the most popular men in the country, lost for the time, by their opposition to it, all hold upon the general public. The war, however, soon and even rapidly waned in favour. At length it came to be looked upon by many, if not by most, as an admitted folly. The nation appeared to have come round to the opinion of Cobden and of Bright. And yet the war had attained its purpose; which was, to repress effectually the aggression of Russia, and to secure to Turkey breathing time and full scope for the reform of its government. It may be said that she did not reform it. Most true; but it is only within a short time that this fact has become at all generally known to our countrymen. And, moreover, this reform was not, properly speaking, the object of the war, but rather an aim incidental to the conditions of the Peace. Why, then, did it fall into disfavour? Because men estimated its object, not as it appears in this volume, not as it was drawn out in the minds of the statesmen who made the war, but according to their own unauthorised and exaggerated ideas of its aim, and of the position of the several parties. Turkey, it was too commonly held, was a young vigorous country, only wanting an open and calm atmosphere to break out into the beauty and bloom of a young civilisation. Russia was to be broken up, or at the least to be crippled by the amputation of important members. The extravagance of these anticipations led to disappointment; and the disappointment, for which people had themselves, or perhaps their newspapers, to thank, was avenged upon the Crimean War.

The persons who are really entitled to vaunt their foresight in this matter, as superior alike to the views of sovereigns and of statesmen, are the few, the very few, who objected to the war from the beginning to the end, and who founded this objection not upon a philanthropic yet scarcely rational proscription of war under all circumstances and conditions, but upon a deeper insight into the nature and foundations of Mahometan power over Christian races, than had fallen to the lot either of diplomacy or of statesmanship. Of these, perhaps the most distinguished are Mr. Freeman and Dr. Newman, both of whom in 1853 proclaimed the hopeless nature, not of the Ottoman as such, but of the Ottoman ascendancy. Both have republished their works of that date, and Mr. Freeman has taken a most active and able part in all the recent controversies; in which, to the surprise of many

admirers, the living voice of Dr. Newman has not once been heard.

Independently of its actual history, the Crimean War has in various unexpected ways left its mark upon us. The factitious reputation, the thin gloss of character, with which it invested Turkey, enabled that most corrupt of States to ape with effect one great vice of civilisation, by accumulating in twenty years of peace a debt of two hundred millions. The market value of this debt is at present almost twenty millions; and he would be a sanguine man who could believe that, with the restoration of peace, it could ever reach one-fourth of the sum which Turkey pledged herself to pay. This vast amount was divided between the profits of middlemen, the speculations of Pachas, the unbounded cost of the profligacy of Sultans, the payment of old dividends out of new capitals, and, it must be added, the creation of a highly respectable iron fleet, and of an excellent war *matériel*, which has cost the Russians many a thousand lives. All this, we apprehend, has been done mainly at the charges of France and England, whose joint losses on the Turkish debt may be thought to form a sort of disastrous postscript to the Crimean alliance, and *pendant* to the hundred and fifty millions which they spent upon the War.

There were two other changes, which became perceptible after the War, and which ought, perhaps, to be referred to it as a cause. One of them is the more feverish condition of the public mind with regard to affairs abroad.

The long continuance of the French Revolutionary War, and the numerous disasters which preceded a final triumph mainly due to the intoxication of Napoleon, fairly nauseated the public taste, or appetite, for war. Moreover, there had been entailed upon us a Debt nominally of eight, but really of nine, hundred millions; a sum which probably represented more nearly a third than a fourth part in value of the entire possessions of the country, so that every man who thought himself owner of three thousand pounds, in truth owned not greatly more than two. Together with this Debt, there was an elaborate system of protective legislation, fettering the industry by which alone our burdens could be borne or diminished, and a widely-spread, and but too natural and intelligible, political disaffection. From 1815 until the Crimean period, the nation may be said to have formed one great peace society; and invasion of the island by a hostile power, though it had been brought so near under Napoleon, was hardly dreamt of. During that period, a fresh guarantee of

peace seemed to be afforded us in a close and cordial alliance with France, which seems to have been sublimated, so to speak, into a very notable personal affection between the reigning houses. In August, 1855, Her Majesty, habitually measured in thought and expression, says of the Emperor (p. 351):—

‘I know few people whom I have felt involuntarily more inclined to confide in and speak unreservedly to; I should not fear saying anything to him. I felt—I do not know how to express it—safe with him.’

A letter on the 29th of the same month ends as follows (p. 522):—

‘Permettez que j’exprime ici tous les sentiments de tendre amitié et d’affection avec lesquels je me dis, Sire et cher Frère, de Votre Majesté Impériale la bien bonne et affectionnée Sœur et Amie,

‘VICTORIA R.’

And even of the Prince the Queen had reported (p. 351):—

‘He quite admits that it is extraordinary how very much attached one becomes to the Emperor, when one lives with him quite at one’s ease, and intimately.’

In 1857, during the Indian Mutiny, our friendship was, as it were, re-consecrated by the invitation of the Emperor to send our troops through France on the way to the East. Yet in 1859, after two short years, our Military and Naval Estimates were largely augmented, and a new and very costly scheme of fortifications was proposed, under the influence of a general apprehension that invasion from France had become a probable contingency, requiring great schemes of defensive precaution. When the civil war in America led to a vast development of military power, British susceptibility fastened on the United States as its object, and the belief became fashionable that we were to be invaded in Canada. When Germany had obtained, by the War of 1870–1, the greatest triumph recorded in her annals, then it was Germany that was to invade us. In the intervals of these alarms, the danger of India from Russia was always available, to sustain this morbid and somewhat womanish excitement.

The second of the changes to which we have referred has been the immense increase in the Military and Naval Estimates since the Crimean War. Without entering into minute details, it may be stated that our average annual expenditure under these heads is much more than twice the

amount at which it was placed in 1835 by the Conservative Government of Sir Robert Peel ; and that, after setting aside special expenditure for secondary wars, the average annual charge for the years 1830-50 did not greatly exceed half what it has been for the years 1857-77. It would not be fair to ascribe the whole of this change to the altered humour of the public. Something considerable is due to the change in armaments, and the increased value of labour. Yet we believe it to be the fact that that altered humour, assiduously wrought upon by the professional spirit, and the promoters of expenditure in general, has been the main cause of the alteration, and not a real and substantive necessity. There has been one important change made which has of itself constituted a great and most valuable economy. We have been enabled to give up, in the greater part of our colonies, the dangerous and costly practice of studding them, under a professed notion of defence, with small fractions of the British army. This economy renders yet more striking that vast increase of charge, of which only the increased wealth of the country at large has made it, as a whole, so little sensible.

There have been arguments used on behalf of this change of system. One has been the growth of Continental armaments. But the chief powers of the Continent have been engaged in wars on a large scale, with which we have had nothing to do. France, Prussia, and Austria have, each of them, had two such wars in the last twenty years. Then it has been a favourite plea that by keeping liberal military and naval establishments we should be placed in a state of security and saved from panics. But the result has been exactly the reverse. While our expenditure remained low, the dread of invasion was a thing hardly known. We make this statement advisedly, notwithstanding the reference to panics in and before 1852, mentioned by the Prince in February of that year (*Life*, ii. 433). These we take to have been no more than whispers within the Army and the Court. They did not really lay hold on the public mind. But since our charges have been so largely augmented, we have had, it may be said, a continuing series of panics, with first one Power and then another as the object of our apprehensions. Again, it has been said, the Duke of Wellington was favourable to the new system. And that is, in some measure, true of the great Duke in his later years ; but whoever heard of it when he was Prime Minister, or before old age was upon him ? It was as he approached fourscore, during the Administration of Sir Robert Peel, that the Duke became an alarmist. But it is

unquestionable that his fears were, notwithstanding his great authority, regarded by that prudent Minister and his colleagues as due to the commencing weakness of age, and were not allowed to act upon the amounts of force which from year to year they proposed to Parliament for the defence of the country.

But, lastly, it was found very convenient to ascribe the very sad sufferings and shortcomings of the winter spent before Sebastopol to the previous economies of the time of peace. Evidently an impression had been made to this effect (p. 486) upon the just and intelligent mind of the Queen herself. But what is the warrant for it? The war broke out; and we, who had no pretensions to be a great military power, actually fought the battle of the Alma with a somewhat larger number of men than France, at that time the first military Power in the world, had been able to find and transport for the purpose. It is said, and is believed, that after that battle the British General felt a confidence in the power of the Allies at once to master Sebastopol, which the French did not feel, and that it was their negative which prevented the attempt. Next, we, who had been paralysed forsooth by economy, had assigned to us the right flank to the south of the fortress, which was the post of danger, while the French forces lay in comparative security between the British and the sea. Upon us, in consequence, came the heavy stress of Inkermann, and our gallant soldiers bore it. True, the ranks of our army were afterwards miserably thinned by sickness. The country was justly irritated, and demanded enquiry. The demand was met not with a single enquiry, but with three. There was one by a Committee of Parliament; one by Royal Commissioners sent to the spot; and one by a Board of Officers at Chelsea. They delivered three different and conflicting verdicts; but no one of them found that the cause of the mischief lay in parsimony practised before the war; the charge is one often and conveniently made, but never proved.

It is true, without doubt, that our organisation was deficient in various branches. But it has never been shown that the really needful improvements might not have been made within those general limits of charge which subsisted during the reign of comparative economy. The truth we believe to be this. Our military authorities were wedded to the antiquated system of soldiering for life, which stands in diametrical opposition to the laws of military practice now universally acknowledged. As long as that system prevailed, it was naturally deemed the most essential point of all to

keep up a force, numerically considerable, of old soldiers. To this end not only persuasion, but something like artifice, was addressed. So many regiments were kept in British North America, so many in the West Indies, and in other Colonial garrisons; because this dispersion presented the aspect of a quasi-military service, and a portion of the army was, as it were, kept out of view. The economies were accordingly thrown to some extent upon the wrong points; the *matériel* was very low; a long period was allowed to pass without measures—by far the most vital of all—for improving the condition of the soldier; and the impulse towards those measures, and towards real reform in the army, when it did come, was a civil rather than a military impulse. Indeed, there is no reason to doubt that in his later years the Duke of Wellington, alarmist as he had become, was also an obstacle to the detailed and toilsome work of administrative reform in the army. It had, however, been fairly begun under Lord Hardinge, alike an able administrator and an excellent man, and it was in course of prosecution when the Crimean War broke upon us.

The Prince could not but bring from Germany military conceptions which were, as to certain aims, much in advance of those current among ourselves; and at the epoch of the war, as well as before it, his active mind was turned to the consideration of our deficiencies. He laid his views before the Government of Lord Aberdeen in an able Memorandum (p. 185), which contains much important matter. He had, indeed, so early as in his letter of February 19, 1852, to the Duke of Wellington, suggested the invaluable system of reserves, which is still so feebly and inadequately worked. In other respects, however, it can hardly be said to move upon the lines of army reformers generally, since it does not include any one of three points which with them were essential; namely, short service for the men, abolition of purchase for the officers, and the abandonment of the expense of garrison forces in colonies other than military posts.

We have already pointed out that the character of the Volume before us is historical quite as much as biographical, and we shall further notice in succession two or three points of interest on which it throws a light.

The attachment of the Sovereign and her Consort to Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Aberdeen, led them to watch with interest the working of the Aberdeen Cabinet, in which the Peelites held no less than six offices, besides having four members of their small party in the most

important positions outside the Cabinet. The six Cabinet Ministers were Lord Aberdeen, the Duke of Argyll,¹ Sir James Graham, the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Sidney Herbert. The four outside the door were Mr. Cardwell at the Board of Trade, Lord Canning at the Post Office, Lord St. Germans, Viceroy of Ireland, and Sir John Young, Chief Secretary. Another Cabinet Minister, Sir William Molesworth, was more nearly associated with them than with the Whigs. Holding this large share of official power, the Peelites did not bring more than about thirty independent votes to the support of the Ministry, in addition to which they neutralised the opposition of perhaps as many more members who sat on the other side of the House. Mr. Martin says (p. 90), 'It was apparent to all the world that no cordial unanimity existed between the Peelite section of the Ministry and their colleagues.'

This is an entire mistake. It must be stated, to the credit of all parties, but especially of the Whig section of that Cabinet, that although the proportions of official power were so different from those of the voting strength in Parliament, there was no sectional demarcation, nor any approach to it, within the Cabinet. In proof of this statement, it may be mentioned that when, in the recess of 1853-4, Lord Palmerston had resigned his office on account of the impending Reform Bill, and it was desired to induce him to reconsider his decision, the two persons who communicated to him the wish of his colleagues were the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Gladstone. Not even when the Eastern Question became the engrossing subject of the day was a sectional division to be traced. It may be true, if *nuances* are to be minutely investigated, that the Peelite colour was on the whole a shade or two more pacific than the Whig; but even this is true of the leading individuals rather than of the sections, and it may be safely affirmed that, of all the steps taken by that Government during the long and complicated negotiations before the Crimean War, there was not one which was forced, as will sometimes happen, by a majority of the Cabinet upon the minority. Rifts there were without doubt in the imposing structure, but they were due entirely to individual views or pretensions, and in no way to sectional antagonism.

The retirement of Lord Aberdeen was a subject of grief

¹ The Duke of Argyll was invited at a very early age, on account of his high personal character and his talent, to enter the Cabinet of Lord Aberdeen, but he did not belong to the ex-official corps who passed by the name of Peelites, while he was in political accordance with them.

to the Court and to his friends ; but he was so far fortunate that, having been made the victim of a cry, partly popular and partly due to political feeling, he was saved, as was the Duke of Newcastle, from the responsibility of an act of difficult and doubtful choice. Their friends, Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Sidney Herbert, were less happy. It was their fate to join the Cabinet of Lord Palmerston, formed after some delay and difficulty, and then to quit it within a fortnight or three weeks. The cause was simply and solely this : the Aberdeen Government had resisted, unanimously and strongly, the appointment of what was termed the Sebastopol Committee ; the Palmerston Government set out with the intention of continuing that resistance. Its Head, and the majority of its members, arrived at the conclusion that the resistance would be ineffectual ; and they determined to succumb. The Peelites adhered to their text ; and, as the minority, they in form resigned, but in fact, and of necessity, were driven from their offices. Into the rights of the question we shall not enter ; but, undoubtedly, they were condemned by the general opinion out of doors. Moreover, as in the letting out of water, the breach, once made, was soon and considerably widened. They had been parties in the Cabinet, not only to the war, but to the extension, after the outbreak had taken place, of the conditions required from Russia. But when it appeared that those demands were to be still further extended, or were to be interpreted with an unexpected rigour, and that the practical object of the Ministerial policy appeared to be a great military success in prosecuting the siege of Sebastopol to a triumphant issue, they declined to accompany the Ministry in their course. Again they met with the condemnation of the country ; and the Prince Consort, while indicating his high opinion of the men, has recorded (p. 298 *et alibi*) his adverse judgment. One admission may perhaps be made in their favour. In the innumerable combinations of the political chessboard, there is none more difficult for an upright man than to discern the exact path of duty, when he has shared in bringing his country into war, and when, in the midst of that war, he finds that it is being waged for purposes in apparent excess of those which he had approved.

The course of the Sebastopol enquiries likewise tended to show, that the high constitutional doctrine which they had set up could not be infringed with impunity. They had held that the enquiry was an executive duty, and could only be conducted aright by a Commission under the authority of

the Crown. The country felt, or thought, it had obtained a triumph by the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee, which was capped, as we have said, by a Commission, and this in its turn traversed by a Board of Officers. The Committee censured the Ministers; though it was plain that, in the business of supply, they, and Mr. Sidney Herbert in particular, with an indefatigable diligence, had run far ahead of any demands received from the camp. The Commission censured the executive departments of the army on the spot. The Board of Officers acquitted the military, and censured the commissariat at home. No attempt was permitted to try the question to its core, as between these conflicting judgments. Mr. Roebuck very properly made a motion to bring the Report of the Committee under the consideration of the House, when the other two competing verdicts would have been compared with it, and with one another. The Peelites supported his motion. But he was defeated by a large majority; so that the question which broke up one Cabinet, and formidably rent another, which agitated England and sorely stained her military reputation in the eyes of Europe, remained then, and remains now, untried by any court of final appeal. Nor did this determined smothering of so great a matter cause public displeasure. On the contrary, as Mr. Martin observes (p. 308), it gave satisfaction. The feeling, he says truly, was turned into other channels. 'The past could not be mended—best leave it alone.' The nation was befooled; and befooled with pleasure, and by its own act.

A survey of these years, conducted in an historic spirit, will, we think, leave on the mind, among other impressions, a sense of the great incidental evils which accompany the breaking up of those singularly, but finely and strongly, organised wholes, our known political parties. Together with Sir Robert Peel, nearly the whole official corps of the Conservatives was discharged in 1846; and the discharge proved to be a final one. The Tories, when brought into office, had to supply the highest places with raw, that is to say, fresh recruits. This could not be without some detriment to the public service; but justice requires the admission that the body of English gentry, trained in the English fashion, affords material of great aptitude for public life. There were evils on the other side much more serious than this. It took no less than thirteen years to effect the final incorporation of the Peelites into the Liberal party. When they took their places among its leaders, the official staff on one side was doubled, as on the other side it was annihilated. It is possible that to this

duplication ought greatly to be attributed those personal discontents, and political cross-purposes, for which the Liberal party has of late years been disastrously remarkable. Moreover, for eleven out of these thirteen years of disembodied existence, the Peelites were independent members. They were like roving icebergs, on which men could not land with safety, but with which ships might come into perilous collision. Their weight was too great not to count, but it counted first this way and then that. It is not alleged against them that their conduct was dishonourable, but their political action was attended with much public inconvenience; and even those who think they were enlightened statesmen may feel that the existence of these sensibly large weights, in a state of detachment from all the organisation of party, acts upon the Parliamentary vessel as a cargo of corn in bulk acts on the trim of a ship at sea. Again, as a party, they had been, like their leader, pacific, and economical. The effects of their separation from official Liberalism during the first Government of Lord Palmerston were easily traceable in the policy of that Government as to various matters of importance. From this time onwards Lord Aberdeen was in retirement, and Peelism ceased to be, as such, in contact with the Court, at which it had certainly weighed as an important factor of political opinion.

The Prince resembled Lord Aberdeen in this, that, with an eminently just and liberal mind, he clung to traditions of Continental policy, or these traditions clung to him, which were by no means uniformly liberal. We cannot but trace his hand in the recognition (p. 44) of the Five Great Powers as having been, 'since the peace of 1815,' the guarantors of treaties, the guardians of civilisation, the champions of right. When Sardinia was struggling for the liberation of Italy, and when she had acted as a very timely ally in the Crimean War, Belgium is emphatically described (p. 501) as 'the only satisfactory child of the new epoch;' and in conversation with Louis Napoleon in 1854, the Prince wished, indeed, that Austria were out of Lombardy for Austria's own sake, but held that she could not recognise its title to an Italian nationality, and that she must hold it for the sake of her military frontier (p. 119). But the reconstituted Italy has thus far been in European politics a Power eminently Conservative; and the only fear is lest she should be seduced, by the bad example of other Powers, into speculations and schemes of territorial aggrandisement.

We have still to offer a remark on the important subject

of the Danubian Principalities, which is touched by Mr. Martin. Subsequently to the Peace of Paris, Moldavia and Wallachia were united into one State under the name of Roumania, and after a time there was placed at its head a foreign Prince. To this measure Austria and the Porte were strongly opposed; and we grieve to say that the influence of official England was thrown into their scale. Its adoption was mainly due to the sound instinct and the decided action of the people of the two Provinces; which Russia at the very least thought it prudent not to thwart, and which France energetically favoured and helped onwards to a successful issue. Lord Clarendon expressed the opinion (p. 466) that, if these Provinces were united under a foreign prince, such a prince would in a few years be able to declare his independence.

Mr. Martin, strangely enough to our mind, says that events have shown how just were these apprehensions (p. 465). Is this just? What are the facts? That for twenty years, though the misgovernment of Turkey would at any moment have afforded a pretext, Roumania remained in tranquil submission to the suzerainty of the Porte; that she did nothing to assist the abortive Bulgarian rebellion of May 1876; that she showed no sympathy with the Servian and Montenegrin war of that summer; that she did not take a step of any kind in opposition to the Porte, until the overpowering might of Russia demanded a military passage through her territory, and virtually forced her into active hostilities. Had Turkey fulfilled the promises of civil equality, which she has shamelessly and obstinately broken, but which Lord Clarendon honestly believed she would be able and disposed to keep, what opportunity would Roumania have had, even if so inclined, to rise against Turkey? Did not her quietude, during nearly two years of festering troubles on her frontier, show how wise it had been to give her contentment and some solidity of existence? If Moldavia and Wallachia had continued in their state of severance and weakness, it would have been not more difficult, but much easier, for Russia either to agitate them by intrigue during the tranquil years 1856-75, or to issue her commands for supplying a free passage through their land to her armies.

But we cannot have any quarrel with Mr. Martin. We must part from him in the good humour which gratitude inspires. In the production of his work, he is without doubt ministering to the just demand of a fond and unquenchable affection in the highest place. But he is also performing a

great service to the country : he gives the permanence of the written record to a life of public duty, which is certainly the most conspicuous that the nineteenth century has witnessed. It is perhaps also the noblest and the purest : the only rival to it in these respects, that we are bold enough to name, is the life of Lord Spencer, better known as Lord Althorp.

We venture to hope that Mr. Martin's labours will not end either with three volumes, or with the fourth ; but that when his work is completed, he will with new energy reduce it to a form suited for a wide popular circulation. Outside the circle of domestic affections, the proper place for the Prince's memory to repose in is the heart of the people.

ART. X.—BURIAL ACTS CONSOLIDATION BILL, 1877.

THE Session of Parliament for 1877 will be memorable, if for nothing else, yet certainly for the unexpected change of front upon the Burial question. Until then the question had simmered on after the manner of other assaults upon rights or privileges inherited by the Established Church; it seemed as though, some day, a raid upon the Church's burial-grounds might afford a convenient rallying cry for the scattered hosts of the Liberal party, and that the Church might not improbably be deprived of some of her duties and responsibilities with regard to the precincts of her Churches, when a new turn of the political wheel had reversed the present position of parties in the House of Commons. Last Session brought an unlooked-for ally into the field for those who wished to hasten this catastrophe. It revealed the startling fact that if our churchyards are to be alienated, and the clergy to be deprived of their immemorial trusteeship for them, the hand by which the severance will be effected will not be that of the Liberation Society, or of the Liberal party, but of the Church's own archbishops and of noblemen who have taken an active part in what affects the fortunes and welfare of, at all events, one section of the Church of England.

The present interest in the question has thus come to centre round the events of last Session, and the line of policy

which ought to be pursued in consequence of it. We could add nothing to the history, given in our April number of 1876, of previous Parliamentary conflicts, since this Nonconformist grievance first found expression in Parliament in 1857; neither could we hope to set forth more forcibly the facts on which must be based our judgment of the reality and moral worth of the agitation for a change in those laws, and the objects and aims of the persons who have hitherto conducted that agitation. These will be found in our number of January 1877. We are, therefore, happily limited in our range of dealing with this subject by what we have already said concerning it, not less than by the requirements of the present hour.

It is then to the history of the Burials question in the last Session of Parliament that we purpose mainly to confine ourselves. On March 13 last, the Lord President introduced a Bill which he described as a Burial Acts Consolidation Bill, the special object of which was to deal with the question of burying the dead from a sanitary point of view. The Bill had been anxiously expected, as it was known that such a measure was in preparation. The struggles over Mr. Osborne Morgan's Bill in previous Sessions made Churchmen fearful lest some arrangement or compromise might be attempted, which would make the defence of their churchyards more difficult in the future. From any approximation to this the Government Bill was perfectly free; and it is only right to acknowledge thankfully the manner in which the Government has throughout dealt with the question. Nor would we omit to express our satisfaction with the firm yet conciliatory mode of handling the Bill by the Duke of Richmond, who was charged with the conduct of it, throughout the difficult and trying debates. The Bill seemed to us a thoroughly fair and honest attempt to remove whatever could be justly alleged as a grievance on the one side, whilst it refused to inflict what would certainly be regarded as a grievance on the other. It was based throughout upon sanitary considerations; there was only one clause, which we will consider presently, that touched the religious-grievance side of the question. Its aim was to close such churchyards as from insufficiency of space or considerations of public health were no longer fit places for burying the dead, and to compel and enable the inhabitants of parishes thus insufficiently furnished to supply what was needed for the decent interment of their dead. It gave to the Local Government Board power to enforce compliance with its requirements, and to Burial Boards or Vestries the duty of carrying out its provisions. It dealt even-handed

justice to Churchmen and Nonconformists, by requiring that in every burying-ground there should be 'a sufficient consecrated and unconsecrated part,' and that whilst a chapel might be provided for Churchmen and another for Nonconformists, the local authority was 'not to provide the one without providing the other, except in pursuance of a special resolution of the burial authority sanctioned by the Local Government Board.' To the local authority was entrusted whatever power was needed to create, sustain, embellish and protect the cemeteries called into existence by the Act. Provision was made for these local bodies to supersede the parish clergyman in certain cases, as it was intended to enact by Clause 36 that 'where a burial-ground has been provided for any parish under the Acts commonly called the Church Building Acts and consecrated, the incumbent of that parish, with the consent of the ordinary and of the burial authority for the district in which such parish, or any part thereof, is situate, may, by writing under his hand and seal, transfer the burial-ground to the burial authority for that district, and thereupon such ground shall be deemed to be the consecrated part of a burial-ground acquired by the burial authority under this Act.' Under this clause, therefore, it would seem that a churchyard as well as consecrated ground at a distance from the church might be transferred to the Burial Board; only the Bill did not enable such Board to permit the service in the consecrated portion of the ground to be performed by Nonconformists. This 36th Clause, as well as the whole tenor of the Bill, shows that if it had become an Act it would have rendered it impossible to add to the Church's own burying-grounds for the future, except by the voluntary contributions of her own members. The provision of burial-grounds by the Church, and the possible absorption of some of those which she possessed by the local burial authority, would, in some important respects, have resembled the provision concerning the possible transfer of Voluntary Schools to School Boards made by the Education Act of 1870.

Only one clause, the 74th, in any way affected the existing law with regard to the religious rites to be used at the grave; we cannot say that it altered it, as it is doubtful whether the authority which it professes to give does not already exist. It provided that where the relative or person taking upon himself the duty of providing for the burial of a deceased person might request it, 'the burial shall be permitted to take place in the churchyard without the performance therein of the burial service of the Church of England.' The avowed

object of this clause being that relatives in charge of the funeral may 'represent that the religious service or ceremony will be performed elsewhere.'

The only doubt that could be raised about the wisdom of the measure, from a Churchman's point of view, lay in the insertion of this 74th clause. It is open to question whether it was necessary, as Lord Redesdale urged, on going into Committee, as there is certainly no law to prevent a body being buried in silence, whilst there is a law permitting suicides to be so interred. If the clause was not necessary, it might be said that it raised a religious question, which otherwise might have been avoided. For our own part, we attach little weight to this consideration, for the question was certain to be raised after the previous discussions in both Houses of Parliament; after the attempts which had been ineffectually made shortly before the Bill was introduced into Parliament by a few clergymen of the Evangelical School, in conjunction with an equal number of Nonconformist ministers, to strike out the terms of a possible compromise; and more especially because it promised to create a difficulty for the Government, which the Opposition was not likely to overlook. We think, therefore, that the Government did well to show its readiness to concede whatever it felt in honour could be conceded, by allowing the Nonconformists to bury their dead in the churchyards of the Church of England, in the same manner that their brethren, of the various bodies of Presbyterians and others, are wont to bury their dead in Scotland, where the graveyards are, in a measure, under the care of a Presbyterian church, though provided by, and the property of, the heritors.

It was evident from the first that the measure would have to encounter vigorous opposition. No sooner was it announced than the whole Nonconformist world was in a flutter. Every sect was aroused to pour its anathemas upon a Bill which did not concede all that the Liberation Society had demanded. Large and important meetings of ministers and leading laymen were summoned for the purpose; small and unimportant meetings were invited to add their voices to the chorus. Public meetings were held by the Liberation Society to denounce the Bill as an insult to the whole Nonconformist body, and to express in unmeasured terms that they would be satisfied with nothing but the complete surrender of all that they demanded. If any had hoped that the Bill would be regarded as a healing measure by some, whose interests it was supposed in some degree to promote, they must certainly have been disappointed, as we believe that, without an exception, every

section of the Protestant nonconforming community expressed its dissatisfaction with what was proposed.

After such an outpouring of discontent at the Government Bill, it was only to be expected that the Liberal' leaders in Parliament should challenge its passage when it came to a second reading. Accordingly, on April 13, Lord Granville, as leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, gave notice that when the second reading was moved he should propose as an amendment the following resolution:—

'That no amendment of the law relating to the burial of the dead in England will be satisfactory, which does not enable the relatives or friends having charge of the funeral of any deceased person to conduct such funeral in any churchyard in which the deceased had a right of interment, with such Christian and orderly religious observances as to them may seem fit.'

This amendment was discussed on April 26, when the Bill was read a second time, by 141 to 102. The debate was chiefly remarkable for the speeches of the two Archbishops and Lord Harrowby. The Archbishop of Canterbury expressed some satisfaction with the principle of a silent service. With it he thought the Established, the Free, and the United Presbyterian Churches of Scotland should, at all events, be content, as their book of discipline sets forth, that for the avoiding of all inconvenience—

'We judge it best that neither singing nor reading be at a burial; for, although it may admonish some of the living to prepare themselves for death, yet it is the view of some superstitious persons that the singing and the reading of the living may benefit the dead. Therefore, we think it most expedient that the dead be conveyed to the place of burial without singing or reading, yea, without all kinds of ceremonies hitherto used, and that they be committed to the grave with gravity and sobriety.'

But his Grace's special objection to the Bill was, that it made no provision for the Christian burial of the unbaptized. He said, 'I do not, however, despair, because I have full confidence that it is a change which the good sense of the Church of England would approve—that there shall be, in the case of persons who die unbaptized through no fault of their own, some means provided by which the minister of religion presiding over the parish may be enabled to commit their bodies to the grave with such consolatory words as their friends may desire uttered over their remains.'

The Archbishop of York, whilst expressing his intention to vote for the second reading, showed that his sympathies were

with Lord Granville's amendment. He was anxious to have the question settled, and he thought this was more likely to be accomplished by reading the Bill a second time, and amending it in Committee, and therefore he reserved any opposition he might wish to offer to it until that stage. At the same time he insisted, with truth, that the clergy have a grievance in being compelled to read the service over all who are brought to them, and this he thought should be considered. Lord Harrowby desired 'to reconcile the basis of the Established Church with the circumstances of the population; but he did not believe that the Bill before the House offered the slightest prospect of a solution of the difficulty; whilst voting for the second reading, he promised that if no one else should come forward to move an amendment to the 74th clause, he would do so.' The debate was certainly untoward for the future prospects of the Bill; it revealed a large amount of opposition amongst those who voted for its second reading, which seemed to render it doubtful whether the crucial test of Committee could be safely borne.

On May 17, the House of Lords went into Committee on the Bill. The consolidating clauses were rapidly passed; all went smoothly till the 74th clause was reached, when the Archbishop of Canterbury moved the following amendment:

'In cases when the Burial Service of the Church of England cannot lawfully be used, but where it shall appear to the incumbent or curate in charge desirable to use some religious service, and the person having charge of the interment shall desire the same, it shall be lawful for the minister, if he shall think fit, to use any service authorised by the Bishop, provided that nothing except hymns shall be introduced into such service, which does not form part of the Holy Scriptures or of the Book of Common Prayer, for such cases; provided that notice shall be sent to the Bishop within seven days of any such use of the said service, by the person using the same. In cases where the Burial Service of the Church of England might lawfully be used, but where the person having charge of the interment shall request that the said service, authorised by the Bishop as aforesaid, shall be used instead of the Burial Service of the Church of England, the minister shall not be subject to any penalty for omitting to use the service of the Church of England, and for using the said authorised service in lieu thereof, provided that, in any such case, he shall report the facts of the case to the Bishop within seven days; and provided that the Bishop shall thereupon approve the said omission and substitution by writing under his hand.'

This amendment was carried by 65 to 60, the two Archbishops and the Bishops of London, Winchester, Carlisle, Exeter, Hereford, Llandaff, Oxford, and Salisbury, and Lords

Harrowby, Middleton, and Cottesloe voting in the majority with the Opposition; the minority consisting of the usual supporters of Government, with the Bishops of Bath and Wells, Chichester, Ely, Lichfield, Lincoln, Peterborough, and Rochester.

The Archbishop of York then proposed as a second amendment—

‘No incumbent or curate of the Church of England shall, after the passing of this Act, be liable to any penalty for refusing or omitting to perform the Burial Service of the Church at the funeral of any deceased person, if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the Bishop that in such refusal or omission he acted under a reasonable belief that scandal and offence would be occasioned to the parishioners by the use of the said service; provided that in every such case it shall be the duty of the minister declining to perform such service, if he would otherwise be required in law to perform it, to give notice of his refusal to the relatives or persons taking upon them the duty of providing for the burial of such deceased person, in such a manner and within such time as to enable proper provision to be made for such burial; provided further, that in case of such refusal it shall be lawful for any other minister of the Church, beneficed or licensed in any diocese, who may be willing to do so, to read the Burial Service of the Church at the burial of such deceased person in any churchyard in which the deceased person had at the time of his death a right of interment; provided also, that the incumbent or curate so refusing shall at the time transmit a statement of such refusal, and of the grounds thereof, to the Bishop of the diocese, who shall thereupon declare to the said incumbent or curate, in writing, whether it has or has not been shown to his satisfaction that there were reasonable grounds for such refusal.’

This clause, being apparently supported only by Lord Selborne and its proposer, was negatived without a division.

There is one objection common to the clauses moved by the two Archbishops to which we would call attention in passing. Both seem to regard the Church as a congeries of individuals, not an organised living body. Whilst, therefore, they are anxious to protect the consciences of individuals, they fail to see that the conscience of the Church may be offended by some of its members acting in one way and some in another upon a matter about which she had recently legislated. Thus the Archbishop of Canterbury provides a second service, to be read when the present Burial Office of the Church cannot legally be read; but then it can only be employed when the minister in charge ‘shall think fit,’ so that in two (possibly adjoining) parishes, under identical circumstances, the service would be read in one and refused in the other. In many

things we are far from desiring rigid uniformity ; but in a matter of discipline like this, which will certainly arouse a good deal of feeling, it does seem to us very desirable that clergymen should have a positive law laid down for their guidance, and that the action of the Church should be uniform. It might sometimes require obedience which some would rather not render ; but at others it would furnish protection for which all would be grateful. The Archbishop of York, in his proposal, goes farther than this. He proposes that in cases when it can be shown to the satisfaction of the Bishop that 'scandal and offence would be occasioned to the parishioners by the use' of the Burial Office of the Church, no minister shall be liable to any penalty for refusing to read such office ; but then he proceeds to enact 'that in case of such refusal it shall be lawful for any other minister of the Church, beneficed or licensed in any diocese, who may be willing to do so, to read the burial service of the Church at the burial of such deceased person.' That is, when the Bishop and the parish priest concur in thinking that 'scandal and offence' would be created by reading the Burial Service, nevertheless the friends of a rich sinner are to be authorised by law to bribe some hireling priest to read the service, and thereby create a scandal and offence to the parishioners. Surely, in both cases, the loss to the Church would be greater, and is of far more moment, than the gain to individuals. Whilst, therefore, we think something needs to be done in the case brought forward by the Archbishop of York, we should exceedingly deprecate his Grace's remedy.

But to proceed with Lord Harrowby's amendment, which was next proposed in the following words :

'When the relative, or other person having charge of the funeral of a person dying in any parish or having had a right of interment in any parish, shall signify in writing to the incumbent of such parish, or to the curate in charge of the same, that it is his desire that the burial of such person shall take place without the Burial Service of the Church of England, the said relative or person shall thereupon be at liberty to inter the deceased with such Christian and orderly religious services at the grave as he shall think fit, or without any religious service ; provided that all regulations as to the position and making of the grave which would be in force in the case of a person interred with the service of the Church of England shall be in force as to such interment ; provided further, that notice of the time when it is the wish of the relatives or other persons, as aforesaid, to conduct the said interment shall be given to the incumbent or curate in charge, at latest some time the day before ; provided further, that the said interment shall not take place at the time of, or within half an hour before or after,

any service in the church, or of any funeral already appointed in the churchyard. If any person shall in any churchyard use any observance or ceremony, or deliver any address not permitted by this Act, or otherwise, or by any lawful authority, or be guilty of any disorderly conduct or conduct calculated to provoke a breach of the peace, or shall under colour of any religious observance, or otherwise, in any churchyard, wilfully endeavour to bring into contempt or obloquy the Christian religion, or the belief or worship of any church or denomination of Christians, or the ministers or any minister of any such church or denomination, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.'

This clause failed to be carried in Committee, an equal number of votes (102) appearing for and against it, those in its favour including amongst them the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of Oxford and Exeter. But upon the bringing up of the report on June 18, the clause was accepted by 127 voices in its favour to 111 against it.

This proved fatal to the Bill. On June 21 the Duke of Richmond and Gordon announced—

'That since Monday last he had consulted his colleagues as to the course which should be adopted with regard to the Burials Bill, and they had come to the conclusion that the amendment of Lord Harrowby was so opposed to the general scheme of the Bill, and would so entirely disarrange the principle on which it was founded, that it was incumbent on the Government to withdraw the measure. During the recess they should give the whole subject their attentive consideration.'

Such is the present position of affairs. We have thought it best to remind our readers of the facts as briefly as possible, and now we must address ourselves to the much more difficult task of considering what ought to be done. It is not easy to conceive a more anxious state of affairs, or one in which it behoves all who write or speak about it to weigh well their words. At such a time, to speak with passion or prejudice may imperil interests which we greatly value, whilst to forbear to say what we honestly believe would be cowardly in the extreme. Let us then begin by looking the situation fairly in the face. Two amendments have been carried in the House of Lords—the branch of the legislature likely to be most favourable to the Church—which would materially alter the present law with respect to the burial of the dead and the tenure of our churchyards. One of these amendments was proposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and supported by the Archbishop of York; the other was defended by one of our Primates, and not opposed by the other; whilst the leading

Peers of one of the schools of thought in the Church—such as Lords Shaftesbury, Harrowby, Chichester, Ebury, Middleton—irrespective of political party, voted for one or both of them. These amendments were carried in full houses; the later one, after every effort had been made to secure a good division by both sides, and after some weeks had been allowed to elapse, during which the subject had been most industriously ventilated. We fear, therefore, that we must begin by admitting that the tone of the House of Lords must be regarded as expressed by the last division, and that whilst it would be exaggerating the danger to despair of a more favourable division after a longer consideration of the question, nevertheless the probabilities are that next session would show the feeling in the Upper House unchanged. Possibly the most hopeful feature may be found in the fact that little more than one-half of the Peers voted—238 out of 474. But much cannot be built upon this, as it is obvious that if they had had a clear view on the question they would have voted. Moreover, there is the further possibility that the sympathies of those who did not vote were not in accordance with those of their party, and if that party should be the party of the Government, it would make the matter worse.

It may help us to determine the course which should be taken with respect to the two amendments carried in the House of Lords, and the possibility of an arrangement being arrived at for their settlement, if we examine the grounds on which they are urged, and the reasons set forth by their promoters to secure their adoption. A careful examination of the debate will show that the one ground on which every argument rests is that the churchyards are places in which all parishioners have a legal right to be buried, and therefore it is a grievance if they are not allowed to be buried there in the manner they or their friends would like best. The way in which the grievance is dressed up varies according to the art or prepossessions of the speaker; but this is the assumption which underlies every appeal for a change of the law where it is not distinctly stated. Lord Granville is content to assume it, and he would have none of the Bill proposed by the Government because it does not satisfy the demands of the Nonconformists. The Archbishop of Canterbury expressed a hope that the grievance in this matter might, in part at least, be removed by some alteration of the law as it affects the existing service of the Church of England. 'I hold,' he says, 'that one who is desirous of being buried in the churchyard of the Church of England, and who has no

conscientious objection to the service of the Church of England, is entitled to be buried with the service of the Church of England.' In other words, he actually claims for the unbaptized the *right* to enjoy the service provided by the Church for her own members. He seems to forget that baptism admits into the fold of the Church, and that, however excellent and admirable persons unbaptized may be, it is not the office of the Church to make provision for their burial rites. The case is different with those who have been admitted within her pale, however unworthy they may be, if she has not expelled them from her communion. And though it is certain that much of the present difficulty springs from the scandals which have arisen from burying notorious evil livers, and from the felt unsuitableness of our burial office to many over whom it is read ; still it must be remembered that for them the Church is bound to make provision. They have been made members of her body, and for some reason she has not thought well to sunder the connexion. But for those not admitted, or severed from her ranks, she has no such obligation. Her responsibility is to Churchmen, not to British subjects. And though she may be content to assume, in the absence of positive proof to the contrary, as in the case of persons found drowned on the sea shore, that they are Churchmen, she is not bound to act as if this were the case, when she has positive proof to the contrary. Nay, all sense of her own true position forbids such a course of action. It was forgetfulness of this that led to the Archbishop's resolution. He evidently takes for granted that English Churchmen and English citizens are convertible terms. It is upon this confusion of thought that his amendment depends for its justification. If the Church is bound to make provision for 'all the subjects of the Queen,' then much may be said in its favour, though then the present position would be obviously most unsuitable ; but if the Church has only to take order for those who are her members, then the case is quite different. The assumption which the other speakers were content to make tacitly Lord Selborne asserts explicitly. 'You must not forget,' he says, 'that the law gives the Dissenters the right which this Bill does not take away—of interment in churchyards. Even where there are cemeteries, there may be many persons whose relatives and friends rest in the churchyard, and who would desire at their death to lie beside them, and it would be no answer to them to say, "You cannot have your legal right in the churchyard, your body cannot be laid here beside the bodies of your wife and children otherwise than by the

service of the Church or by silent burial. But you may go to the cemetery somewhere else, and have the interment performed religiously after your manner there.”

This, then, is the one point upon which the whole controversy turns, that the Dissenters have a grievance, because having a right as parishioners to be buried in a churchyard, they cannot exercise that right in whatever manner they please. But here we note a confusion between two things which ought not to be confounded. An unconditional right is one thing, a conditional right is another. In the former case any bar to the enjoyment of the right becomes an injustice; in the latter, the right has no existence until the conditions are complied with. This is obvious enough in other matters, and we contend that it is equally so here. The law gives a man a right to be buried in the churchyard; well, it gives him also a right to use the Queen's highway; but no one would say that he had a grievance because he was debarred from using such highway through a refusal to obey the byelaws issued for its management, such as driving in the carriage-road, and not on the footpath; and observing the common-law uses as to the vehicles he might meet or pass. And there are reasons for observing existing conditions as to the use of our churchyards, stronger than for observing them with respect to the use of our highways, and this is set forth by the fact that the freehold of the churchyards is vested, not in the Queen or in any central civil authority, for the equal use of all the parishioners upon the same terms, but in the parson of the parish, as guardian of the distinctive rights of the Church of which he is the minister.

Moreover, it is equally obvious to say that if the law gives every parishioner a right to be buried in the churchyard, it also gives every parishioner a right to worship in his parish church; and, as a matter of argument, we do not see how it can be successfully maintained that it is a violation of religious liberty to insist upon the maintenance of the conditions under which the first of these rights has hitherto been enjoyed, and yet no infringement of it to maintain them with regard to the second. The truth is the same in both cases: the law which gives a right to interment in a churchyard prescribes the conditions under which that right may be exercised, just as the law prescribes the conditions under which the parishioners may worship in their parish church. The right and the conditions go hand in hand. The right to be buried in the churchyard is a legal, not a natural right, and it exists only on the conditions laid down by the law. We may go further.

We presume that when a Nonconformist chapel is licensed for public worship, it is open to all who may desire to take part in its services, it has in a measure lost its private character and has assumed a public one, and therefore it is not free for those who have opened it to admit whom they will and to exclude whom they will. Why then, as all persons have a right to worship there, should not all by the same rule have a right to the kind of worship which they prefer? So again, the law gives to all a right to travel in all public conveyances, why should not the passenger by the same rule have equally a right to dictate the terms on which he will use them, and so to refuse to pay any fare?

And then, with respect to the defence of the Church, if we concede this right to the churchyard, it may be well to remind Lord Selborne that it is difficult to reconcile the urgency with which he insists upon the Dissenter's right to the churchyard with his judgment in relation to the church in the case of Mr. Ridsdale. The freehold of S. Peter's, Folkestone, vests in Mr. Ridsdale as incumbent, and that surely is a right to officiate there, at least as strong as the Dissenter's right to be buried in the churchyard of his parish. Yet Lord Selborne, so far as is known, saw no hardship in assenting to a judgment which would deprive Mr. Ridsdale of the right which he now possesses, and of eventually turning him out of the church of which he is incumbent if he would not comply with the conditions which the law, as laid down by the final Court of Appeal, requires him to fulfil. Why then, from a legal point of view, should the Dissenter's hardship be represented as so very great when, in his case, it arises from a hindrance from entering upon a privilege which he had not previously enjoyed, while in Mr. Ridsdale's case it is asserted to be only common justice that he should lose what he has? For the cause from which both hardships spring is identical—a refusal to observe the conditions attached to the right. And if sentiment or feeling is to have weight in the decision, it is surely a worse thing to be deprived of what we have than to be hindered from obtaining what we have never possessed.

Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the primary idea in providing churchyards was not care or thought for the interment of the 'subjects of the Queen,' but of the faithful members of the Church. As Sir Robert Phillimore expresses it in his *Ecclesiastical Law*, i. 840—

'The right to burial was founded on the dead man having, while alive, been a member of the Christian community; and therefore

infideles, unbelievers, heretics, and their abettors, schismatics, those under an interdict, and the excommunicated, were denied this privilege.'

And then a little further on (p. 842), he gives the reason why the faithful wished for burial in a plot of ground adjoining the Church :—

'The reason given by Gregory the Great why it was more profitable to be buried within the precincts of the church than at a distance, was, because their neighbours, as often as they come to those sacred places, remembering those whose sepulchres they behold, do put forth prayers for them unto God. Which reason was afterwards transferred into the body of the Canon law. And this practice of praying for the dead seems to have been the true origin of churchyards, as encompassing or adjoining to the church ; which having been laid out and inclosed for the common burial-places of the respective parishioners, every parishioner has, and always had, a right to be buried in them.'

We do not suppose that either the Archbishop or Lord Selborne would hold that the Dissenters would suffer a grievance because they were deprived of what was held in the days of Gregory the Great to be a special privilege of the faithful. As the grievance for the removal of which they plead is not based upon any proposed encroachment by the clergy upon rights or privileges hitherto enjoyed by Nonconformists, so neither can it be founded upon their fear of being deprived of what those who dedicated our ancient churchyards looked upon as the special profit and advantage of being buried in them.

As this ancient ecclesiastical view would be scouted as the basis on which to rest the grievance, on what must it be built? We feel assured that Lord Selborne is too much wedded to the mysteries of his craft to generalise and to apply to all things indiscriminately what he asserts so strongly about the burial laws, and yet upon what defensible principle can he make the application of a general rule a grievance in one case, and no grievance in all others, more especially when the law from time immemorial has placed them all on the same footing? No doubt Lord Selborne, in his extensive practice, has met with many lifeholders of entailed estates, of settled annuities, of pensions and other advantages, who exceedingly dislike the conditions with which their possession is burdened. They would very much wish to exchange their life-tenures for a freehold, or to convert their land into money, or to invest their capital in securities which bear a higher interest, or to trade with the capital ; but, how-

ever strongly such persons might feel the restrictions which hindered their making the changes they desired, we cannot suppose that the late Lord Chancellor would generalize the grievance of which he is the able exponent, and apply the principle universally which he seeks to enforce with respect to one kind of trust property. And yet, if it be a grievance for a man to be bound by the conditions under which a privilege is provided for him in the one case, we need some proof to show that it is not a grievance in the other, or *vice versa*. And we think that it may be found that more interests are imperilled by thus getting rid of conditions, unpleasant to those who are bound by them, than is contemplated by the advocates of the relaxation now under discussion.

Or perhaps Lord Selborne would limit the application of his principle, and say that it should affect only those things which relate to religion, and when conscience may be pleaded. If so, on what basis are we to found our arguments for the retention of our churches, if we concede what he asks with respect to our churchyards? The right with respect to the two is thus laid down by Sir Robert Phillimore:—

‘And, although the freehold of the body of the church be in the incumbent thereof, and the seats be fixed to the freehold; yet because that the church is dedicated to the service of God, and is for the use of the inhabitants, and the seats are erected for their more convenient attendance upon Divine Service, the use of them is common to all the people that pay to the repair thereof.’—*Ecclesiastical Law*, ii. 1798.

‘It is clear by the common law the Rector has the freehold in the churchyard, qualified undoubtedly by the rights of the parishioners, but he may bring an action for trespass if his rights be unjustly invaded.’—*Ibid.* p. 1779.

If the Nonconformists when dead suffer a wrong and a grievance, because they cannot have what service they like, performed by whomsoever they like, in the churchyard, how is it possible to deny, if the legal rights of the parishioners are correctly laid down by Sir Robert Phillimore, that they suffer a like wrong when they are alive, in not being able to have what service they like, performed by whomsoever they like, in the church? There must be a common answer to both, as a matter of mere reasoning, and to us that answer seems plain. It is, that neither church nor churchyard was provided for the parishioners to use according to their own private fancies, but for securing to them the teaching of the Church whilst they were alive, and burial by the Church when they were dead. And that if they did not care to have the one or the other on the terms proposed,

they thereby failed to acquire all the rights and advantages which they might otherwise have enjoyed.

But we have not yet discovered in what the grievance consists. Lord Granville makes an appeal to civil and religious liberty, as though to refuse what Dissenters ask was a violation of that principle. Surely he uses the words in a sense quite different to what he employed them when a young man. Then civil and religious liberty was taken to mean that religious opinions should not debar from political privileges or hinder a man from worshipping God as he thought best, in a place that he might provide for the purpose. But now he would apply it to a case where no civil liberty of the complainant is threatened, and where his religious liberty is absolutely unfettered, if only he will be content to enjoy it without violating what others feel to be their civil and religious liberty. Why should Nonconformists have a right to interfere with Churchmen's possession of burial-grounds, which have been secured to them by a solemn religious dedication as well as by immemorial custom and by legislation, and if they are denied the pleasure of invading the cherished and time-honoured possessions of men of a different faith to their own, turn round and say that their civil and religious liberty is interfered with? If this argument should hold, it is obvious that a man's civil liberty must equally include a right to his share of the freehold land of the country, now held by a tenure, in many respects more open to assault than that of the Church to her churchyards. If landowners would feel that their liberty would be interfered with by their land being divided amongst all that would wish for a share of it, Churchmen may feel the same with respect to their churchyards. And it must be remembered that the land was in the first instance allotted by the King, as head of the State, to be held for the benefit of the service of the State; just as in the other instance the churchyards were solemnly dedicated to God for the benefit of the parishioners who died in communion with the Church. If the terms of the tenure in the latter case are to be abrogated, because persons are found who claim their share, whilst they refuse to observe the conditions to which their right to make the claim is attached; what is there to hinder others from insisting that the terms of the tenure in the other case shall be narrowly scrutinised, and from claiming that either the terms of the original grant shall be fulfilled in the spirit in which they were imposed, or else that the power which granted the land upon conditions shall resume its grant when those conditions have not been fully observed? We believe it is

best for all parties in the State that things should remain as they are. We exceedingly deprecate any interference with the present received principles as to the possession of property. But we are satisfied that if these principles are ruthlessly trampled upon in so serious a matter as the Church's right to her churchyards, the breach cannot stop there. Every landowner in the country will probably in the course of a few years feel the force of the flood, when this gate is opened for its discharge; and those who consent to apply the principle to the property of others, will surely not expect much sympathy when it comes in turn to be applied to their own possessions. Moreover, as a further objection to the proposed alienation, we know no reason why Churchmen have not as much right to their civil and religious liberty as Nonconformists to theirs, and they would certainly feel that it was interfered with if their present rights in their churchyards were taken from them. This has apparently been overlooked by those who assume or assert that the Nonconformists have a grievance in the matter of their burials.

We are satisfied, then, that the basis on which the alleged grievance rests is one that will not bear to be critically examined. The principle contained in that basis, if logically carried out, would be destructive of all conditions upon the enjoyment of any privileges, and subversive of the tenure by which much of the property of the country is held, and of many of its institutions. We are quite aware that it has already been applied to the fund provided by the piety of our ancestors for the maintenance of the fabrics of our churches, and to some other of the Church's possessions. The confiscation of our churchyards would be another application of the same principle; the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church another; the confiscation of the rights of present owners of land for the benefit of the State another. We cannot say that we so admire what has been done, or what may possibly follow in logical sequence, as to be willing to assent to the application.

But though it may be impossible to show that by the present laws affecting the burial of the dead in her churchyards, the Church inflicts any wrong or hardship upon the Nonconformists, it is perfectly possible that change of circumstances may have created inconveniences which call for legislative remedy. We wish to judge of this matter with strict impartiality, and to deal out to others what we should wish to have dealt out to ourselves if the position was reversed.

If we, or any of those whom we love, were to die in a country where there are only burial-grounds connected with Roman Catholic churches, or in Scotland where there are only burial-grounds connected with the Established Kirk, what should we wish for ourselves and our belongings? We can truly say that the last place in which we should wish to claim a right of sepulture would be the burial-ground in either case. What we should desire would be to lie amongst our own people, those who had held the same faith with ourselves when they were alive, and all that we should ask for would be some spot safe from desecration where our ashes might be undisturbed till the day of doom. Let such a place be secured to us, and we should be quite satisfied; let us be able there to have the service appointed by our own Church, and we should feel that there was nothing more for which we could ask.

Feeling this, we turn to the case of the Nonconformists at home, and we find that there are places where they cannot have those privileges, which we recognise to be as much their right as our own, and therefore we would say, wherever they do not exist, let them be supplied. There was a time when all Englishmen belonged to one Church, and when all were content to receive the same burial rites. Long since then, when divisions abounded, the greater number of people had no other desire than that when they died they should be buried with the service of the Church in the churchyard. Those who entertained a different feeling, and markedly members of the Society of Friends, provided burial-grounds for themselves. There are hundreds, we might say thousands, of such burial-grounds in different parts of England and Wales. What member of the Church of England has ever wished to violate the sanctity of these resting-places of the dead, or to disturb the peace of their guardians by asking that he might be buried within their precincts, with the service of the Church of England? As Churchmen would require that within reach of the places where there are such burial-grounds there should be opportunity given to them to be interred according to the rites of their own Church, so we readily concede, nay we would gladly urge, that in every place the Nonconformists should have a right to a like provision for their dead. The great increase in the population, and possibly the intensifying of what is sometimes termed the 'dissidence of dissent,' have led to a claim being made for this right, of which our forefathers heard nothing. And as the claim has been made, by all means let it be satisfied, not by encroaching upon the rights of others, but by providing a new place of sepulture in which those

others shall have no rights. If the churchyard suffices for the needs of the Church people, then let a Nonconformist burying-ground be secured in the most fitting place, and in such a manner as will best meet the wishes of those for whose benefit it is intended. Let this be done at the general expense; Churchmen would not object to contribute their rateable proportion. For as the law secures to each parishioner a right to be buried within his parish, so the true recognition of the requirements of religious liberty demands that each parishioner should be buried with such religious rites as he would prefer. If, therefore, some parishioners object to the religious rites which are and ever have been the condition on which persons have a claim to be interred in the churchyards, then by all means let another place be provided to which no such conditions are attached, and where any one will be at liberty, within reasonable limits, to follow the rules and ordinances of the religious or non-religious body to which he may belong. But do not let the religious liberty of those who value the consecration of our churchyards, and their exclusive use by persons buried with the Church's services, be trenched upon by others who despise the consecration of the ground, and wholly reject the service appointed to be read in it. An equal measure of liberty Churchmen would freely concede. But when they propose it they are met with two objections—the first that such a plan would ticket people in death as Churchmen or Nonconformists. Surely what a man tickets himself in life, he cannot object to being ticketed in death, if we must use a word which has not been introduced by ourselves into the controversy, and to which we object as an unfair mode of describing the differences between Church and Dissent. We cannot imagine an earnest Nonconformist who on every Sunday in his life attended the Baptist, or Congregational, or Methodist Chapel saying—‘I should like to be so buried when I die that no one should ever know that I had not been a Churchman.’ The same convictions, which we must assume to be conscientious, that led him, when alive, to separate from the Church, we should imagine would make him feel that there could be no grievance when he was dead in having such separation marked. It is not Church people who have severed themselves from Nonconformists, but Nonconformists from Church people. They must be supposed to have separated themselves for a reason which they felt to be of vital importance. They thought the doctrines of the Church erroneous, or its ministers less spiritual and edifying, or its people less

godly, than were to be found amongst the sect to which they joined themselves. Why, then, should they hold it to be a grievance that the position which they chose for themselves in life, and which from their point of view we must assume to be one of superiority, should be marked when they are dead?

But there is a second objection, which is now more generally insisted upon. It is said there is a strong natural sentiment which leads men to desire that their bodies, when dead, should lie in the same ground with those of the persons they loved when upon earth. In considering this objection we have to ask which is the hardship that you really mean—the prohibition to lie beside wife or children, which is one thing, or the being hindered from introducing strange ministers with unaccustomed rites into the churchyards, which is quite another? If the former be the real grievance, Churchmen are willing to remove it by saying, as the Government Bill of last session said, ‘You need not be excluded from our churchyards, from lying beside wife or children, even though you so dislike the Burial Office of the Church of England that you will not allow it to be read over your body; by all means follow the custom of the Presbyterians in Scotland, and let there be whatever service you would prefer in your own house before the funeral cortège starts; or, if you think better, let your body be taken to the chapel where you worshipped when you were alive, and let the minister, from whose lips you listened to that religious teaching which you preferred, say over your body that service you desiderate, and then let your body be silently laid to rest beside those whom you loved.’ Nay, most Churchmen say, ‘If you would still wish for some service in the churchyard, we are willing to have a second service prepared, in which shall be found none of the sentences with which you find fault in our present office, nothing to which you can conscientiously object.’ So far, then, as the sentimental wish to lie in the churchyard beside those whom they loved on earth is concerned, Church people are willing to remove difficulties if they exist, and to make it quite possible for those who object to our rites to obtain what they desire without submitting to them.

We are satisfied that the more the question is considered, the more it will be found that it is not objections to a silent funeral, or the Church’s service, or the ministrations of the clergyman, which constitute the grievance which the Non-conformists are labouring to remove. All these things, as we have shown, might be surmounted; for the removal of whatever could be called a grievance in any of these things

the Church is ready to provide. What is wanted by those who agitate for a change in the law is to assert the equal right of Nonconformist ministers to conduct services in the churchyards, and if in the churchyards then in the churches belonging to the Established Church. It is the same question which was substantially settled in 1662, which is now being revived. Then the doubt was whether those ministers who had not been ordained by a bishop should be reckoned as ministers of the Church of England, and be allowed to retain their cures; now it is, shall those who have not been episcopally ordained be placed on the same footing in our churchyards with those whose orders were derived from bishops? However the question may be smoothed over, we are satisfied that is the actuating motive with the chief promoters of the agitation. The claim is not made in words, amongst other reasons, possibly, because the small secular wing of the party clamouring for change would have no sympathy with it; and the attacking army must be kept together till the bastion is carried. Moreover, the question has become a political one, and many join in the onslaught upon our churchyards on political and not on religious grounds, and to some of them the announcement that this was the point aimed at would be displeasing.

Throughout, we have argued this question as though it were concerned mainly with the person allowed to officiate in our churchyards. We have done so because we are satisfied that this is the crucial point of the question. Surrender this, and the Nonconformists will make light of any other difficulties which they have raised, at all events for the present. Give up this, and Churchmen generally would say that there is nothing left worth fighting for. The reason for this is obvious. The clergyman claims to have the sole right of officiating because the churchyard is vested in him, and therefore, he maintains, belongs to the Church and not to the State; and he also maintains that the two are not identical. The Nonconformist insists upon his right to officiate within the consecrated enclosure, because he affirms that the churches and all that appertain to them are national property; so that the Church must either have never had an existence independent of the State, or, if she had, she must have lost it. The clergyman, therefore, on his hypothesis refuses to recognise that his right to minister in church or churchyard comes from the civil authority; he asserts that neither church nor churchyard ever belonged to the State; and that its ownership stands in the same relation to the State as any other proprietary

rights. He recognises the power of the State to dispossess the Church, or alienate her property, just as he recognises its power to do the same with all other property. The State laid violent hands on Church property in periods that may be called revolutionary, such as the Reformation. It did the same with the rights of individual proprietors in other revolutionary periods, such as the Norman Conquest and the Wars of the Roses; and we have yet to learn that in the Great Rebellion lay 'malignants' and their estates were exempted from suffering and confiscation, any more than were the clergy and the property of which they were the trustees. If, therefore, the State chooses to pass a law which shall strip the Church of her churches and churchyards, there is no power which can resist it; but likewise, if it chooses to pass a law, that when a man dies his estate shall be equally divided amongst his children, or amongst the householders in his parish, or be confiscated to the State, there is no one who would say that it does not possess the power. The clergy regard Lord Harrowby's resolution very much as Lord Harrowby would regard a law relating to landed estate of the kind just indicated. The Liberationist view is quite different to this. He holds that churches and churchyards and endowments are national property; that the nation has therefore a right to entrust them to other hands if it chooses to do so; that, as the privileges of the Church in other ways have been abridged, so they may be with respect to churchyards. In the person, therefore, who has a right to minister in the churchyard each side sees the representative of the principle for which it contends. To the Churchman the Liberationist seems to be advocating the overthrow of rights of property, and he is satisfied that each concession of the principle brings us nearer to a catastrophe. To the Liberationist the Churchman seems to be contending for the exclusive enjoyment of privileges which belong to the nation at large. In such a conflict of views there can be no compromise. It does not therefore seem to us desirable to discuss proposals for settling this question emanating from Churchmen which do not grapple with this point. Thus, for instance, it has been proposed to close all the churchyards in the country, and to begin everywhere afresh with cemeteries, in which the two parties may be placed upon an absolute equality. But, self-denying as this suggestion is, we fear that it would not satisfy. If there is any truth in what Lord Selborne asserts, that people are anxious to be buried near their departed friends (and we are far from denying it), then it would be

sorry comfort to the Nonconformist to say to him, 'You need not mind being unable to gratify this wish, for you are as well off as the Churchman;' nor could we expect Churchmen, who valued the privilege, contentedly to acquiesce in its surrender, more especially if it would not satisfy opponents. Whilst in some country parishes, where there is still much unused space in the churchyards, strong objections would be raised against providing a new cemetery for Church people. With regard to all these proposals, we should say it is waste of time to consider them until we know that they will content those for whose satisfaction they are intended. So far as we know of the controversy on the Nonconformist side, it has been made to hang entirely upon the one point, the admission of those who represent them to officiate in our churchyards. For Churchmen, under these circumstances, to discuss plans of conciliation is certainly misleading. It may give the impression that with a little more pressure they will consent to yield the special point in dispute. Until this is settled, therefore, we would advise as little distraction as possible to side issues; only let it be distinctly understood that we are willing to yield whatever in honour we can to satisfy the fair wishes and even the prejudices of those who have raised this controversy.

It may be well for us to remember that as those who are contending for a change in the tenure of our churchyards are influenced by a variety of motives, so there is no doubt that this would considerably modify the logical consequences which might be expected to result from the seizure of our burial-grounds. In each step of depriving the Church of her ancient rights and possessions people see danger to themselves, from fear of which they become defenders against further assaults. So probably it would be in this case. Many say that they look at the whole question from a practical point of view, and they have nothing to do with the underlying principles which others imagine to be involved. To them it seems that to admit others besides the clergy to officiate in our churchyards would create no great disturbance of interests, that it would simply remove what is felt to be a grievance by one portion of the community, whilst it really would inflict little or no injury upon any other. But whilst arguing thus with respect to churchyards, they would speak very differently of the churches and their endowments. These have in their eyes an element of personal possession about them, which the others have not. If the churchyards are used by Nonconformists, they would say the clergy and Church people would

be no poorer. They would have what they now have, and others would have a share too. Fallacious and shortsighted as this is, it is the popular feeling which creates danger. People will for the most part refuse to see that there is a logical force in events, as well as in arguments, and that events tend steadily and certainly to their natural conclusions, at least as certainly as do arguments. But all parties see that to deprive Church people of their churches, and of the endowments by which their clergy are maintained, would be a violent interference with the rights of private property. It would begin with the Church, but it could not stop there. Landed estates would speedily follow, and, at a very early date, the Monarchy would fall too. Whilst, then, for political reasons, many may be willing to disendow the Church of her churchyards, they would shrink from a measure which even they would see might shake the tenure of land and other property, and probably shake monarchical institutions which they value, and so they would refuse to support disestablishment and disendowment, and deride the thought that they were logically bound to further it. It would seem to them a sufficient answer to such an argument that Englishmen guided their actions by the rules of practical common sense, not by logical consistency. But, whilst a surrender of our churchyards would, in point of principle, be only the further development of the course pursued in depriving the Church of church rates and of her universities and endowed schools, there can be no doubt that this last step would be much more keenly felt by the clergy at large, and by a great many Church laymen, than were the previous inroads upon her position as an Established Church. By the mistaken action of many rectors and vestries of old parish churches the way was paved for the destruction of church rates. Interests arose about district churches which Churchmen were unable to adjust; and so, because they were slighted or neglected, the defenders of what had become the exceptional privileges of a minority of the churches in our large towns were assailed in the day of conflict by many who would have been found on the side of the defenders if justice had been done. And then, with regard to our universities and endowed schools, their cause was not felt to be the cause of the nation at large, but only of the privileged portion of it. Moreover, in the case of the endowed schools, so many were found neglecting or inadequately discharging the duty devolving upon them, that it was painfully easy to raise a just cry for their reformation. Their cause was often absolutely indefensible; and this being the case, it

was only what Churchmen might expect, that institutions which they had permitted to become worthless should be removed from their exclusive control. There was, therefore, no enthusiasm in their defence. All felt that something must be done, and we can but regret that in some cases that something has not been more in accordance with what would have been the wishes of their pious founders.

But it is not so with regard to our churchyards. A few town incumbents, content with the feeling that they have no need to concern themselves with the subject because their churchyards have long since been closed, may advocate a policy of surrender and speak lightly of the interest at stake; but this is very far indeed from being the case with the great majority of the clergy, and especially of the country clergy. They see in a way not to be mistaken the point which is at issue, the dangers with which they are threatened, the disquietude and annoyance to which they must expect to be exposed if the Bill for taking from them their present rights should ever become law. This has been unmistakably shown by the action of Convocation, by the proceedings of all the Church conferences during the autumn, by the most decided and unmistakable expression of opinion at the Church Congress at Croydon, to say nothing of that remarkable petition signed by more than 14,450 clergymen at the invitation of the Church Defence Institution. It is only those who really know the clergy who can adequately appreciate the depth and intensity of their feeling on this subject. We think there would be some danger of their acting over again the unwise part played by the Protectionists in 1846, when men of their own political party repealed the Corn Laws, if the Government which they have hitherto generally supported should assist in passing a measure which would be most obnoxious to them. And we have reason to believe that Conservative members of Parliament will find that they have seriously misunderstood the temper of many of their constituents if they think they can safely support a Bill for the practical alienation of our churchyards which the clergy, at all events, regard with unfeigned detestation.

Before concluding we must say a few words about a point which would perpetually be bringing home the grievance inflicted by an Act for throwing open our churchyards. It is said that such an Act would place Churchmen and Nonconformists in a position of equality. This it might effect when each stood beside the grave of one whom he respected; but how would it be as regards others of the parishioners? There

are bad people as well as good in every parish. Some of these bad people call themselves Nonconformists, whilst others profess to be Church people, or boldly declare that they have no religious faith. Such people die as well as others. Who is to bury them? Is the clergyman in all cases to be compelled to officiate at their funerals, whilst Nonconformist preachers are to be left free to officiate or not? or are the Nonconformist ministers to be compellable to bury those of their own sect? Of course if they are, it so far places them in the position of ministers of an established church, and to some extent interferes with the position of the clergy of the Established Church. But this is a small matter, comparatively speaking. If they are not, then an intolerable grievance will be placed upon the clergy, as they will be compellable to bury those persons of the various Nonconformist bodies whom their own ministers have practically excommunicated. But the hardship would be made more intolerable by the different position in which the two sets of men would be placed with regard to the service to be used. The clergyman would be tied to the same service for all. Whether it were the saintly member of his flock, the pattern of all good words and works, or the profligate or adulterer, or Nonconformist excommunicated by his own minister, snatched hastily away without opportunity of repentance, the clergyman must recite the same solemn words of hope and confidence in a joyful resurrection. The Nonconformist, on the other hand, tied by no form or written service, would be able without fear of rebuke to adjust what he said to the circumstances of the case as they appeared to him and to those who stood around the grave. What would be the effect of this on a parish in any notorious case of a special evil liver? How would the clergyman feel under the jibes and sneers which would be freely levelled at him for simply doing what the law ordered him to do, what he felt to be a distressing and painful duty, but which he could not refuse to do without risking temporary or permanent extrusion from his benefice? It is difficult enough now to know how to act with respect to the funeral of some specially notorious sinner suddenly cut off, but how infinitely more so if the churchyard had ceased to have the clergyman for its exclusive minister, and if it could be alleged, as it certainly would be, that the consciences of the clergy were so elastic that they were ready to say anything over anybody, and that we must look to ministers of other denominations for men who really valued truth, and were not afraid to denounce flagrant sin when they met with it!

After what we have said, our readers will not doubt the conclusion at which we have arrived. It seems to us that the question as it now stands admits of no compromise, for all that we can consistently concede our opponents indignantly refuse to accept as a satisfactory adjustment. They will be content with nothing short of absolute surrender. They demand that the clergy shall give up principles to which they are wedded, surrender solemn trusts for which they feel themselves responsible, and admit changes which they look upon as revolutionary in themselves and ruinous to both Church and country in their consequences if carried out.

We have then in sharp contrast the difficulty of resistance and the injury of defeat. It is quite possible that the Church may be unable to resist those who are making the assault upon her burying-grounds, though we are very far from despairing of a successful resistance. It is quite possible that, deserted by some to whom she had a right to look for help and defence, she may at last be unable to maintain what she regards as her legitimate position. Be it so. We shall deeply regret the consequences. But we have yet to learn that when defeat seems probable, or possible, or even inevitable, true wisdom consists in surrender without a contest. Even in such cases it is often better to be beaten than to compromise—to lose everything but honour, rather than to save a few advantages at the expense of honour and self-respect. In our opinion it has more than once been our misfortune in recent years that when defeat has seemed inevitable, our leaders have turned their thoughts to terms of surrender, instead of boldly fighting on to the end, and daring to run the risk of being defeated. A great party is never really beaten until it despairs. Until then it may resolve to win back, in a future hour of strength, that of which it is stripped in a time of weakness. When it despairs, and makes terms of surrender, it not only loses its present, but it destroys its future. It makes it impossible to win back what it cannot now preserve, and generally gets nothing worth having in return for its pusillanimous conduct. Moreover, it is well to remember that in other ways defeat is often better than compromise. The loss of what would be gained by an arrangement is for the most part more than compensated by the sympathy aroused by defeat, and the tendency to reaction which it creates. In this case it might be possible to save by a compromise some recognition of the clergyman's continued right over the freehold of which he would be partially despoiled; but we see no advantage in that. It might be pos-

sible to obtain some restrictions over the persons to officiate in churchyards, and over the services which they might use ; but the Church would be in no way a gainer by that, for with the deprivation of her right of control her responsibility ceases. It might be possible to secure more stringent provisions against orations by infidel orators, or the pollutions of atheistic services over the departed friends of unbelievers ; but then securities for such advantages would only help to sustain the newly accepted plan in which Churchmen, as Churchmen, have no special interest. As citizens we should all wish to see the sanctity of the resting-places of the dead respected ; but we feel, if the necessity arises, that it would be wiser to leave all such arrangements to the good feeling of the country, and not to strive for conditions which would seem to make the Church responsible, while leaving her no power to interfere effectually. We presume that the law would not refuse to Churchmen the right to provide private burial-grounds for themselves, if they still wished to be allowed to have their bodies interred in consecrated ground, where no ministers but their own could officiate ; we presume that even the freest application of the principle of 'civil and religious liberty' would not deny them the liberty of purchasing fresh burial-grounds for themselves, at their own cost ; a thing which every Dissenter is free to do if he likes. And if the law left only thus much liberty to Churchmen, then it might probably be found in the course of a few years that, Churchmen having ceased to bury their dead in the churchyards, Nonconformists would no longer value the right to be buried there, and that thus the prize of victory would lose its charm as soon as it had been secured.

What then should the Government do after the Duke of Richmond's promise to consider the question during the vacation ? It seems to us that there are two courses open to it. The one would be to do nothing. Instead of trying to legislate, it might appoint a Commission to investigate the state of existing burying-grounds of all kinds, and so pave the way for a future measure. If the Government refuses to introduce a Bill, we doubt whether any one else could hope to carry their measure through Parliament. When it came to a discussion of the clauses of such a Bill, it is not probable that Mr. Osborne Morgan, Lord Harrowby, and the Archbishops could agree upon what they should be. It was comparatively easy to secure their co-operation for a single assault ; it would be difficult to obtain from them the continued support which is required to carry a

Bill through both Houses of Parliament. The other course would be for Government boldly to communicate with the peers who ordinarily support it. Let them offer to include in a Bill any equitable proposals for providing the Nonconformists with burying-grounds, and otherwise meeting what their fair-minded members may regard as a grievance. To lessen the local burden of obtaining such burying-grounds possibly some help might be given out of the Consolidated Fund. But on the question of the ministration of Nonconformists in churchyards they must be unyielding. If the Conservative peers would agree to support such a measure, let the Government boldly introduce their Bill of last year, which in many respects is excellent, with such modifications or additions as may be agreed upon. If the Conservative peers will not support such a measure, then there is no help for it but to wait for a more convenient season. Looking forward, we are not at all sure that the Government could provide better for the next general election than by making such a fair and liberal offer to adjust difficulties which have arisen. Of course, if the Government should not introduce a Bill to settle this question, it will speedily hear of a resolution on the subject from the Opposition in both Houses of Parliament. After what occurred during the last session, there is certain to be a feeling that the Ministry is assailable on this point, and that an attack might precipitate its dissolution. We should have no fears on this head. Conservative peers who voted with Lord Harrowby would not vote against Government on what was intended to be treated as a vote of want of confidence; whilst in the Lower House, even Scotch and Irish Conservative members who might not be able to resist the tendencies of their constituents if there was practical legislation before the House, would not venture to give a vote which all would feel to be injurious to their party. We should therefore have no fear of the result of hostile attacks; nay, we should be inclined to welcome them as likely to strengthen our position. If we look beyond the walls of Parliament to the constituencies, we are equally persuaded that Government would have nothing to fear, if it will only have the courage to follow what ought to be its Conservative instincts. The noisy and extreme men are those who make their voices heard. As yet but few others have spoken. The more quiet members of the various religious bodies do not protest against these extreme utterances when they do not agree with them, but they refuse to support them at the polls; and from what we hear on all sides, we are satisfied that there is a considerable proportion of the Nonconformist laity who do not sympathise with their

ministers, or with those who affect to be the political leaders of their bodies in their treatment of this matter. Once let it be realised that the question is one of property, and not of religious privilege, and we are satisfied that the judgment of the country will be on the Conservative, and not on the revolutionary, side. It has unfortunately happened up to the present time that this view of the subject has not been pressed upon people's minds. Sentimental appeals have been made to them ; piteous pictures have been set before them of the hardships suffered by affectionate Nonconformists, from the intolerance and bigotry of the High Church clergy ; once make them see that this is no question of High Church or Low Church, but of the preservation of much that is valued in our Established Church, and we should have no fear of the result. Misrepresentations seldom prevail after they have been thoroughly exposed, and as yet the Liberationist misrepresentations about our churchyards have not been exposed as they ought to be.

But it may be said, 'Your view is a sanguine one; depend upon it that nothing will content the country but the concession of all that the Liberation Society demands.' We doubt the fact, but, be that as it may, we should still say the same. A great party ought to remember that it has a to-morrow as well as a to-day. It ought always to be ready to sacrifice any present passing interest, rather than yield a hair's breadth of the principles to sustain which it exists. For what does the Conservative party exist, if it is not to maintain the present constitutional rights and position of the Church and of the State, and to uphold the just rights of property ? We believe that to yield the principle involved in the contest for our churchyards would be to concede the whole principle for which the party professes to contend. It would surrender the principle that the Established Church has rights which must be protected ; and it would give up the principle upon which the possession of all property at present rests. It may be impossible to defend these rights, and the existing foundations of property. If so, we must yield to force, and we should not despair under a changed order of things of making the power of the Church felt as much in the future as it has been in the past. But we entertain a real love for our existing constitution in Church and State, under which England has risen to be, we think, the first nation upon earth, and therefore to the uttermost of our ability we will resist, and call upon others to resist, what in our opinion would be a long stride towards the overthrow of what is, and the establishment in its stead of what may now be seen in the great Western Republic.

SHORT NOTICES.

Did the Success of the Evangelical Movement of the Eighteenth Century chiefly consist in the Propagation of Dissent? An Inquiry suggested by an Article in the *Church Quarterly Review* of July, 1877. By the BISHOP OF LLANDAFF. (London: Rivingtons, 1877.)

WE gladly acknowledge the courtesy of the Bishop of Llandaff and his publishers in forwarding to us his Lordship's pamphlet for review; a courtesy which would be ill-returned were we to pass it by with a mere acknowledgment. At the same time it is idle to conceal that we feel a certain awkwardness in reviewing an *Inquiry* which is intended to lead up to an answer traversing certain conclusions of our own, inasmuch as the judicial impartiality proper to a reviewer becomes in such a case peculiarly difficult. We trust, however, that in the remarks we are bound to make, all who are acquainted with the very extensive literature of the subject will see that we are not merely amply fortified with authorities for each detail of what we assert, but that we are not guilty of keeping any material facts out of sight. It is the whole truth, and not only a partial aspect of it, that we seek to present.

And when we come to think over the Bishop's pamphlet we feel that after all he does not contradict the main contention of our article as to the schismatic tendency of the proceedings of the Evangelical leaders. So far from this, we find him making certain grave admissions which concede nearly all we contend for.

The Bishop admits, that supposing our reviewer's facts are true—and he makes no attempt to refute them—'it may well indeed be questioned whether the movement has not been rather the cause of a burden than a blessing' (p. 6).

The Bishop admits, as to the acts attributed to Venn of Huddersfield, and others, that, 'taking them for granted'—and he nowhere disputes their reality—'we may, and ought to, admit' that they did tend to the 'encouragement of schism' (p. 13).

The Bishop admits, that all persons of good sense agree to condemn 'some of the steps taken by some of the Evangelical leaders' (p. 16).

The Bishop admits, that, 'even under the circumstances under which they found themselves, true wisdom would have counselled a patient waiting upon God, rather than the taking a step which might eventually lead to a greater amount of strife and division' (p. 19).

Seeing, then, that his Lordship admits that our reviewer's conclu-

sions are warranted by the facts which constitute his premises, and that he does not rebut those facts, what remains to him? We believe that we describe the Bishop's argument fairly when we say that, having admitted the *acts*, and the *tendency* of the acts, he defends the *actors* on the following grounds:—

I. That *all* the Evangelical leaders are not justly chargeable with the disorderly and schismatical proceedings attributed to the most prominent of them.

II. That there *is an excuse* for those who went furthest astray in the circumstances in which they were placed; that it was to be expected that their zeal should outrun their discretion.

III. That (and here his Lordship betakes himself to an *ad hominem* argument),—that High Churchmen need not talk, for if Evangelicalism propagated Dissent, High Churchmanship has propagated Popery (p. 9); that if Evangelicals have been indiscreet, so have High Churchmen (p. 15); that if allowances have to be made for High Churchmen like Laud, the same should be made for Evangelicals like Venn (p. 13).

IV. That Evangelical teaching helped the country at the time of the French Revolution.

V. As to our reviewer's charge that the societies founded by Evangelicals did not rest on Church principles, his Lordship alleges the support they received from Churchmen, *but he does not rebut the charge*. He admits the mistake made by the Church Missionary Society in reference to Colombo, but says it ought not to be laid to the door of the founders of the society.

And, generally, he refers the growth of Dissent partly to the decline of the Church under the Hanoverian sovereigns, and partly to the increase of population; while he endeavours to obviate the charge of the immorality of Wales under Evangelical teaching by alleging that it was just as bad before.

The fact is that the Bishop is still under the dominion of Sir James Stephen's dictum that 'the first generation of the Evangelical clergy were the second founders of the Anglican Church'—a subject as to which Sir James's connexion with the 'Clapham sect' would scarcely help him to take an impartial view. Accordingly, the Bishop's pamphlet is an industrious attempt to maintain this proposition, and his first step is, almost necessarily, though we think somewhat ungenerously, to charge our reviewer with the suppression of a fact which, *if true*, would indeed be important.

'He should have fairly given his readers to understand,' says the Bishop, 'that there was a body of Evangelical labourers who were independent of the Methodists, and nearly contemporaneous with them, whose labours had an immediate and remarkable influence upon the clergy of England' (p. 4).

The latter portion of this sentence is a quotation from H. Venn's Life of his grandfather. Now, this is all very well for the biographer to allege as his *belief*, but when he comes to facts he has to make a statement which is very different,

'the six clergymen whom I have named, together with my grandfather, were all led into similar views within about *ten years after* the time from which Mr. Wesley dates the *final* adoption of his religious sentiments.'

Now, bearing this 'about ten years after' in mind, can any one conceive of Venn, oscillating as he did between Cambridge and London, coming to his view independently of the influence of Whitfield and Wesley, who were then agitating the whole religious mind of England? Besides this, we *know* that his early spiritual adviser was an Oxford Methodist, viz. the Rev. Bryan Broughton. Had it been 'ten years *before*' instead of ten years after, and had we not known of the connexion with Mr. Broughton, the Bishop might have had some case. As it is, we concur with Mr. Philip, whose opinion is supported by Sir James Stephen, the very writer whom the Bishop follows, although upon this crucial point he bears us out entirely, that

'that great body of the Church of England assuming the title of Evangelical may trace back its spiritual genealogy by regular descent from Whitfield. The consanguinity is attested by historical records and the strictest family resemblance. The quarterings of Whitfield are entitled to a conspicuous place in the Evangelical scutcheon, and they who bear it are not wise in being ashamed of their blazonry.'¹

Thus much on the Bishop's preliminary point. A still more important question, but one which the Bishop and Mr. Venn (the biographer) seem alike to shun is—Did these seven men unite with the Methodists and work with them, and so become co-partners in the responsibility of their course?

Surely the Bishop has forgotten that the first name on Mr. Venn's list is Grimshawe, than whom John Wesley had no more devoted adherent, and the last name, Venn's own, equally devoted to Lady Huntingdon. And who that is acquainted with Methodist literature can be ignorant of the names of Romaine, Conyers, Adams, &c.? Surely further argument is superfluous.

On p. 28 this point is incidentally raised again—'Is the reviewer aware,' asks the Bishop, 'that the Rev. Griffith Jones, Rector of Llanddowror, and one of the Fathers of the Evangelical movement, &c., &c.'? We are perfectly familiar with the history and work of Griffith Jones, but who that knows them could have styled him an Evangelical Father in the controversial sense of the word? Let the reader judge. Jones was ordained by Bishop Bull in 1709. He was an indefatigable parish priest. On the Saturdays before Communion Sundays he said the prayers in the church, and after the second lesson catechised (so to say) the intending communicants. The ignorance which he found led him to establish circulating schools throughout Wales, in which he was aided by a liberal donation of Welsh Bibles and other books by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. His efforts met with unexpected success, efforts which

¹ Sir James Stephen's *Essay on the Evangelical Succession*.

never could have succeeded but for the active co-operation and assistance of the Welsh clergy, and Griffith Jones's schools, with their circulating teachers, were to be found throughout the Principality. Jones was an eloquent preacher, very popular with and much sought after by his brethren, and in fine, 'his whole life was spent,' says Johnes, 'in exertions to render the Establishment impregnable against Dissent on the one hand, and the more fearful encroachments of sin, ignorance, and superstition on the other.'¹ Did we seek a contrast to the work of Venn and his six companions, we should choose that of Griffith Jones. What identity of principle there can be between the labours of this true-hearted Anglican priest, ever drawing and attracting men to the Church, and those who built meeting-houses and advised people to use them, we cannot conceive. Grant that in words they extolled the Prayer Book, in act they sent men to the conventicle, where, if it was used at all, it was mutilated first, and whose 'catechising' ended in training up, in one instance at least, thirteen young men who entered the Dissenting ministry. To couple such opposites is monstrous.

But the saddest part is what follows. Towards the close of Jones's life Whitfield, Venn, Berridge, &c., appear upon the scene. One by one, many of these school teachers, and even of the clergy, are perverted, and those who had been the bulwarks of the Church become its assailants. It was not all who were led away. There was one coadjutor of Jones's, who twenty years before Raikes had set up Sunday schools. He, Evans by name, strove to stem the torrent of enthusiasm which was sweeping over Wales, and in his *History of Modern Enthusiasm*, 1752, he opposes all kinds of schism, but especially the fanaticism and religious disorders then introduced. 'He exposes the pious frauds or tales which fanatical people related, dreams, visions, angels,' &c., &c. Wesley and Whitfield wrote a reply to this book.

Thus much, then, for the Fathers of the Evangelical School. We come now to their work. And here we observe that, as we have above shown, the Bishop does not dispute our facts so much as (in part) our inferences. That their acts tended to schism he admits (while excusing them), but it is the amount of schism they actually produced that he disputes.

'Is it to be supposed,' he asks triumphantly, 'that the vast amount of schism of which he [the reviewer] gives so nice a calculation, could have resulted from the acts to which he refers?' (p. 19).

Why, what else *could* have resulted? The people were told by men who assumed the name of 'the pious,' or the 'Evangelical clergy,' and who were ceaselessly traversing the whole breadth of the country, that all truth and holiness lay with them, and those who thought with them, and that for kindred spirits they must have recourse to the conventicle rather than the church. Why should the Bishop be so surprised that a fourth of the nation should believe them

¹ Philip's *Whitfield*, p. 118.

by the time the century had closed? Fifty years was time enough for the heaven to work, he admits its tendency to schism, and, as the Bishop is certainly not disposed to dispute the zeal with which that heaven was distributed, so neither should he be so startled at what we cannot regard as such a disproportion between effect and cause.

But now as to the excuses which he makes for them. His pleas are three. Firstly, that the whole land was as a valley of dry bones. This, as intended by his Lordship, we do not believe. We know that these men said so. It was necessary for the justification of their course. But are we to accept their statements as simple unexaggerated truth? Surely not. Does the Bishop himself believe that Man was in 'darkness' until Crook, Wesley's itinerant, evangelised it about two years after Hildesley's death?—or that Rowland Hill preached the first Gospel sermon in Devizes? We know what Griffith Jones had done in Wales. Are we to believe the statements of its 'darkness' at the very moment when those efforts had been so widespread? How does the Bishop reconcile Wesley's accounts of Cornwall with Polwhele's description of his congregation and its behaviour, or with Borlase's account of his parish, his attempts to reduce the turbulent to order, and the fact that, notwithstanding the consequent defection of some, he had a congregation of a thousand in the morning and of five hundred in the afternoon, or with the work they did for their people in printing explanatory books for their benefit? How does the Bishop reconcile these *ex parte* statements of universal darkness with the history of Robert Walker and his labours in the North? He had many admirers; why not imitators? Or again, how does it consist with the case of John Bolt, also of this period, or of Parkinson, who notes:

'We had a great many communicants on those three days of sacraments of which Palm Sunday was one. At Easter Day we had about 636, and I administered to about 60 impotent people in the parish?'

It is contrary to all analogy for phenomena like these to be isolated. They may have been exceptional in degree, but certainly not in kind. Alps do not stand straight up out of the plain to their fifteen thousand feet of altitude, but are merely the conspicuous summits of a whole region of mountains. Thus at Newcastle, the head-quarters of Methodism, of the five churches two were open daily, two more had frequent services in the week. At Liverpool, there was daily service at S. Thomas's, and also at S. Werburgh's, Bristol. That much was left undone we doubt not, and so it is still, for all the increased sense of responsibility of recent years. We do not say that all was rose-colour, but we do say that further acquaintance with the details of the period brings out many a notice of godly clergy working well in their forgotten spheres, of devout congregations, and of hundreds of communicants in regions said to have been in 'darkness.' We have to ask what is meant by darkness? From the lips of Grimshawe it would mean the absence of the teaching Wesley had learned from the Moravians, and had imported from Germany. From those of Venn

and Berridge it would mean the absence of the New England Calvinism Whitfield imported from America.

The Bishop's second plea is zeal. His Lordship means it honestly, no doubt. But we as honestly must remark that zeal as well as other things varies in its quality, and that when leading to erroneous action, the *quality* will always be found to have suffered deterioration through admixture with some less praiseworthy affection, blinding the agent to the danger of doing evil that good may come.

His third plea is that the Oxford movement led also to irregularities, and that this condones those of the early Evangelicals.

We deny the parallel, but even if we did not, the argument would be valueless, as being a mere *ad hominem* rejoinder, and a weak one. For first of all, such irregularities were due (as a reaction) to the previous irregularities of the Evangelicals, and were not the outcome of the Oxford movement *per se*; and next our reviewer had carefully disclaimed all sympathy with them. But there is no parallel between the cases. The irregularities of the Oxford men (to use the Bishop's phrase) were those of individuals—the fringe of the garment, not the garment itself. The principle of the movement was to accept the Prayer Book in its integrity, and to win men to the Church, whereas the principle of the Evangelical movement was to follow self-chosen ways. Hence the difference of the resulting phenomena. The *principle* of the Evangelical movement involved a neglect of Church order, and so its results *in bulk* have been what we say. The principle of the Oxford movement was subordination to that order, and therefore, spite of individual eccentricities, its results *in bulk* have been the revival of Churchmanship which we see.

We come now to another point which, with the Bishop, we think material. He admits that for *thirty-seven years* they committed themselves to the full extent we allege. *But*, he argues, after the decision in the Consistorial Court of 1777, their conduct altered. No doubt these clergy could no longer range from parish to parish, defying their diocesans, and preaching in conventicles and unlicensed places. But it is strange that the Bishop fails to see that the law did not change their principles or teaching. The first act of their leaders—and bear in mind that it was a deliberate act, after full consideration—was to sever all houses and congregations over which the Calvinistic party had control from the Anglican communion. Could any act show greater resentment; or after this could they refuse the right hand of fellowship to their Dissenting friends? But the most venerated elders did more than mark their disapproval by this remarkable decision. *They defied the law.* Venn continued to do so until 1790, when inability, not inclination, compelled him to desist. In 1786 he preached for *eight consecutive Sundays* in Surrey Chapel. Scott, Berridge, Pontycross, Maturin, Jones, Charles Romaine, Fletcher, Dr. Haweis, Walker, and others, together with C. Simeon,¹

¹ The mention of Simeon's name reminds us to warn our readers not to be misled by a quotation of the Bishop's from Simeon's life—'In thirty years the Dissenters have not drawn away *three* whom I was not glad to

Venn's pupil, were all guilty of irregularities. 'These men had ceased to be the dupes of bigotry and educational prejudice,' says the author of *Lady Huntingdon's Life*, 'and we are bound to hold up their noble example for imitation.'

But England was not the only field of their labours. 'Poor wicked Scotland,' as the Countess called it, was found to have no Gospel preachers, and pious clergy of all denominations or of none swarm through it, under the patronage of the Evangelical Society. Ireland too is visited. In 1784 Bethesda Chapel, called in Brooks' *Gazetteer*, the Cathedral of the Methodists, originating in a friendly secession from Lady Huntingdon's meeting-house, is built in Dublin. Here 'the Gospel trumpet was sounded from time to time by more than fifty clergy,' some of high position, as *e.g.*, Dr. Law, the Bishop of Elphin. In 1808, by the munificence of their English brethren, a chapel was built in Dublin for the celebration of Divine worship by clergy of all denominations. The Rev. E. H. Harding and Dr. Haweis are named as promoters of this catholic scheme.¹ The chapel passed into the hands of the Independents ere long.

After all this it can excite no surprise that the proceedings of the pious clergy, who were following their leaders' steps, began to excite remonstrance from their less awakened brethren. Thus Richardson, in 1808, writes from York:—

'The irregularities of these men have brought many serious inconveniences on us who proceed in an orderly way, by alienating from us the hearts of some of our flock, who are dazzled with the appearance of superior zeal and courage in such characters. Among the *vast numbers* that are earnest and sincere preachers of the Gospel, there are not many who would be listened to by a correct ear without a mixture of disgust. The evil of schism and its mischievous tendencies are so little perceived and guarded against by the serious clergy, that on the ground of discipline and order our title to the character of true Churchmen cannot be vindicated.' (*Wilberforce's Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 237.)

Has our reviewer spoken more strongly than Richardson? The law might restrain some—not all—of the pious clergy from officiating in conventicles, but it could not prevent their associating with schismatics in their schemes and supporting their institutions; and Butt might still ask alms at the meeting-house door for the support

get rid of,' as though three was the extent of his losses. Now, not to speak of his general congregation, of whom he says but little, let us take his *class* of 120 spiritually enlightened, who continued in rebellion about eighteen months, at the end of which he began to dismiss those who had been misled, *sparing the leaders*, lest he should lose all, and no mention being made of the number dismissed, while at last he is compelled to deal with the class-leaders too; preachers' licenses had been taken out, and the like. Incidentally we learn that three leaders left him, drawing away many of the spiritually enlightened; how many leaders in all is left to conjecture. The story is very confused, and Simeon is very reticent on the subject. (*Simeon's Memoirs*, pp. 101, 109, 242, 298.)

¹ Harding and Hulton took part in the dedication services.

of schism, which, as he died in middle age in 1795, he probably did to the last. But slight as was its effect on the clergy, it could not touch the laity, who learned to have no scruple in attending Dissenting services. So late as 1817, Dr. Gaskin remonstrates with Wilberforce (*Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 366) for joining with them in their Lord's Supper; and from the fact that Wilberforce docketed the letter 'Church claims,' it deserves consideration. Now, if even Wilberforce needed remonstrance in 1817, when after Richardson's letter of 1808 some had been led to reflect on the evils of schism, what must it have been in 1800, when the laity could point to their most respected leaders, some still living, others but lately deceased, who drew no distinction between Church and meeting? Venn, it is true, in 1792, in writing to his son, doubts his earlier course, but he was now withdrawn from work and from influence. In 1803 Scott declines further irregular preaching; but as he gives his reasons, we learn that, like Fletcher and most others, he had no conception of the Church as a corporate body. He condemns the practice of holding a living and yet preaching irregularly; he would allow some license to those who held only curacies or lectureships; but clergy without cure he would allow to preach where and as they chose. The sum is—they regarded the English Church as one among many sects, of which the aggregate might compose the visible Church, so far as any visible Church existed. Thus, though declining to preach in a conventicle, Scott did not refuse, in compliance with the decision of Simeon and the Evangelicals, to preach the annual sermon of the London Missionary Society, a custom long continued by the pious clergy—a practice impossible if they had understood that it was wrong to foster institutions which tended to destroy Church unity.

We come now to the societies instituted about this time, and first the Church Missionary Society. We cannot accept the Bishop's account of its origin. That letters from Calcutta called attention to India¹ (1788) may be true. In 1795, a legacy of 4,000*l.* being at the disposal of the pious clergy, Indian Missions were considered at Ranceby,² in Lincolnshire. In 1796 it was debated at the Eclectic³ in London. In 1799 the Society for Missions to Africa and the East⁴ was formally established. Scott's son ascribes the foundation of this Society 'to my father, in common with several dear friends, Rev. Messrs. Newton, Foster, Cecil, Venn, Goode, and Mr. Thornton.' We add the names of C. Simeon, J. Pratt, Mr. C. Grant, and Mr. Wilberforce. Scott was secretary, and preached the first annual sermon.⁵ A proposal to memorialise the bishops and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge on the subject of missions was rejected by the Eclectic, showing the animus of the meeting. Whether the rules of the Church Missionary Society are what they should be, and it is their administrators who are in fault, or whether the rules are vicious in themselves, so as to absolve those who carry them out, we leave the Bishop to decide. This much is clear, the Society has

¹ Simeon's *Life*, p. 61.

² *Ibid.*, p. 86.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁵ Scott's *Life*, pp. 311-312.

always been at issue with bishops, whether those bishops were of its own school or not ; while as to the epithet 'Church,' on which the Bishop lays such stress, surely it does not do the Society much credit to assume the name while repudiating the discipline. But writes the Bishop (p. 20) :—

'How dare the reviewer say that all support had been withdrawn from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel? Does he venture to affirm of his own knowledge that none of them contributed to this sum of 7,000*l.*?'

We reply that our reviewer is correct. We have examined the list of subscribers to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and to the best of our belief, if we except Mr. Gisborne, not one name of men calling themselves Evangelical is there, while among the first subscribers to the Religious Tract Society stand the names of J. Newton, J. Pratt, John Eyre, W. Winckworth, C. Simeon, Adm. Gambier, Sir R. Hill, W. Wilberforce, and Z. Macaulay. As to the Bible Society, 'it is well known,' says the Bishop, 'that its institution was simply owing to the fact that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had been unable to supply the wants of Wales.' Surely his Lordship has been imposed upon. Why in 1827 the Bible Society had not a Welsh edition of the Bible, whereas in 1743 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge distributed 15,000 in the Principality, which being insufficient, it put to press another edition of the same number, 5,000 copies of the New Testament, and 5,000 Prayer Books. When these were exhausted, a third edition of the Old and New Testament was undertaken at the request of the Welsh, and 20,000 were printed in a larger type. In 1799 an edition of 10,000 of the Old and New Testament and 2,000 of the New Testament was printed at the University Press, besides an edition of the Common Prayer. This edition was carefully revised by the Rev. Evan Evans and the Rev. J. Roberts, and this is the Society which had to be superseded by one which had not a Welsh Bible in 1827! Possibly the Bishop will rejoice that the Bible Society *did* put forth a Welsh Bible in 1806. We are perfectly aware of it. But whereas the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge secured Welsh scholars for its Bible, the Bible Society, selected an ex-clergyman, an itinerant among the Calvinistic Methodists, to make a new translation, which turned out so full of errors that the Welsh bishops interfered to suppress it. The Committee of the Bible Society also engaged a Wesleyan Methodist of doubtful antecedents to prepare an Irish Bible, which so teemed with blunders that the Irish Society interfered to have it too withdrawn. Further into this subject we have no space to go, though similar facts might be adduced in abundance—facts, not opinions—and which lead us to feel it of small importance that a good opinion of this and similar societies was entertained by various worthy men such as the Bishop quotes.

We pass on to the question of the moral improvement of the people. The Bishop quotes Butler, Secker, and Conybeare as to its corrupt condition in 1750. Our reviewer alleged the same, and

accounted for it—1st, by the suppression of Convocation, which wanted to deal with the Arians and their debasing creed; 2nd, by Walpole's suppression of Church activity, and promotion of persons indifferent to the Church's welfare, issuing in the cessation of church building, &c., and by his suppression of the Church Societies for the improvement of morals; 3rd, by the influence of a profligate Court. So far we are agreed. Our reviewer went on to show that the labours of the Evangelicals did not improve this state of things, and among other evidences adduced the census paper as to Wales. Now, if the Bishop can correct our figures, well and good. But if he can *not*, what avails it to him to say that things were as bad in 1750 as in 1800? It is only repeating our statement that they had not been mended by the Evangelicals. *We* believe that there was even a falling off. Richardson says so; Dr. Johnson¹ says so; Bishop Porteus² says so, citing the astounding fact that there had been 198 applications for divorce in the (then) forty years of George III.'s reign. That, as our reviewer showed, Antinomianism largely resulted from the Calvinistic teaching is allowed. Fletcher does not disguise the evil among Wesley's followers; and Scott, in 1799, writes³ that 'a tendency to Antinomianism is the bane of Evangelical preaching in this day.' Newton admits this result of Romaine's teaching, and Scott records the fruits of Newton's work at Olney. The only wonder is that these good men, for such they were, never seem to have suspected that results so alien to their wishes, and so contrary to their example, must have been due to some flaw inherent in their teaching.

And here we should have paused, but for the indignant astonishment of the Bishop at the charge, 'that to act in the spirit of the Prayer Book was to condemn their teaching and their practice.' We have already touched on the subjective character of their teaching, and their ignoring the corporate character of the Church, which latter alone is enough to dissociate them from the spirit of the Prayer Book. But lest the Bishop should fancy us overstraining our point, we *must* add an example or two. Mr. Dallas, in claiming liberty for Church Missionary Society's agents, writes: 'The Church is a congregation of faithful men. It is *not*, as some have supposed, a *corporate body*.' The Rev. C. Yorke: 'This principle' (*i.e.* the oneness of the Church) 'cannot come from Scripture, because in Scripture it cannot be found.' Neither can the Bishop have himself forgotten the action (which even Bishop D. Wilson, of Calcutta, condemned) of the Islington clergy against the Bishop of London's 1842 charge, or the manifesto of Chancellor Raikes, sent, we believe, to every parish in England, exhorting wardens and others to resist the restoration of rubrical observances,—or the objections to the revival of daily service, which one writer called 'the broad hems and phylacteries of matins and evensong,' another (Mr. C. Yorke) saying that all that was meant by daily service was an injunction not to go to the Romanist matins; and another, that it was enjoined at the Reformation 'to teach people to read'! And does the Bishop for-

¹ *Rambler*, No. 97.² Porteus' *Life*, p. 149.³ Scott's *Life*, p. 348.

get the storm of objections to the doctrine of baptism, or the riotous proceedings stirred up in the diocese of Exeter wherever men acted in obedience to the rubric and the requirements of the bishop?

Space compels us to suppress many an illustrative quotation, but we must not conclude without reminding our readers that if we refuse to detach the Evangelicals from the Methodists, we have not done it without good reasons, and that the authority of Philip and Sir J. Stephen, who had carefully weighed the evidence, is with us. We have accumulated proof on proof that the Methodists and Evangelicals were virtually one, for 37 years working on the same principles, actuated by the same spirit, promulgating the same doctrines, and jointly responsible for the results. We have pointed out that their action in the crisis of 1777, when originated the great schism of the Calvinistic Methodists, compelled them to support their Nonconforming brethren, whom they could not, in honour, abandon, and that during the last quarter of the century no change occurred in their teaching, and little in their practice, save a certain amount of abstention from preaching in conventicles. We have shown that this fraternising with schismatics could do no violence to their consciences, inasmuch as Church unity formed no part of their creed, that they made no efforts to draw people to the Church as *the* Church, but only to a certain section in it; and Berridge frankly tells us the result, when, after rebuking Lady Huntingdon 'for growing sadly churchified,' he writes, 'God sends Gospel ministers into the Church to call people out of it. What has happened to Mr. Venn's Yorkshire flock, and will happen to his Yelling flock, and mine,'—also Dr. Conyers' flock at Helmsley. To ask us to believe that men so acting and so animated were the second founders of the Anglican Church, based as she is on Catholic truth and Apostolic order, is as reasonable as to ask us to believe that they could lay the foundations of a castle in the air. We have shown, too, that their disparagement of objective worship was felt to be an obstacle in the way of those who were seeking to train their flocks in godly living and Church order; for Venn (*Life*, 3rd edition, p. 15) grants that there were many such, and that instances are not few, as in Wales, where their fanaticism overshadowed and extinguished Church life. We have shown that the second generation trod in the steps of the first, accepting their doctrines and principles, though rendering a partial obedience to the law, while even as to the third generation our references to the controversies and pamphlets of forty years ago prove that the heaven had not died out.

No doubt the Arian School did great mischief, but, as it acted more by way of deadening men's consciences, it did not so much promote, as prepare for, active dissent. Bennett and Bogue, impartial witnesses, attest this. Reviewing carefully all the facts, the testimony of Berridge, the experience of Philip, 'that the progress of Dissent and Methodism keeps pace with the progress of Evangelical sentiments in the Church,'¹ and remembering also the weighty

¹ Philip's *Whitfield*, p. 53; *Bennett and Bogue*, vol. iv. p. 316.

and important admissions of the Bishop himself, we feel the evidence to be absolutely overwhelming in favour of our reviewer's conclusion that the vast increase of Dissent, and the multiplication of sects, *was* the legitimate outcome of the mistaken course taken by the Fathers of the Evangelical movement.

Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi parata edidit Joannes Baptista Pitra T.T. S. Callisti, Bibliothecarius S.R.E. Tom. I. (Parisiis : A. Jouby et Roger, Bibliopolis, Via vulgo dicta Des Grands Augustins, No. 7. 1876.)

As a Benedictine monk in the abbey of Solesmes, under the headship of Gueranger, Dom Pitra published the four well-known volumes of his *Spicilegium Solesmense* at intervals between 1852 and 1858. Scholarship, and especially Greek scholarship, is by no means a common attainment among Roman Catholic ecclesiastics of our day, and the merits of the French Benedictine were speedily appreciated and rewarded by the highest authorities of his Church. Dom Pitra was made a Cardinal and also Librarian of the Holy See, and was entrusted by Pius IX. with the task of digesting the history and investigating the literary monuments of the Canon Law of the Greek Churches. The results of these inquiries are to be found in two volumes published at Rome in 1864 and 1868. We are told in the preface to the volume now before us that other literary work in connexion with the Vatican Council devolved upon the new Cardinal, and it is only recently that he has found leisure and opportunity to revert to his old patristic studies. In the present volume of *Analecta* we have the first instalment of a new series of hitherto unedited ecclesiastical writings, and we are sure that it will be valued by all competent critics. It is remarkable that Cardinal Pitra, in his Prolegomena, complains that his co-religionists as a body have shown but little sympathy with his labours. He has found more readers and sympathisers in England, in Holland, and in Germany than among the French or Italian priesthood. Indeed, he deprecates rather pathetically the cold reception which he fears that his present work in particular will experience among his brethren of the Latin Communion. For, as it happens, this volume of *Analecta* is devoted exclusively to the religious poetry of the Greek melodists who wrote between the sixth and ninth centuries. The learned editor is under the apprehension that some will find nothing in his collection 'præter populares et aniles priscae ecclesiae cantilenas.' But the truth is that we have here a newly opened mine of literary treasures of the highest interest and value. If we were inclined to be hypercritical we should question the fact that the contents of this volume had been prepared—as the title declares—for the *Spicilegium* of Solesmes. For it was on a visit to Russia, in search for materials for his work on Greek Canon Law, that Cardinal Pitra accidentally discovered at Moscow a manuscript 'βιβλιδιον, barbarè inscriptum Κονδακάρην,' which revealed to him the hitherto unsuspected existence of a large body of Greek religious poetry that had almost perished from human knowledge. Further researches

brought to light a similar manuscript at Turin and another in the Corsini library at Rome. These two, together with the fragmentary Moscow Codex, furnished the substance and recovered the title of the long-lost *Τροπολόγιον*. The *Κοντακάριον* of the Moscow MS. seems, by the way, to have been meant for *Κοντάκιον*. The *Tropologium*, in short, is the great collection of sacred poetry from which the *troparia* and *kontakia* of the Greek Office-books were taken.

Having made these discoveries and tested them, Cardinal Pitra devoted himself to the thorough investigation of the subject. He was at first greatly perplexed by the rhythmic and structural difficulties of these poems. But after patient inquiry he unravelled the metres and the artificial subtleties of the style. His learned preface is an exhaustive essay on the poetry of the Melodists of the Greek communion. He first discusses the *Tropologium* itself, and then the poets whose works it contains. These are the older Melodists, including S. Romanus, and S. Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople; and those of the later school, divided into the poets of S. Saba, in Palestine, and those of the Studium (a famous monastery in Constantinople), and certain Italo-Greek writers of Sicilian or Calabrian monasteries. Next follows a dissertation on the metres and technical divisions of these sacred odes. And then the text gives, in beautiful typography, the whole works of S. Romanus—twenty-nine odes in all, followed by the compositions of twenty-three other melodists, and lastly eighty-three canticles by unknown writers. All these are illustrated by a Latin translation, biographical and historical disquisitions, and copious critical notes; and a series of careful indices completes this laborious and scholar-like work.

Of the writers whose works are thus collected some are quite new to literary history, while of others very little has been hitherto known. The most eminent of the earlier school, dating from the fifth and sixth centuries, are S. Romanus, S. Auxentius, Sergius, Georgius, Cuculus, and Anastasius. The later Melodists belonged to the times of the Iconoclastic troubles. The most remarkable of the Sabaite poets are Cosmas, John of Damascus, Theophanes, and Theodorus. Those of the Studium include S. Theodore—eighteen of whose odes are here published—his brother Joseph, Archbishop of Thessalonica, and Simeon Metaphrastes. The poems themselves are of varying degrees of merit. All are strangely prolix—the besetting sin of all Greek religious compositions. Many are full of wearisome and trifling conceits. But others are of touching simplicity and beauty. The earlier poems are highly dramatic, and Cardinal Pitra hazards the very plausible opinion that we may see in them the first beginnings of the mysteries or miracle-plays of Western Christendom. They are for the most part expansions, often in the form of dialogues, of Scriptural histories: for example, of the Nativity, the Last Judgment, the Passion, the Epiphany, and the like. Sometimes the subjects are taken from the Old Testament; such as the story of Joseph, the Three Children in the Furnace, Elijah, or Daniel. Some later writers, as S. Theodore of the Studium, confine themselves to Christian hagiology. Altogether Cardinal

Pitra has opened a very rich store to theologians and hymnologists. We cannot conclude our brief notice of this interesting volume without expressing our regret that our own great liturgicist and hymnologist, John Mason Neale, who by his beautiful translations has made many Greek hymns familiar to Christian congregations, did not live to welcome a work by a kindred spirit which would have filled him with joy. Cardinal Pitra, who does not read English, we believe, seems never to have heard of Neale's *Introduction to the History of the Holy Eastern Church*. In that work—a book of prodigious learning—many of the questions as to Greek hymnology, which are discussed in the Prolegomena before us, were elucidated with even more acumen and more poetical sympathy than Cardinal Pitra has brought to bear on the subject. Nor can we help comparing the lots of these two great contemporary scholars. Neale was allowed to die in comparative obscurity, the master of a small almshouse in lay patronage. But Pitra, not more highly gifted than his English rival, was taken from his monastery and placed in comparatively early life in a position of dignity and competency, which has enabled him to pursue his studies under most advantageous circumstances, to the signal honour of the communion to which he belongs and to the common benefit of the Church at large.

Remains, Literary and Theological, of Connop Thirlwall, Lord Bishop of S. David's. Edited by J. J. STEWART PEROWNE, D.D., Canon of Llandaff; Hulseian Professor of Divinity, Cambridge; and Honorary Chaplain to the Queen. Vol. III. (London: Daldy, Isbister, and Co., 1878.)

THIS volume forms part of the memorial now being published under various editors to the late Bishop Thirlwall. A portly octavo volume is made up partly of articles on critical and philological subjects, most of which appeared originally in the *Philological Museum*, a journal originated by the Bishop and his friend, Julius Charles Hare; of a selection from the pamphlets, of which the Bishop poured forth for so many years a succession, upon events of public interest; and of sermons, most of which have likewise been printed before. The former class of essays deals with subjects unintelligible or uninteresting to the majority of readers, and can never, we imagine, have found any large circulation. It was quite right to republish them here, for they bear witness to a very marked characteristic of the writer—that keen sympathy with the Greek writers which, no less than his wide acquaintance with their works, tended to make him the man he was. The essay on the 'Irony of Sophocles' seems to us a masterpiece of philosophical criticism; the monograph on 'Memnon' will remind many readers of passages in Mr. W. E. Gladstone's recent work on 'Homeric Synchronisms:' but they will, it appears to us on the whole, attract but a languid interest, and be passed over by many readers. Such impressions as the reader derives from them do undoubtedly excite a real respect for the scholarship and the learning which are so apparent, and still more for the mental power and grasp which enable him to wield it 'as lightly as a flower.'

It will be otherwise with the pamphlets. In a sense, indeed, they inspire respect for the intellectual force and vigour and power of repartee which the writer uses with so much effect. But no one coming newly upon them would suspect the writer to be a Bishop. In matters of theology he is hard, captious, incredulous; in matters of merely ecclesiastical concern, a modern Gallio, and cares for none of those things. His bias was clearly to take objections. Put him in front of a dogmatic statement, and his impulse was to pick holes in it if he could. But enough of this for the present.

We find here the Bishop's famous speeches on the Disabilities of the Jews, on the Irish Church, and on the Athanasian Creed, all delivered in the House of Lords. Quite as characteristic are the only two 'Letters' selected for publication out of all the Bishop wrote—viz., 'On Diocesan Synods,' and on the 'Episcopal Meeting of 1867,' *videlicet* the Pan-Anglican Synod. Of course he disliked both, and opposed them with all his keen sarcasm and lawyer-like cleverness; of course, too, the Church carried out both in spite of him; and he was left of late years to reiterate Cassandra-like appeals to a world which heard and disregarded, and whose heart, indeed, as distinguished from its intellect, he had never cared to address.

There are eight sermons here, one and all Bishop Thirlwall all over.

The Folkestone Ritual Case. The Argument delivered before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (January 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, and February 1, 1877), in the case of *Ridsdale v. Clifton* and others, by Sir JAMES STEPHEN, Q.C., and Mr. A. CHARLES, Q.C. (on behalf of the Appellant), and by A. J. STEPHENS, LL.D., Q.C., and Mr. B. SHAW (on behalf of the Respondents). Together with the Proceedings in the Case, the Judgment of Lord Penzance, and the Report of the Judicial Committee. (London: C. Kegan Paul and Co., Paternoster Square, 1878.)

IN this complete and elaborate volume Mr. T. W. Perry has given us no mere newspaper account of these important arguments and proceedings, but a genuinely authoritative report of everything. As to the arguments of counsel, a *verbatim* report was first taken by shorthand writers, Messrs. Marten and Meredith, 13 New Inn, and then their report was revised and corrected by the several counsel themselves, excepting only that Mr. B. Shaw not having completed his revision at the time of his decease, such revision was completed by Mr. H. R. Droop.

The report of the Judicial Committee to Her Majesty is of course a public document; and, that nothing may be wanting, Mr. Perry has prefixed all the documents which connect the Appeal with the original Suit in the Court of Lord Penzance.

The volume is indispensable to any one who wishes either to understand the case itself, or to make his library complete with respect to our Church history of 1877. But though this is much, we are bound to add that the volume has even a higher value to any one who desires to understand the strange multiplicity of crossing ques-

tions and points of history which had to be investigated in the course of this important suit. Its use in this respect is made easy by a series of indices, not merely full and copious, but admirably arranged, and extending over *eight-and-twenty* pages, by reference to which the reader can refer at once to all that was advanced *pro* or *con.* upon almost any point on which he seeks for information. Thus, for example—we are selecting almost at random—turning to the word ‘Injunctions,’ you have a complete list of all the points in their history and character which were brought out in the arguments; under the words ‘Table’ and ‘Before,’ all that concerns the place and variations of place of the Altar, and so on generally. But to point out all the uses of this publication we should have to write not a notice but a pamphlet.

While naming this volume to our readers we ought to add that they should place upon their shelves along with it the compiler’s *Notes on the Judgment (1871) of the Judicial Committee on the Purchas Case*¹ (Masters, 1877), which the Ridsdale Judgment had in so many points to reconsider. The one is not complete without the other. With the two he will be fully armed on the matter in hand.

Christian Life and Practice in the Early Church. By E. DE PRESSENSÉ, D.D. Translated by Annie Harwood-Holmden. (London: Hodder and Stoughton.)

THIS volume reminds us of a form of composition not unfrequent in the last generation, and which was entitled ‘Christian Antiquities.’ It is a museum of antiquarian details respecting the Christianity of the second and third centuries A.D., not given wholly in their rawness indeed, but as certainly not organised in the full degree of which they are capable. In truth, M. De Pressensé does not sympathise fully with the Churches of the period of which he writes, because he considers it to have been a period of declension and unfaithfulness to the standards of faith and discipline set up not very long before by the Apostles. But a few sentences from his ‘Preface’ will show his standpoint more indisputably than any words of our own:—

‘While every other form of religion, finding itself incapable of controlling and transfusing the entire life, had remained a thing apart, entrenched behind the barrier which divided the sacred from the profane, primitive Christianity made every man a priest, every home a sanctuary, and consecrated every day and every act of common life to the service of God. It was, therefore, directly opposed to the idea of a priestly class, or even of a sanctuary in the Jewish sense of the word, and repudiated the notion of an ascetic saintliness incompatible with family life. We shall show that all its primitive institutions are animated by this spirit; and shall show further how rapid and certain was its decline so soon as it lost sight of this great principle, whether in its ecclesiastical, social, or moral life. We shall have to trace the fatal steps by which, having once abandoned this sublime spirituality, it was led to restore the obsolete distinctions between sacred and profane, to set up a new priesthood, a

¹ Published by Masters, New Bond Street, 1877.

new ritualism, more or less Judaic, and a new ascetic standard of perfection. It is very important to note the gradual transitions out of which arose that powerful hierarchical system which became triumphant in the fourth century' (p. xxii.).

Without sympathy it is impossible to enter fully into the spirit of a period. At the same time, we believe the author has continually endeavoured to be fair; we have found no serious inaccuracy; and there is here a large mass of information, gathered with surprising accuracy from the extant records. It is, perhaps, unfortunate for the value of the treatise that the author should have been face to face in France with so complete a caricature of primitive Christianity as the dominant Ultramontaniam: for repulsion from it is plainly to be traced in what he says concerning e.g. Episcopacy, or the sacramental principle. And it is manifest that if what he considers to have been the character of the primitive Church were to be taken as strictly and literally accurate, the majority of the Churches existent at the present time could not be said in any sense to be its representatives, since they would differ from it in almost every particular; which we take to be a *reductio ad absurdum* of his contention. He says, in fact, 'I have not endeavoured to find the Church to which I myself am attached in that great past.'

Growth of the Spirit of Christianity, from the First Century to the Dawn of the Lutheran Era. By the Rev. GEORGE MATHESON, M.A., B.D. Two Volumes. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1877.)

THE value of such a work as this to Churchmen depends entirely upon who it is that has written it. It is not, that is to say, in any sense a work of research, and therefore adds nothing to our *knowledge* of the facts treated. It is simply a re-grouping of the facts of religious history in an arbitrary order of the writer's own. And, therefore, all depends upon what that writer is, and what is his conception of the spirit of Christianity, the growth and development of which he thus essays to trace.

Now the author before us is a Protestant of the Protestants; and he identifies Christianity with the Protestant, *individualising* spirit, which makes religion consist in the relations of individual souls to God; and this not merely to begin with, and as a *foundation* of relation, in which sense it is true, but from the beginning to the end of the present life in all its incidents. He does not, indeed, anywhere that we have noticed, formulate this fundamental theory, nor does he carry it uniformly out to its natural completeness. Very few Protestants do that, happily for themselves; and probably the only logical anti-Catholics are the Quakers and Plymouth Brethren, in their entire rejection of any earthly instrumentalities. For it is rigidly true, that if the only object of the Christian religion be to modify and transform in silence and secrecy the feelings of the human heart, the institution of the Catholic Church was at best a superfluity, and a dangerous one. And, in fact, the present writer

traces over and over again the retardation of the growth of the Christian sentiment, in which, according to him, resides the 'Spirit of Christianity,' to the growth into power and acceptance of the visible Church of the time. His formula is that a strong Church will always coexist with a weak Christianity—or conversely, a weak Church with a strong Christianity. So that according to him the Church idea is not merely not identical with Christianity, it is positively antagonistic to it all through history; which we take to be, from our point of view, a *reductio ad absurdum*.

Having premised so much as to the fundamental conception, we may say that the working out of it merits all praise. The author's habits of thought and tone of composition form a pleasing contrast to some controversialists we could name upon his side. Courteous, tolerant, and scholarly, he never says a harsh word, even of those persons whose tendencies of thought and practice he most disapproves. It is a real pleasure to peruse the brilliant pages in which the author presents his idea of men and of the great movements of religious thought; and we feel sure that every reader will be charmed with the writer's evident perspicuity and philosophical insight. He always *means* to be just; sometimes, indeed, his anxiety to be free and unprejudiced leads him into the opposite extreme of thought; as e.g. where he would fain make out that Mohammedanism was a highly civilising influence, and contrasted favourably with Christianity; or, again, in regarding the mountain glens of the Valais as an Arcadia of pious thought and pure lives, and ignoring the real Manichæism and questionable morals with which the inhabitants of those Piedmontese glens were deeply tainted.

In short, these volumes are the work of a very able and pious and cultured thinker; though we cannot for ourselves accept a theory which considers that the Apostles and their contemporaries were in a state of spiritual imperfection and nonage, and that the full development of the 'Spirit of Christianity' was reserved for Luther and his age. But those who *can*, will find in these volumes the most luminous and attractive exposition of their individualist view that has appeared for a very long time.

Paulinism: a Contribution to the History of Primitive Christian Theology. By OTTO PFLEIDERER, Doctor and Professor of Theology at Jena. Vol. II. The History of Paulinism in the Primitive Church. (London: Williams and Norgate.)

THE second volume is far more calm and business-like, if it is not less arbitrary, than the first. The author does not invert so entirely the traditional views of the various later events of the Apostle's mission, as he has chosen to do with the *earlier*. Thus his appreciation of the 'contest about the Law' (chap. viii.) seems to us calm and accurate; though he has exaggerated the extent of the division between the great parties—Judaizing and Pauline—in the Primitive Church, and we think him certainly mistaken in laying down that the compromise was *without a principle and illogical*. It seems to us, on the contrary, perfectly logical to say that Jews might continue

in the practice of the Mosaic Law without ceasing to be Christians, and yet that heathens might become Christians without passing through the preparatory grade of Judaism. There was nothing in Christianity so far different from Judaism that, as the present author lays down, 'the converted Jew, in order to be a Christian, must cease to be a Jew' (p. 11). On the contrary, Christianity constantly claimed from the first to be the completion and perfection of the Law. He has evidently transferred into the Pauline age the condition of his own time, to which what he says no doubt applies; but why? because whilst Christianity has gone somewhat forward from the stand-point of that age, *Judaism has gone back* from it; and thus the present rift between the two has come into existence. Some of his remarks on the Epistle to the Hebrews are worth serious consideration.

Bible Studies. By M. M. KALISCH, Ph.D., M.A. Part I. 'The Prophecies of Balaam' (Numbers xxii. to xxiv.), or, 'The Hebrew and the Heathen.' (London: Longmans, Green, and Co.)

THIS volume, we are told, is the fruit of a period of 'severe and lingering illness,' during the latter part of which the author, though not strong enough to resume in their full extent his usual avocations, was yet able to examine some of those minor 'problems of Biblical criticism and religious history which are still awaiting a final solution.'

In the solution which Dr. Kalisch has given to the 'problems' which surround the history of Balaam, he has given his imagination full play. He makes the most of the difficulties which are in the way of every hypothesis of the mode in which the history with its accompanying prophecies originated at first, and then became known to the nation of Israel. Regarding each and all of these as entirely insoluble, he concludes that the story is altogether fictitious, and 'that the Book of Balaam is the production of some gifted Hebrew, who, availing himself of popular traditions, employed them as a basis for conveying his views regarding Israel's greatness and mission by means of prophecies skilfully interwoven with history transmitted from earlier ages.' And when once composed it was, he thinks, 'preserved as a small book or scroll from generation to generation, till it was ultimately embodied in the great national work, the Pentateuch, as one of its most precious ornaments.' He distinguishes between the work itself as he finds it embodied in the Book of Numbers, and the independent and, as he regards them, discordant traditions respecting Balaam found in Numbers xxxi., 8, xxv. comp. Rev. ii. 14. But it is not even then manageable; so that he further discards, as later additions, the entire miraculous episode in xxii. 22-25, and the magnificent conclusion of the final prophecy, xxiv. 18-24. It is manifest how utterly arbitrary much of this is. The very existence of varying traditions, which he himself allows, should have occasioned more caution in theorising. It may be that the history of Balaam was written independently and incorporated in the Book of Numbers; but beyond that, we seem not to be in a position to speak at all positively of its history. The writer draws an interesting parallel between the story of Balaam and the Book of Ruth; it is

remarkable that the subject-matter of each of these independent narratives should have a connexion with the Moabites; but why should our author conclude that they were *both* written during the reign of David? There is much in this excursus which the Biblical scholar will know how to use, and which is calculated to increase his knowledge and thorough appreciation of this remarkable composition; but it is strongly marked by rashness and arbitrariness. It is, perhaps, not surprising that a writer who sets down the prophecies themselves as mere human forgeries should regard the episode of the ass as fabulous.

Masters in English Theology: Being the King's College Lectures for 1877. Edited, with an Historical Preface, by ALFRED BARRY, D.D., Principal. (London: John Murray.)

THE growing custom of setting on foot courses of lectures on specific subjects connected with Church history, and of publishing the lectures after delivery, seems a popular one. There must have been as many as six or seven of these courses last year in London alone; and we have before us the lectures composing one of these. Readers will find here the characters and careers of the great 'masters of theology' since the Reformation, handled with due respect, and yet with a freedom and breadth befitting at once the lecturer and the character of the institution where the addresses were delivered. Where one and all are admirable, there is little room for special encomium, or for distinguishing between the separate writers. We may, however, remark that the Dean of S. Paul's had a congenial subject to deal with in Bishop Andrewes, and has ably improved his opportunity; while Dr. Plumptre has been singularly felicitous in his summing up and estimate of the value of a work much set by at one time, and not obsolete even now—Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants*. Probably Canon Westcott's lectures on Benjamin Whichcote will have more of novelty than any other, and introduce the reading public to a man altogether unknown to many, even well-informed persons—the precursor and father of the not unimportant school of Cambridge Platonists.

Dr. Barry introduces the volume with a somewhat solid but substantially useful *catalogue raisonné* of the lectures. It is necessarily a mere tentative framework, for it would require a volume to fit these six men properly into their places.

Here is one of Dr. Farrar's audacious generalisations, in which he endeavours to sum up at once his own subject and those of his *collaborateurs* :—

'It is quite true that Jeremy Taylor has not the rude force of Latimer, the immense erudition of Ussher, the balanced stateliness and perfect equilibrium of Hooker, the flashing wit of South, the occasional intensity of Donne, the careful accuracy of Pearson, the compressed forcefulness of Barrow, the metaphysical profundity of Butler, the tender unction of Wilson, the polished equanimity of Tillotson, and, after these, but few others are at all worth mentioning; but, as in unfeigned piety and blameless purity of life he stands their equal, so in the combination of genius with eloquence he towers above the greatest of them all. In the fine expression of Bishop Warburton, he darts into all their excellences a ray

of lightning. And again, if he has not the characteristic defects, he has none of Latimer's indecorum, or of South's vulgarity, or Donne's tediousness, or Butler's aridity, or Tillotson's coldness, or Wilson's commonplace' (p. 190).

Servetus and Calvin: a Study of an important Epoch in the Early History of the Reformation. By R. WILLIS, M.D. (London: Henry S. King and Co., 1877.)

THE sub-title of this volume is a mistake. The work is certainly not 'a study of an epoch' in any sense whatever. It seems discourteous to accuse the author of using words in an incorrect sense; but it strikes us that he meant, not 'epoch' but 'episode.' The life and fate of the wrong-headed but unfortunate Servetus is an *episode* in the history of the great upheaval of the sixteenth century, and a very discreditable one it is to the Reformation and its adherents. We do not refer merely to the outrageous illegality of the entire trial and sentence, which the present author makes clear enough; but to the perfidy shown by Calvin in order to wreak his hatred on the (no doubt very provoking) adversary who declined to acknowledge the superiority of him, Messire Jehan Cauvin, by the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities at Vienne. And the trial at Geneva was not only a crime, it was a blunder. The flighty and inconsistent thinker, such as Servetus was, however intelligent, is comparatively innoxious when left alone; for his contemporaries take his measure instinctively. But turn him into a martyr, and you make his folly respectable. And that was just what Calvin did. He could have done his adversary no better than to throw into shade his faults and errors—which were neither few nor small—by comparison with his terrible death, and to surround his memory with the halo of martyrdom. His hatred and malignity over-reached itself, as is not uncommonly seen. Whilst, therefore, we are in substantial agreement with the present author in the main purpose of his work, we are bound to say that our agreement with him ends there. The spirit and tone in which it is written are by no means commendable. The author's sympathy with his hero not merely *extends* to all his strange aberrations from the Faith, but is evidently called forth specifically by them. It is very natural that Dr. Willis, as a physician, should be enthusiastic about a man who discovered the pulmonary circulation of the blood something like a century before our own illustrious countryman, Harvey, as is apparently shown in his otherwise objectionable treatise, 'Christianismi Resitutio.' But it is not at all natural nor laudable that his biographer should gloat over the wild and reprehensible theological speculations in which he indulged, but which are happily rendered for the most part innocuous by being unintelligible. And the too-evident intrusion of the writer's 'liberal' views on religion somewhat detracts from the pleasure with which one peruses an otherwise adequately written and interesting monograph.

The Life of Mozart. Translated from the German of Dr. LUDWIG NOHL by Lady WALLACE. (London, 1877.)

WE may agree with Lady Wallace that 'whatever is in any degree

likely to direct attention to the most melodious and lovely music in the world needs no excuse' (Pref. p. v.), and may therefore reasonably be grateful to her for thus presenting us with Dr. Nohl's memoir of Mozart in an English dress. But we may hope that she is less correct in her assertion that 'Mozart's works are little known and appreciated' (*ib.*). That fashion has sway in music as well as in matters of even greater importance it would be vain to deny; but 'Don Giovanni' is still the opera which of all others is the surest of all to draw full houses; 'Le Nozze di Figaro' and 'Il Flauto Magico' being second only to it in attraction to the English public; and 'Jupiter'¹ is still as much king of all symphonies as his namesake, or, may we say, godfather, was of Olympus in days of yore. If ever there was a 'heaven-born' genius, Mozart certainly seems entitled to the name. So far as our memory serves, he is the only infant prodigy whose mature fruit corresponded to its early blossom; but in his case the admiration which at six years of age he extorted from the Imperial Court at Vienna, when, after one of his performances on the pianoforte, Marie Theresa took him on her lap and kissed him, and the little Marie Antoinette gave him her hand so gracefully that he promised to marry her (i. 20) was but the forerunner of the more discriminating but equally enthusiastic confession of his superiority over all competitors which, twenty years later, Haydn took an honest pride in making (ii. 186-191). If he was marvellous as a performer at six, he was even more extraordinary as a composer at thirteen. He had already learnt in Italy 'that melody was the soul of music.' And he carried out the principle with a success so superior to that of the Italians themselves, that, at thirteen, he was engaged to compose an opera for La Scala, at Milan, the theatre whose audience was at that time the most critical in Europe. From that day to his death he was ceaselessly occupied with his pen, pouring forth concertos, operas, and masses with inexhaustible profusion, and in none falling below the high standard of excellence which he had aimed at from the first. Dr. Nohl devotes separate chapters to each of his best-known operas—to 'Le Nozze,' to 'Don Giovanni,' to 'Così fan tutti,' to the 'Flauto Magico,' and also to the Requiem. But through his analysis of these great works, and his account of their success, we have no space to follow him, as neither have we through those parts of his works which portray his hero's domestic life, and, it is with pain we add, his constant struggles with pecuniary embarrassment. The difficulties arising from a scanty income he might, indeed, have escaped if he had accepted the munificent offers with which the King of Prussia endeavoured to tempt him to settle at Berlin. But he regarded Vienna as his country, and replied that he could not leave his Emperor; though the treasury at Vienna was but poorly supplied, and Joseph was more profuse of compliments than of ducats. Much of his private life Dr. Nohl allows him to tell himself in the best way, by his letters to his wife and other relations. They give evidence of a singularly amiable

¹ The 9th Symphony, which musicians distinguish by this name.

and affectionate disposition. Nothing seems to have been able to provoke him but the blunders of an orchestra spoiling his music by bad time. Then, indeed, his patience was overpowered, and he would storm till he broke his steel shoe-buckles with his vehement stamping. But at all other times he was the gentlest of human beings. Dr. Nohl gives us the correct explanation of the story of the Requiem. The grey sepulchral-looking figure which gave the order is now known to have been the steward of a Count Walsegg, who had recently lost his wife, and who intended to produce Mozart's music as his own composition. The composer undertook the commission with a foreboding that it would be his last. 'I know,' said he, 'that I am writing this Requiem for myself.' And his words were too fatally verified. He was giving the last touches to the score when a sudden attack of some disease, apparently water in the chest, drove him to his bed, from which he never rose again. He died in November 1791, before he had completed his 36th year; but, young as he was, he had achieved a fame which Handel alone has equalled, and which it may almost be questioned whether even he has surpassed.

The Note-Book of Sir John Northcote, sometime M.P. for Ashburton, and afterwards for the County of Devon. Translated and edited, with a Memoir, by A. H. A. HAMILTON. (London: 1877.)

THE same feeling of the great importance of the transactions in which they were engaged, which led several members of the House of Commons in the Parliaments of Charles I. to publish their speeches, also prompted many of them to keep minute diaries of all the proceedings of the House. Some of these journals have already been given to the public; and this note-book of Sir John Northcote is not one of the least valuable contributions to the history of the time. Sir John was a man who took a somewhat eager part against the king, though Mr. Hamilton, in the extremely well-written and judicious memoir which he has given us as a preface to the note-book, exculpates him from the charge which Mr. Foster had brought against him of stating in the debates which followed the king's most ill-advised attempt to arrest the five members, that he would rather increase 'the jealousies existing between the king and the Parliament than diminish them'—a statement which originated in Mr. Foster's carelessness in transcribing the notes of Sir Simeon d'Ewes, which state plainly enough that Sir John was objecting to a motion of Sir H. Cholmeley, on that very ground, that it would only exasperate the present ill-feeling; Sir John's intentions in favour of the king on this occasion being so manifest that the tyrannical majority in the House would not suffer him to bring his speech to a conclusion. In general, the notes do not give us the substance of any of the speeches made; the only exception being made in reporting the discussion on the impeachment of the Lord-Keeper Finch. But they have preserved the accusations made against the different Ministers with a fulness that we can hardly find elsewhere. The charges against the Lord-Keeper Finch are given with great particularity (p. 83), as also those against Laud, which he calls 'the Scots' charge

against the Archbishop,' are set forth with a minuteness which shows utter want of all reasonable foundation (p. 78). One of the notes on p. 85 is remarkable as showing that the blunder of calling James's celebrated Chancellor 'Lord Bacon,' a title by which he had never been known for a single hour in his lifetime, was already prevalent. The book is edited with remarkable care and knowledge of the transactions of the time, and of the views of the Government leaders of both parties, and, as such, will be found a valuable aid in their labours by historians who know how to make use of it.

Notice sur la fondation et le développement de l'Association pour l'encouragement des Etudes Grecques en France. Par M. G. D'EICHTHAL. (Paris: Meissonnier et Cie., 1877.)

It is with satisfaction that we notice, as among the many hopeful signs of the condition of France, the labours of a society for the promotion of Greek studies in that country. These studies embrace language, literature, and art, and they appear to be in no small degree connected with the recollection of the interest taken by France and Frenchmen, even under the Bourbons, in the establishment of the Hellenic kingdom. About ten years ago the author of this notice, in conjunction with others now dead, gave the first impulse to the movement, according to the narrative here offered to us. A large number of subscribers was rapidly attained. The Academy interested itself in the question whether an attempt should be made to travel back to the method of pronunciation which prevailed before the nineteenth century. M. Duruy, when Minister of Public Instruction, viewed the foundation of the body with favour, and it obtained in 1870 a certificate of public utility, which confers on it a certain rank among institutions. It gives prizes for works of value by adults, and promotes by the same instrument the efforts of young men in the academic competitions (p. 50).

It has become a centre and a rallying point for all sympathies akin to its purpose. M. d'Eichthal confesses with regret that it has not yet been able to extend the limited share enjoyed by Greek studies in French education; but states that it has at least baffled and arrested a movement which had been in progress for the contraction of that limited share. We heartily wish well to the designs of the society; we believe that its purpose is of no common importance. The most superficial observer must be struck with the fact that for generations past Hellenic studies have been left to the Teutonic nations of Germany and England, and have languished sadly among the Latin peoples, so famous as they are and in so many ways. The spirit of liberty which breathes in the Greek literature has probably done more than its perfection according to the laws of art to maintain the study of it among ourselves. Mr. Pattison, in his *Life of Casaubon*, points out to us pretty clearly how the ancient learning, which promised to effect great things in France, was driven by religious intolerance in the seventeenth century to seek a home elsewhere. It passed from France to Holland, and from Holland to Germany, which still continues to be the chief seat of

literary labour, though it is perhaps in England that these studies are most largely applied to the cultivation of taste and the general discipline of the intellect. We fear that the society will have many obstacles to overcome, but we heartily wish well to its bold and enlightened effort.

Notes on the Churches of Kent. By the late Sir STEPHEN R. GLYNNE, Bart. With Illustrations. (London : John Murray.)

THIS volume, now presented to the public with a preface from the pen of Mr. W. H. Gladstone, M.P., consists of a series of notes based on actual personal inspection of 312 churches in Kent. The late Sir Stephen Glynne, we are told, was in the habit of devoting a certain number of weeks or months during every year to the examination of the architectural features of English churches far and near, and had actually completed a survey of more than 5,530 before death overtook him when actually busied with his unfinished task. The results of so much industry remain in the shape of a large mass of first-hand information, which will doubtless be of considerable value as a guide-book to future archæologists, if not, as we should think probable, to a much larger circle of readers interested in the parish churches described. The volume before us shows how thoroughly (not in the architect's sense, but in that of the man of taste) the writer was accustomed to do the work he had set about. Out of 424 parishes, as many as 312 are found mentioned here : but it is obviously a pity that the work is not quite complete. Modern and unimportant details which could be of no use to any one except the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or the Archdeacon are sometimes mixed with the descriptions of the architecture ; and it was, perhaps, a pity not to have removed these. The illustrative woodcuts are striking and good.

The Origin of Nations. In Two Parts. On Early Civilisations. On Ethnic Affinities, &c. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A. (London : Religious Tract Society.)

HERE is an excellent book, though it is small ; and one which we can warmly recommend. The author shows cause for believing that the introduction of man upon the earth is much more recent than impulsive Egyptologists would have it believed. He examines one by one all the separate civilisations with which history is acquainted : the Babylonian, the Phœnician, those of Asia Minor, and the far more extensive culture of the great empires, successive or contemporaneous, of Central Asia ; Assyria, Media and Persia, India ; or in Europe itself, that of the Etruscans in Italy, and of the early Celtic civilisation of our own islands. These he finds to agree one and all, if we except Egypt, in the hypothesis of a moderately early civilisation, demanding no vast antiquity of human existence ; and forming in their agreement a most powerful—we may even say, an irresistible corroboration of the early chronology of Scripture.

Similarly he examines the traces of affinity between the various races which make up the totality of the human race, and shows

that the great groups correspond remarkably with the express statements, and even with the indications given in the Scriptures.

In fact, we have a most able and powerful exhibition of the strong and almost conclusive evidence of their truthfulness drawn from these latest born of the sciences, and which were thought, not so very long ago, to be an armoury of weapons on the other side.

Tales illustrating Church History. England. Vol. 3. Mediæval Period. By the Rev. H. C. ADAMS. (Oxford and London : James Parker and Co., 1877.)

MOST of our readers will remember the earlier series of these tales, which used to appear in their yellow cloth covers, at short intervals, some of them, we believe, from the pen of the late Dr. Neale. The appearance of the volume before us probably indicates that the publication, which has been suspended for, we should suppose, fifteen or sixteen years, is to be recommenced ; and we are very glad to see it. We do not know that we can credit Mr. Adams' stories with any very high qualities : as is mostly the case with stories written with a prescribed purpose, and in which the costumes and manners of the period delineated are of more consequence than the puppets who constitute the machinery of the story. All these seem sufficiently correct, and the various religious crises are well illustrated. It is quite a book for the parish library.

Occasional Sermons. Preached before the University of Cambridge and elsewhere. With an Appendix of Hymns. By BENJAMIN HALL KENNEDY, D.D., Regius Professor of Greek, Cambridge, and Canon of Ely. (Bell and Sons ; Deighton, Bell and Co.)

THESE are sermons for scholars, and are, accordingly, philosophical and allusive in style, and walk habitually in that higher air of thought which, for ordinary congregations, would be a trifle difficult to breathe. The distinguished auditory before whom the greater number of them were delivered doubtless appreciated as they deserve both the subjects and the style. We cannot say that the metrical efforts which follow strike us as being the happiest efforts of Dr. Kennedy's muse, and we certainly do *not* like the *by no means capital* way in which they are printed, *i.e.* in uniformly small type.

The following from Sermon II., on 'The Moral Excellence of Jesus,' strikes us as worth quoting :—

'No man hath seen God at any time,' says the philosophic Theist ; but I believe in a Personal God ; and, if you ask me for the arguments on which I rest my belief, I reply, They are many and various, some drawn from my own consciousness, others from outward experience. If you further ask, Do any or all of these arguments amount to a demonstration of the existence of God ? I reply, No ; for demonstration implies definition, and the Infinite defined is a contradiction in terms. Demonstration involves the assumption of a first principle ; but God Himself is prior to any principle, and therefore, by the nature of the case, indemonstrable. Believing that I have in my own consciousness, as guiding instincts, the ideas of existence, of freedom, and of duty or morality, I further believe that I have the idea of the perfection of each

of these ideas : that is, the idea of the Absolute and Infinite ; that is, the idea of God ' (p. 16).

WE have another and a very different type of University Sermons in *Sermons Preached in the Temporary Chapel of Keble College, Oxford, 1870-76.* (Rivingtons.) Whereas in the former the intellectual element of religion is chiefly dwelt upon, in these it is the *spiritual* element, and that, we think, wisely. If ever young men require spiritual strength, it is when they are first set as undergraduates to battle with the temptations which a University offers. The pulpit teaching of Keble College has been adapted, with great skill and earnestness, to meet that want ; and the result is a volume which no young man, be he cleric or layman, can peruse without being roused and stirred in heart and conscience. The sermons are by Mr. Talbot, the Warden ; by Mr. Mylne, now Bishop of Bombay, and then a Tutor of the College ; and by the other Tutors who occupied the pulpit in turn. We would notice especially the noble Sermon (VII.) on 'The Secret of Spiritual Strength,' by Mr. Mylne, as deserving an attentive perusal. The volume is a valuable one.

Sermons for the Saints' Days and Other Festivals. By the late Rev. JOHN KEBLE, Author of *The Christian Year.* (Oxford and London: James Parker and Co.)

THIS new volume of Mr. Keble's 'Sermons' will be most welcome. It would be an impertinence to attempt to praise them, and we simply note their appearance. If we should try to characterise in one word their specific quality, we should call them *winning* sermons. There is in them a remarkable *familiarity* and directness of speech, but it is the familiarity of the saint, who speaks with the most absolute plainness because he sees holy things so plainly, and it produces a kind of awe in the mind of the reader. We may mention as having struck us as specially beautiful, Sermon XVIII., for S. Matthias, on 'Reproof a Searching Trial.'

Boyle Lectures, 1876. What is Natural Theology? An Attempt to Ascertain the Cumulative Evidence of Many Witnesses to God. By ALFRED BARRY, D.D. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.)

THESE are assuredly very able, very learned, and very vigorous lectures. But it strikes us that they attempt too much for a small space. It is probably always a mistake to over-generalise. That which is visible and convincing when exhibited clearly and distinctly becomes indistinct when packed too closely ; loses its individuality, and with that its power of convincing. Now the great space of argument gone over by Dr. Barry in the book before us compels him so to condense his arguments, and to present them so constantly in mere outline, as to render his book less fitted for popular use than it really would otherwise be. But as a *conspectus* or bird's-eye view of the state of the argument it will not be without a real value to the student. The Summary of the Argument (pp. 309-327) is admirable, and would make an excellent brief tract.

An Attempt to Explain and Establish the Doctrine of Justification by Faith only. In Ten Sermons 'Upon the Nature and the Effects of Faith,' preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, by JAMES THOMAS O'BRIEN, D.D., late Bishop of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin. Fourth Edition. (Dublin: Hodges and Co.)

THE popular interest in controversial divinity has a way of shifting its ground; and the world has grown shyer of what used to be so much written upon, viz. the doctrine of 'Justification by Faith only.' Few books of any mark are written upon it now, and the one which is written reaches a fourth edition. This is the way we account to ourselves for the fact: not so much the merits of the work itself, though it has merits, and high ones, as the comparative paucity of publications on the subject, which cannot be called a popular one in itself, and is here treated in a manner of which the lengthiness and elaboration must have been far from popular. Unquestionably it is the production of a very able man—one who drives a keen, shining ploughshare of thought through all the aridities, and they are many, of his subject. But, able as his work is, it is an attempt to resuscitate a bygone view, and to deprive the Church of the experience of the last three hundred years. We may safely say that Bishop O'Brien's work is one of the best exponents possible of this so-prized doctrine—*articulus stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiæ*, as the great Reformer named it. But, after all, it is not safe for an individual or for a Church to found itself on anything less than the totality of Catholic doctrine. No Church may venture (if we may so express it) to have *favourite* doctrines. S. James found it necessary, even in the Apostolic age, to protest against the current travesty of S. Paul's doctrine of Faith. 'Wilt thou know, O vain man, that *faith without works is dead*?' That is exactly what the experience of later days has taught us. What has been the history of the Churches who took 'justification by faith only' for the whole Gospel? Look at Lutheranism now! or at the Churches of Geneva or Holland! The truth is, that the doctrine *in its place* is a Catholic verity, but taken apart from its correlatives, as if it were the whole Gospel, is a deadly snare. And, therefore, we are afraid of these attempts to isolate, and therefore probably to magnify, the doctrine. But the book will find its place in the theological library. By the way, we must utterly dissent from the Bishop's attempt (pp. 144, 145 and note v.) to turn the edge of S. James's argument by representing it as an *ad hominem* adaptation to the views of false-hearted Solifidians, and which virtually interpolates 'such' before 'faith' every time the Apostle names it.

Theism; being the Baird Lectures for 1876. By ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons.)

THE author has, in ten lectures, reviewed fairly, and with adequate learning, the main provinces of the great theistic idea, and the chief lines of thought by which it is to be defended against opposition. He has not treated his subject historically; that element of it being,

we suppose, reserved for another series to be called 'Anti-Theistic Ideas,' and to be delivered this year. The lecturer meets the *à priori* objections to the existence of a God with great acuteness; but because, perhaps, of his own success in dealing with these objections *against* it, he does not think highly of the various *à priori* proofs *for* it. He does not, in fact, give them quite their full value.

The Superhuman Origin of the Bible inferred from Itself. The Congregational Union Lecture for 1873. By HENRY ROGERS. Fifth Edition. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1877.)

AN elaborate and lengthened argument, somewhat wordy and prolix, but substantially accurate. Since 'the Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants,' such an argument was very needful, from the Nonconformist point of view; and it is here very ably carried through. The lectures are evidently the work of a man of considerable knowledge, culture, and acuteness. He goes nearly, but not quite, to the bottom of the questions he handles: but on the part which he fails to deal with, often hangs the whole of the remainder. For example, he seems to begin with the English printed Bible of the 19th century, and to have omitted the preliminary inquiry as to what books constitute the Bible, and on whose authority they were constituted into a Canon. A controversialist should have remembered that this inquiry is not superfluous; as also that you may make too much of the 'Unity' of the Scriptures, to the exclusion of the correlative truth of their diversity. With these deductions the substantial argument will stand; and we are glad to see a book obviously modelled on Bishop Butler's great work thus popular.

Some Aspects of the Christian Ideal. Sermons by the Rev. E. CAMPBELL, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Greek in the University of S. Andrews. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1877.)

CLEVER and scholarly sermons, containing much to occupy and interest the mind, but little to stir the affections or to touch the conscience; which present the religion of Christ in the garb of a purely human philosophy, albeit the loftiest of all the philosophies; and whose amount of doctrinal teaching may be judged of from the fact that some of them were preached 'during the writer's brief ministry in the Church of England, as Vicar of Milford, in Hampshire;' others were written for Episcopal congregations in S. Andrews, and others again were preached to Presbyterian congregations in the same place. They are like the famous tent of the fairy Peribano which always accommodated its size to the number of its inmates; for these discourses would fit the Presbyterian as well as the Independent; perhaps even the Unitarian as well. If there is one whom they do not fit, it is probably the Episcopalian, to which the writer belongs.

The Christian Creed: its Theory and Practice. With a Preface on 'Some Present Dangers of the English Church.' By the Rev. STANLEY LEATHES, M.A. (London: Hodder and Stoughton.)

MR. STANLEY LEATHES has apparently published his Sermons on the

Creed in order to obtain an opportunity to lift up his testimony against Ritualism. When we remark that Mr. Leathes says that frequent Communion in themselves are 'neither right nor wrong, neither good nor bad,' but that, in certain circumstances, 'they can only be pernicious;' that he regards the institution of the priesthood as 'a chain of insupportable weight and slavish bondage,' and invites his hearers in capitals to CAST OUT the 'Roman leaven,' and so on, we shall have indicated plainly enough his state of mind when writing. The lectures themselves are better, and are very fairly good; save that there is no scintilla of 'sacramentalism,' of course. And there are novel speculations which we cannot think tend to edification.

The Conflict and the Crown. Plain Parochial Sermons. By the Rev. W. E. COGLAN, B.A. With Preface by the Rev. BERDMORE COMPTON, M.A. (Skeffington and Son.)

THESE are excellent parochial sermons, but they are perhaps *too good* to be plain; the fact being that the great problems of religion and the advanced truths of theology are assimilated with a certain toil and difficulty of apprehension, and *cannot* be made, without injury to them, plain and level to the meanest capacity. The present rage for 'plain' sermons is, in too many instances, an indication of mental and spiritual sluggishness, and disinclination to make the effort to comprehend and to follow a train of sustained reasoning: it is a demand to be kept always upon mental spoon-meat, or words in four letters, and not to be at all indiscriminately yielded to. Mr. Coghlan's sermons, therefore, are none the worse because they must be attended to with a will in order to be apprehended. There is, perhaps, a tendency to mixture of metaphor, which is a besetting sin of preachers, and should be avoided. *E.g.*, on p. 56, 'death is the brink of the grave,' and on the very next line 'the last river.'

Sermons Reprinted from the 'Literary Churchman' (same publishers) are much more emphatically plain, and there is a striking quality of *directness* about most of them. They put questions sharply and briefly, enounce great truths in a way to strike and convince, and many of the writers show much skill in their use of that art of reiteration, that knack of saying the same thing over and over again in slightly varied forms, which, when rightly exercised, contributes so very largely to efficiency in preaching. These sermons show the right kind of plainness, and are sure to tell upon hearers.

Lectures on Preaching. By the Rev. PHILLIPS BROOKS, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co.)

Nine Lectures on Preaching. By R. W. DALE, Birmingham. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

THESE are two courses of lectures delivered at Yale College, New Haven, during the course of 1877, on a foundation similar to our Bampton Lecture, called the 'Lyman Beecher Lectureship;' and, seeing that the students of Yale have now endured *two* distinct courses on this same subject of preaching, at an interval of not more than three or four months, we should think they must be about

saturated with it, and not desirous of hearing any more about it for a very long time.

And, to make the matter better, there is a very great family likeness between the two sets of lectures on the whole, and necessarily they have treated the same subjects and pursued similar lines of thought; but there the influence of personality has come in to 'differentiate' the two: the Englishman is more steady and business-like in his bit-by-bit evolution of his subject; the American, far more brilliant, with keener power of insight; the Englishman, again, far more discursive, and illustrates his subject from a wider range of culture and reading than his predecessor; but both are very able, very sensible, very useful courses of lectures, which are pleasant and improving to read, and must have been absorbing to listen to. We observe that Mr. Dale sets out by observing (p. 3), 'When a truth comes to me which has been re-asserted year after year for centuries, it comes with the sanction and authority, not of an individual man, but of successive generations of men;' and we are glad to have this on his own authority, because his sayings and doings in his native country would not of themselves have suggested that such was his belief.

Outlines of Biblical Psychology. By J. T. BECK, D.D., Prof. Ord. Theol. Tübingen. Translated from the Third Enlarged and Corrected German Edition, 1877. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.)

AN attempt, by a very competent and remarkably painstaking writer, to fix the sense of such terms as 'life,' 'soul,' 'heart,' which the figurative and anthropomorphic language of Scripture habitually employs. We can hardly call it a very successful attempt. The writer's style does not seem to us very clear. Such a passage as the following *e.g.* seems to us to be composed of wordy truisms: and, under a pretence of profundity, to convey no information at all:—

'To preserve unimpaired a thing's essential being and mode of being—in other words, its native possibilities and qualities, and, besides, to develop and assert them in every way—this was the primitive law and rule of all life. Hence in the case of the heart also it is true, in general terms, that *natural conception* of moral goodness and justice is only realised if the heart has retained its original being unimpaired, if its essence and powers are being completely developed in the way prescribed by its peculiar nature, and if its essential powers and functions retain the vitality of health, while the slightest deviation from this programme, either in excess or defect, is the beginning of evil and error. But in the concrete relations of life, the existence of good and evil is determined by the special peculiarities of the individual heart, which decide how a man can and will act in a given case; if the action is carried out with thoroughness and without injury to the inward well-being of the heart, it is good; if not, evil' (p. 128).

We should doubt if it were quite worth translating.

A Popular Exposition of the Epistles of the Seven Churches of Asia. By E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D. (Hodder and Stoughton, 1877.)

THIS is a very interesting work, but a very free 'exposition;' reading into the text for analogy or illustration much with which it has but

a slender and doubtful connexion, more after the manner of the sermon than the critical dissertation. These are, in fact, sermons ; and, as sermons, there is much in them that is singularly varied and attractive. His identification of that woman, Jezebel, however, in the Epistle to Thyatira, with the wife of the Bishop, or 'Angel,' seems to us arbitrary ; and his assertion of the literal, non-figurative character of what is said on this head, doubtful in the extreme.

A Treatise on the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. By CHARLES ELLIOTT, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary of the North-West, Chicago, Illinois. (Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark, 1877.)

No new word is likely to be spoken on the question of the Inspiration of Scripture, because the subject has been under attention for many hundreds of years, and well-nigh all possible modifications of the three leading hypotheses about it have been stated and considered. Therefore we need not be surprised to find, as we do find, a certain absence of originality in Dr. Elliott's work. He has included in his book chapters that have little direct connexion with it, e.g. that on 'The Beneficial Effects of the Bible upon the World.' In point of fact, Part III. contains the whole of the proper subject of the work, technically so called. Much of the remainder is apparently made up of the substance of lectures delivered to students, and the whole may be regarded as an intelligent and fairly complete exhibition of the general state of the question, without any very marked contributions to it on the writer's own part.

Principles of the English Church. A new Apology for the Church of England. A Series of Letters to a Friend. By the Rev. CHARLES HOLE. (London : Longmans, Green, and Co., 1877.)

'APOLOGIES' for the English Church, or for anything else, had need be of stronger material than this, if they are to bear much wear and tear. The book is well-intentioned, but weak ; and the author levels down the 'principles' of the Church until he has left nothing to apologise for,—'naked in the matter of formulæ,' as Sandy Mackaye hath it.

The Merchant Taylors' Hebrew Grammar. The Formal Principles of Biblical Hebrew, as understood by Modern Semitists, stated in a manner suited to Beginners. By the Rev. C. J. BALL, M.A., Second Classical Master in Merchant Taylors' School. (London : Samuel Bagster and Sons.)

A WORK constructed on philosophical principles, and not unworthy of the ancient and famous school from which it comes, and in which we believe Hebrew is taught as a part of the ordinary school course.

A Knight of To-day. By L. T. MEADE. (Shaw.)

THIS is a book which, though only professing to be a 'tale,' we cannot forbear to notice for the noble beauty of its foremost character, Robert Archer. The author's style sometimes reminds us of George

Macdonald, and sometimes there is a *souçon* of Dickens—not of his humour but of his manner. However, there is no imitation, and the underlying principle is sounder than what we have in either of the above-named authors. Archer's knight-errantry is—as no doubt the title has revealed—a crusade against sin and misery, and it is conducted with common sense and upright justice, which makes the book wholesome reading. The plot is scarcely a probable one, but it is so worked out as to bring the conflict between good and evil into the highest relief; and the great beauty of it is that it is imbued throughout with the feeling that to be turned away from God is the only real ill. There is only one page that we feel out of keeping with the rest, and that is plainly an awkward expedient for bringing about the *dénouement*. All the rest is wise and clear-sighted, and sometimes rises into great nobleness.

Em; or, Spells and Counter Spells. By MARY BRAMSTON. (Marcus Ward.)

WE mention this also as one of the best and most wholesome tales of this season. The hero and heroine are themselves interesting people; but the best part of the book is to be found in two characters, who only come in incidentally—a clergyman and his clever wife. They have married for love, but drift apart from lack of intellectual sympathy. He, busy in his parish work, and deeply religious, does not enter into her pursuits; and she, having early made up her mind that poor people are not her *forte*, leaves them to the district visitors, and devotes herself to intellectual culture, and amuses herself with sceptical speculations, not accepting the arguments he points out to her, because they were directed to the unbeliefs of an earlier day. Thus they drift apart, so far as sympathy is concerned, until it is discovered that the husband is suffering from a mortal disease. Then comes the long agony of the woman, in her incapacity to follow him in his sure faith and hope. The fog she has raised around herself comes between them, and her gaze cannot follow his. Better things come before the end; but the whole is so true to nature that it is a most wholesome lesson, not only to those who are tempted to walk in the light of the sparks that they have kindled, but to those who might use influence in time if they would try to understand the difficulties and objections, contemptible in themselves, yet which are to others deadly fruits of the tree of knowledge.

THE RETROSPECT OF 1877.

I.

FEW years have dealt more gently with men of distinction, both in Church and State, than the year which is now closed; but though it has scarcely removed any from the very foremost rank, still there are a few whose departure cannot but be chronicled. Naming first those who stood first in ecclesiastical position, we have to mention Bishop Powys, of Sodor and Man, whose energetic incumbency of the important Rectory of Warrington is not yet forgotten, though his promotion to his bishopric took place so long ago as 1854; and Bishop Trower, who was firstly Bishop of Glasgow, and then for a time Bishop of Gibraltar. The year has actually made no gap whatever in the number of those of our bishops who either are, or may become, Peers of Parliament; and the only loss among our deans has been that of Dean Williams, of Llandaff, who has been succeeded by Archdeacon Blossie. The roll of archdeacons, however, has lost (1) Archdeacon Thorp, years ago so familiar a name and face to all Cambridge men as Tutor of Trinity, and the first president of the Cambridge Camden Society. It is now more than thirty years (we think it was in 1844) that he resigned his tutorship, since which time he resided upon his living, Kemerton, near Tewkesbury, to which he had been presented in 1839 by the then Bishop (Monk) of Gloucester and Bristol. His archdeaconry he resigned in 1873. (2) The Venerable William Waring, Archdeacon of Ludlow since 1851, and Canon Residentiary of Hereford since 1867, a genial and kindly and somewhat scholarly clergyman of a school which entered but little into the controversies of recent times; and (3), and within a few days of our writing, Oxford and Christ Church have lost one of their most notable links with past days in Archdeacon Clerke, Archdeacon of Oxford since the year 1830, Canon of Christ Church since 1845, and whom Bishop Wilberforce continued in the office of examining chaplain which he had filled under Bishop Bagot during the exciting days of the early Tractarian movement.

After these we must name Sir Henry Williams Baker, Vicar of Monkland, near Leominster, so widely known in connexion with 'Hymns Ancient and Modern,' and some of whose original hymns, of extraordinary beauty, first appeared in the latest edition of that popular hymnal; Mr. Lysons, the well-known antiquary, Rector of Rodmarton, Cirencester, since 1833, and Hon. Canon of Gloucester, one of the many men of our day who have shown what the too-much-abused 'squarson' may both be and do.

It would, however, be a great omission were we to pass over the

decease, after years of failing health, accompanied nevertheless with unflinching work and industry, of Miss Anne Mackenzie, one of those who have well won high place among the women of Christianity. At the age of 41, after living the ordinary life of a Scottish lady of somewhat feeble health, she accompanied, in 1854, her youngest brother to Natal, sharing his labours and devoting herself specially to the education of the colonists' children, so that she was called his 'white sister,' though she gained much experience of work among the blacks—*i.e.* Kafirs.

When he became Missionary Bishop she again followed him, but only to learn that he had died of fever on his way to meet her. Returning home broken in health and apparently broken in heart, her true work sprang up out of devotion to his memory, and then rose to a noble height. Out of her endeavour to support the Kafir Mission in Natal, came first her 'Memoirs of Henrietta Robertson,' then that valuable magazine—the one thoroughly successful and popular missionary periodical which the Church of England has known—the 'Net,' with its immense agency for supplying the minor needs of Missions, and lastly, the foundation of a Bishopric in Zululand. Her great sympathy, her shrewd sense, her unflinching enthusiasm and power of interesting others, are all the more remarkable, inasmuch as she was an incessant sufferer who never knew a day of perfect health. She was certainly one of the foremost in promoting home agencies for the advancement of foreign Missions.

Of other names of wide interest we must specify particularly that of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, who forty years ago was one of the founders of the first Training School for Schoolmasters in the country—that, namely, at Battersea, soon after taken up by the National Society—who was the inventor of the pupil-teacher system, who was for many years the (first) secretary to the Committee of Council on Education, and whose name is, perhaps, specially familiar in connexion with the long and fierce Management Clauses controversy. The same year which has removed Sir James has also taken away another worker in the cause of education—we refer to Miss Mary Carpenter, famous for her work in Reformatory Schools; and also Mrs. Caroline Chisholm, the promoter of female emigration.

From widely different spheres of literary celebrity we have lost Mr. Samuel Warren, once famous as a novelist, and Mr. Walter Bagehot, second to few in his line as a statist. Two *genuine* centenarians have departed—Lady Smith, of Lowestoft; and Mrs. Bagster, of Old Windsor.

Abroad the losses have been more striking. France has lost her aged M. Thiers, who had contributed so much to the making of her history alike in writing—some would say inventing—that of the first Napoleon, and also by his own actions, whether in opposition or in office as an administrator. She has lost also M. Lanfrey, the historian; Le Verrier, her distinguished astronomer, who disputed the priority of discovery of the planet Neptune with the then young Cambridge Senior Wrangler Mr. Adams; two men of military fame, General Changarnier, first of Algerian, then of Parisian notoriety;

and Aurelle de Paladines, one of the very few who made more reputation than he lost in the dark days of the Franco-German War. Prussia has lost her aged General Wrangel, and the Old Catholics their Bishop Ketteler; Italy her Cardinal Patrizzi; America her historian, Mr. Motley; and, to come back again nearer home, the Roman Hierarchy in Ireland has lost its one really large-minded member, Dr. Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry—the one Roman Catholic Bishop who thoroughly appreciated the equity of the present English rule in Ireland, and was not afraid to say so.

II.

Probably there has been no year since 1850 which opened with so many anxious forebodings on the part of English Churchmen as the now ended 1877. The appeal in the Ridsdale case was about to be heard, and there was the possibility of the judgment resulting in a dangerous collision between many of the most influential of the clergy and the civil executive. Mr. Pelham Dale had been deprived. Mr. Tooth had been condemned. No one knew what was coming next.

At such a time it was cheering to see that the spiritual work of the Church was in no way abated. Little public notice was taken of it, but work was being carried on which, had it only been a few years back, would have been in everybody's mouth. We refer especially to those missions which were taking place throughout the country, which, whether for their numbers, or for the scale upon which they were carried out, or for their success, were altogether unprecedented. Those at Manchester, Chester, and Clifton deserve especial commemoration. At Manchester, the Mother Church of the diocese was, as it ought to be, the centre of all, and the opposition which preceded it served only to bring out into the more prominence the inflexible resolution of the Dean, and to emphasise still further the success of the undertaking.

On January 22 Mr. A. Tooth, who on the 13th had been pronounced 'contumacious and in contempt' for ignoring the inhibition of Lord Penzance, was imprisoned in Horsemonger-lane Gaol, and there were many churches, and those with not the least influential congregations, where the prayers of the Church were desired for 'Arthur Tooth now in prison for conscience sake.' On February 17 came his release, brought about by no submission on his part, but by the feeling in high quarters of the absurdly incongruous spectacle of a personally blameless clergyman subjected to an imprisonment even less considerate than in the case of a first-class misdemeanant.

In the course of March a memorial to the Primate and the Bishops generally, signed by about eighty leading clergy, and headed by the Dean of S. Paul's, reciting the peculiarities of the existing situation, and pointing out that the true remedy lay in appeal to 'the Living Voice of the Church,' was drawn up and presented to His Grace on the 27th.

On May 12, the decision in the Ridsdale case was given, of which the less need be said here, because of the very full discussion of it

which was given in our number of last July. It may, however, be added that, while it condemned the use of the 'vestments,' the majority of those churches in which they were used still continue to use them, without, up to the year's end, any one attempting to apply this decision to their case. Mr. Ridsdale avoided further collision by obeying his Diocesan's wishes as regards the ritual of S. Peter's, Folkestone. But though Mr. Ridsdale acted with this moderation, there were others who took a different course. On May 30, about two hundred clergy met at the Westminster Palace Hotel, under Mr. T. T. Carter's presidency, and resolved to disregard the judgment on the grounds of its being 'contrary to the plain meaning of the Prayer Book.' Later on, July 2, Mr. Mackonochie held a meeting at the Freemasons' Hall of those who, like himself, regarded a final breach with the State as the only remedy for existing complications. At this meeting Archdeacon Denison was a prominent speaker. And on June 29 the Court of Queen's Bench decided that the proceedings under the Public Worship Regulation Act, under which Mr. Pelham Dale had been deprived, were null and void *ab initio*, so that he must be reinstated in his benefice, and the costs incurred fall back on those who were responsible for the suit. And so things stood at the close of the season of 1877.

Meantime, the Parliamentary proceedings as to matters connected with the Church had not been very numerous, though far from unimportant. An insidious attempt was made to get the small end of the wedge in with a view to the ultimate legalisation of the marriage of widowers with their sisters-in-law, by legalising in England such marriages as had been thus contracted in the colonies, and though opposed by Government a majority of 192 to 141 was snatched on February 28 in the Commons, but the Bill proceeded no further.

On March 13, the Duke of Richmond introduced the Government Burials Bill, which we fully discuss in the present number, and which, after a vigorous effort to carry it, was withdrawn on June 21. During the Whitsun recess, a memorial against the Dissenters' attack on our burial-grounds was signed by more than *fourteen thousand* clergy; certainly the most numerous-signed memorial which has ever proceeded from the English clergy on any subject or any occasion.

The withdrawal of Mr. Cross's Bill for the creation of new sees was no doubt a serious misfortune, but it may have its compensations in the further ripening of public opinion on the subject. During the Session and in the recess important public meetings have been held in the districts affected by the proposed Bill, as e.g. Nottingham, Halifax, and Wakefield, where the keenest interest was evinced—a fact of special importance, considering that it is something new for manufacturing centres to show such marks of Church life, and to be so anxious for the honour of becoming See towns. There seems no doubt that the needful funds will soon be raised, so that ere long we shall have six new dioceses—certainly the greatest step in Church extension since the Reformation—and these in no way provided by the State, but only *permitted* by it, and, like our original endowments, the fruit of voluntary zeal. By the bequest of a private

gentleman, the late Mr. T. Headley, the endowment for a separate see for Northumberland is already virtually secured. The people of Bristol, too, are moving for the restoration of their ancient diocese, towards which the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol is ready to surrender 500*l.* a year, and a considerable sum has already been promised in the neighbourhood. A movement is also beginning for the subdivision of the huge Diocese of London. The assistance rendered by the Additional Curates' Society to the increase of the Home Episcopate ought to be cordially acknowledged; and Mr. Ingram notifies the encouraging fact that within *nine months* a total of nearly 100,000*l.* has been offered for this purpose.

The later portion of the year has been marked first by a most numerously attended Church Congress (the seventeenth) held at Croydon, with the Primate as chairman, and next by the largest number of Diocesan Conferences ever held. In fact, there are now but few dioceses which have failed to organise themselves in this manner, among which number, strange to say, the diocese of London is one, and one of the next most important dioceses in England, that of Durham, is another. Then, in November (the 19th) a decision was given by the Queen's Bench that Lord Penzance's Court at Lambeth, for contempt of which Mr. A. Tooth had been sent to prison, had really no jurisdiction; so that here again, as in Mr. Dale's case, the proceedings were null and void *ab initio*, and so the second adventure under the Public Worship Regulation Act issued in a *fiasco*, and Mr. Tooth remained in possession of the ground. Whether future proceedings will succeed better remains to be seen.

The year 1877 has, as we have already stated, seen no vacancies in English sees, excepting that of Sodor and Man, to which Mr. Rowley Hill was appointed, and whose consecration took place in York Minster on August 24. But the year has seen two new dioceses added to the Church—that of Truro, to which Dr. Benson was consecrated at S. Paul's Cathedral, on May 25; and that of S. Alban's, to which, Bishop Claughton being translated (he was enthroned in S. Alban's Abbey, June 12), Canon Thorold was appointed, and consecrated in Westminster Abbey, July 25. On S. Thomas' Day three Bishops were consecrated in Westminster Abbey—Dr. Trollope, Archdeacon of Stow since 1866, as Suffragan of Nottingham, in the room of Bishop Mackenzie, who has resigned after seven years' service; Dr. V. Trench, as Bishop of Lahore; and Dr. Titcomb, as Bishop of Rangoon; the former a missionary clergyman of experience, the latter a well-known and respected clergyman of the diocese of Winchester, of whom we can only say that we wish he were young enough to give hope of longer service in his new sphere.

It yet remains to add a word upon the subject which in 1876 caused such bitter controversy, but on which during 1877 so little has been said—we mean the matter of education. No one will expect us to lament the extinction of the Birmingham Education League, which took place on March 28, but we must record the loss of Canon Fry, of Leicester, who had been the successful trainer of many a valuable teacher before training colleges were thought of. For the

rest, we are glad to say that Church Schools have been holding their own successfully against the Board School competition, and that the number succumbing before that competition has sensibly diminished. Our whole loss at present reaches something less than four per cent. of our schools, while, *per contra*, the school accommodation supplied by the Church far exceeds what it was in 1870. Lord Sandon's Act of 1876 came just in time for many parts of the manufacturing and mining districts, where, but for Section X., which authorises guardians to pay school fees when needed, it is difficult to understand how children could be kept at school at all. One bold movement must be specified, that, namely, of the Metropolitan Church School Fund, by which it is proposed to raise a capital of 50,000*l.*, and an annual income of 2,000*l.*, to be spent in aiding embarrassed schools in poor districts, and so saving them from collapse, or falling into the hands of School Boards. Such a fund might well be raised by every diocese in the kingdom.

As to Board Schools, Mr. Sampson Lloyd's return has just appeared, giving details of their religious instruction in the metropolis and eight other large centres of population, in which naturally Birmingham does not find a place. The return is interesting and valuable, especially as illustrating the importance of the continued existence of the Church Schools in holding up a standard of what religious instruction ought to be, for we observe that the various courses—so far as they go—follow in the main the lines laid down by the diocesan inspectors of religious education. On the whole, the teaching is limited to Holy Scripture, but Liverpool and Manchester add hymns, and Liverpool further requires prayers to be learned by heart. The pupil-teachers are not forgotten, and Manchester and Exeter require the head-teachers to give a certain portion of time weekly to their religious teaching. For the rest we must refer our readers to the return itself.

Under the head of Education we may be allowed to speak of the work of the very valuable 'Ordination Candidates Exhibition Fund' (No. 7 Whitehall). Thirty additional Exhibitions have been voted in 1877, raising the total number since its foundation to 97. The total number of applications received in 1877 was 124; the total since its foundation, 301. The income during 1877 has been 1,436*l.*, against 1,286*l.* in 1876. Of the exhibitioners, 16 have been ordained, 52 are under education, 16 are about to matriculate, having only just been appointed: thus accounting for 84 of the 97. Of the twelve who remain, four have resigned in order to take Colonial work, and the rest, from various causes, failing health, &c., have failed to take up or to retain their exhibitions.

One effort of the year, which has not yet proved successful, but which we hope will do so in 1878, we must refer to, and that is the establishment of a daily penny newspaper, which should give, in addition to the usual contents of such a paper, due attention to Church matters. So soon as a capital of 30,000*l.* has been raised, the 'Daily Express' will reappear, and we hope it will be soon.

III.

Turning next to the proceedings of the Canterbury Convocation, we notice that in spite of—it surely could not have been *because* of—the prevailing excitement as to matters ecclesiastical at the opening of the year, the Archbishop desired that the usual February sittings should be intermitted. Lent beginning so early—Ash Wednesday fell on February 14—His Grace was unwilling to call the clergy away from their homes, lest the performance of their parochial duties should suffer. Altogether, the Convocation only sat eight days in the whole year. We have also to notice a circumstance which has come even more strongly into view this year than previously, namely, a tendency on the part of the Upper House to continuously increasing brevity—pardon the Hibernicism—in their debates. We do not mean to say that the bishops are less anxious for the Church's welfare, or to imply that they take counsel together for that welfare less frequently or less earnestly than before. On the contrary, we are constantly hearing of their being summoned to Lambeth to advise His Grace or receive advice from him. But their public discussions as a House of Convocation seem thinning out—a course which is much to be regretted, inasmuch as it withholds from the Church at large that full expression of the mind of the collective Episcopate which it most unquestionably desiderates, and to which it looks with respect. *De non apparentibus et de non existentibus eadem est ratio*, and if this tendency continue it will be to the serious diminution of the moral weight of the Episcopate as a whole. These private debates may doubtless do much to clear up their lordships' minds on many points of anxiety, but the mind of the public also counts for something in these days; and now that the laity not only read the debates of the Lower House, but also see and hear the clergy so largely in the Diocesan Conferences, it is a real mistake in policy for the bishops to forego their opportunity of reminding the laity that there is such a thing as the voice of the Episcopate as well as the voice of the Priesthood.

Convocation sat for four days in April, from the 24th to the 27th inclusive, and the Upper House appointed a Committee to consider the representation of the clergy in the Lower House 'with a view to ascertaining the expediency and possibility of obtaining an addition to the number of the proctors and their distribution, the qualification of the voters, and the mode of election.' This was practically the Archbishop's answer to the petition headed by the Dean of S. Paul's, which insisted that an appeal to 'the Living Voice of the Church' was the true remedy for existing complications. The heads of a Clergy Discipline Bill, urged upon the Upper House by a *gravamen* from the Lower, were considered.

Both Houses concluded their Report on the Rubrics, the Lower House recommending that there should be no legislative action unless the 'burning questions' were settled. The same House also

passed a resolution in support of the Government Burials Bill ; it remonstrated against the course taken in Scotland by Bishop Beckles, who had been assuming a pseudo-episcopal oversight of certain congregations in Scotland ; and it passed the report of one of its own Committees on the Increase of the Episcopate in England. Canon Miller proposed that the House should consider the subject of obtaining the views of the laity in connexion with Convocation, and Lord Alwyne Compton's resolution in favour of a Lay House outside Convocation, but not part of Convocation, was agreed to.

In the four days' session in July (3rd to 6th inclusive), the 'Priest in Absolution' occupied a good deal of time. The Upper House sent down to the Lower a resolution on the subject of confession, drawn by Bishop Wilberforce in 1873, and passed by the Upper House, in which its use in the Church of England is somewhat minimised. After a decidedly feeble debate, the Lower House accepted it 'generally.' The Archbishop announced that though the Committee of the Upper House on the Reform of Convocation had not agreed to a formal report, they had arrived at the conclusion that the number of elected proctors should be increased, and that many of the alterations desired were within the power of the President to make, and that before the next election he would make them. The Lower House agreed to recommend an alteration in the Ornaments Rubric, by which they proposed to make the use of the cope permissive, but not that of the chasuble. As no question of principle underlies this distinction, the wisdom of this recommendation depends entirely upon the probability or otherwise of its being accepted as a basis of pacification. So far as we are at present informed, the proposal does not seem to have attracted much attention. And with a re-affirmation of the resolution of the April Session on the Burials Bill, the somewhat scanty proceedings of the House terminated for 1877.

IV.

In the Colonial and Missionary Churches events have been few during the past year. Our chronicle will, we hope, present to our readers everything of importance that has happened.

AUSTRALIA.—From Western Australia we have the first impressions of Bishop Parry, who finds his new diocese undergoing the same process of disestablishment, and withdrawal of annual Government subsidies, which his old diocese of Barbadoes has experienced—with this material difference, that the Churchmen of Perth, having been only partly dependent on State aid, more readily develop the spirit of self-help ; and are not only making provision for endowment, but have determined to build a new Cathedral, the fabric, of the 'Early-Colonial style of architecture,' which has done duty in that capacity since Perth first became a penal colony, being pronounced 'beyond remedy.'

Bishop Matthew Hale, after twenty years' labour in Perth, and a previous service as Archdeacon of Adelaide (in which position he had the credit of making almost the solitary attempt on the part of

the Church to evangelise the Australian Blacks), was summoned by the diocese of Brisbane to become its chief Pastor. Brisbane is the most laggard of all Colonial dioceses in the matter of self-help, and, after a year's experience, the Bishop plainly told his people that he must leave a diocese that had neither life nor energy. This courageous reproof has had some effect; the diocese has prayed the Bishop to remain, and has promised amendment, and has already given some tokens of its sincerity.

In Melbourne Bishop Moorhouse has more than justified the expectations of those who knew him in England. He has made no secret of his surprise and disappointment at the tone of Churchmanship and the condition of Church matters in Victoria, and his honest utterances have won their way. He has set his heart on building a grand Cathedral, and has described the functions which he has witnessed in S. Paul's Cathedral (of which he was a Prebendary), and he has told his people that he desires to see similar attractions to devotion and enthusiasm in Melbourne. The consequence has been that a site has been procured, large sums of money have been promised, and a stately Cathedral has been determined on. Long before it is built, we expect the whole standard of the diocese, even in its remotest parts, to be visibly raised.

The diocese of North Queensland has not yet been constituted, but the Bishop of Sydney is in England for the purpose, chiefly, of finding a suitable Bishop.

We have heard with much regret that the noble Bishop of Newcastle has received a grave warning that his labours, which have been uninterrupted since he landed in 1848, must now be regulated by some consideration for his own strength and health. Whenever Bishop Tyrrell lays down his pastoral staff, he will leave behind him a living epistle in a diocese which has had exceptional—almost unparalleled—care at the hands of its bishop.

NEW ZEALAND AND THE PACIFIC.—In New Zealand we regret to have to record a distinct and clearly-marked decadence. A clergyman in the diocese of Christ Church, the Rev. H. E. Carlyon, has been sentenced by the bench of Bishops, four in number, of whom Bishop Suter, of Nelson, was president, to a month's suspension, for views and practices which were declared to be inconsistent with the teaching of 'the Church of New Zealand.' The Court which has thus sentenced Mr. Carlyon, without allowing an opportunity of defence or of explanation, would condemn at least one-third of the Clergy at home; and it is sad that the first Colonial Church to adopt a narrower standard than that of the Mother Church, should have been the province founded by so wise and far-seeing a prelate as Bishop Selwyn.

The Diocese of Waiapu has elected the Rev. E. Stuart, an ex-Church Missionary Society Missionary in Calcutta, as successor to Bishop Williams.

In the Hawaiian Islands Bishop Willis still pursues his labour of love, and would be much comforted by the arrival of one or two priests, to whom he offers a suitable maintenance.

Over the sister island Church of the Pacific the Rev. J. R. Selwyn was consecrated Bishop on February 18 at Nelson; and a special service was held in Lichfield Cathedral on Saturday, February 17, at the same hours at which the service was held at the antipodes. The real founder of the Mission interceding under the roof of S. Chad for his own son, called on to carry on the work commenced by himself twenty-five years ago, on the other side of the globe, was a suggestive sight, and reminds us how in these latter days a few faithful sons of our Mother Church have been allowed to win for their Lord the utmost parts of the earth.

AMERICA.—We are half afraid that the Church in Canada is not progressing as vigorously as we could wish. We have seen in Episcopal Charges and other like documents congratulations that their dioceses are untainted by Ritualism and are unruffled by controversy. Peace is a great blessing, but there is truth in the hackneyed quotation, *Solitudinem faciunt; pacem appellant*; yet, with the exceptions of Fredericton and Newfoundland, if the North American Churches be advancing in spiritual life, in influence, or a spirit of independence, the signs thereof have not reached us. Nova Scotia *e.g.*, now, in its tenth decade, is our oldest Colonial diocese. We think that in a century a diocese of Anglo-Saxon colonists ought to be self-sustained; yet it draws more than 2,500*l.* a year from the treasury of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Montreal, again, which, as part of the original diocese of Quebec, has had hardly a briefer existence, and enjoys, moreover, considerable endowments, draws 1,200*l.* per annum from the same society. If we are not mistaken, Canada wants some fresh blood from the ranks of the more vigorous of the home clergy. Of those who have done good service in North America many have been removed; during the past year the death of Jasper Hume Nicolls, D.D., for more than thirty years the Principal of Lennoxville College, has created a great blank. Most of the clergy of Quebec and Montreal had been his pupils. In Fredericton Bishop Medley has made the meeting of his Synod an occasion of delivering a charge and a sermon which have been published, and ought to be known and valued in every branch of the Church. The terrible conflagration in S. John has necessarily hampered the resources of the diocese. The diocese of Newfoundland, which was deprived of Bishop Feild in 1876, is again without a bishop, Bishop Kelly having in July last resigned a position to which he was physically unequal. Up to this time no successor has been selected.

In the WEST INDIES the Diocese of Nassau is still without a bishop. Dr. Venables died on October 8, 1876, and no income, save 68*l.* per annum, was available for his successor. By the prompt efforts of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel an immediate income of 500*l.* per annum has been provided for this island see, and a similar amount has been secured to Newfoundland by endowment. Thus, these long vacant dioceses offer only hard work and bare maintenance, but there must be many priests who would not be disheartened by these

accidents, and would respond to a call if made to them by competent authority. We know that the spirit which moved Bishops Feild and Venables is not extinct, so that we are forced to ask whether that spirit approves itself to those to whom the selection of their successors is entrusted. If it does, it is hard to account for the long-continued orphanhood of these sees.

In Antigua Bishop Jackson, by munificent example and by precept, is preparing for the endowment of the see when with his own episcopate the present grant shall terminate. In Trinidad Bishop Rawle has secured an insignificant endowment for himself, which he declares to be sufficient. In both of these dioceses efforts are being made for the support of the several parishes, as, by the removal of their clergy, they become amenable to the Disestablishment Act.

We fail to see like forethought in Barbadoes and Jamaica. In the former, where the local legislature has set up a little establishment of its own, and votes the bishop's salary, we read of threatened curtailment of works, of withdrawal from the Pongas mission; and we know not what will be the fate of Jamaica whenever Bishop Courtenay is removed, and with him the income which maintains him.

From AFRICA we have news of the successful assembling of the second Provincial Synod without the presence and counsel of those two leading minds who created the whole organisation of South Africa—Bishops Gray and Cotterill. The result filled all hearts with thankfulness; and since its close the Metropolitan has been hard at work in holding visitations, not only in his own diocese, but in the Free State, the Transvaal, Natal, and Grahamstown. Exhausting work, no doubt, but how different from Bishop Gray's toilsome journeys twenty-nine years ago over the same region.

In Capetown Dr. J. M. Arnold has commenced a work among the Moslems for which he possesses singular qualifications, and already with surprising results. Bishop Webb will now be relieved from the care of the Transvaal, rapidly becoming not only *de jure* a British colony, as by annexation it is, but *de facto* the home of a large number of English immigrants. The Rev. H. B. Bousfield, Vicar of Andover, has been elected Bishop of Pretoria, and is to be immediately consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury at the request of the Bishop of Capetown and his suffragans. One loss the African Church has sustained during the past year—Anne Mackenzie, who entered into her rest on February 12, and of whom we have spoken in our general obituary. The war in Zulu-land has scattered the work that had been carried on, and at present nothing can be more discouraging than the prospect north of the Tugela River.

Bishop Steere, by his short visit to England, both recruited his shaken health and raised up fresh interest in his work wherever he went. The work in Central Africa is only beginning, and it is gratifying to think that for once the Church is not the last religious body to make her presence felt.

In Madagascar Bishop Kestell-Cornish is rapidly extending and consolidating the Church. His difficulty is to refuse the demands for teachers which comes from all sides; but he wisely refuses to

paralyse his work by scattering resources which ought to be concentrated. It seems very probable that in this island a native ministry will be sooner at work than has been the case elsewhere. The college, under the Rev. F. A. Gregory, will, we hope, within two or three years, be in a condition to send out a regular stream of Malagasy deacons and priests.

In CEYLON Bishop Copleston has won his way by the simple force of his Christian suavity and Christian firmness combined. The faction raised against him, more at home than in his diocese, has had to succumb. The Church Missionary Society have learned to their cost that not a few of their supporters would have nothing to do with the autocratic policy of their committee. The missionaries who stood out so long against their bishop saw their incongruous position and submitted themselves; and all, we hope, were impressed by the admirable—almost unexampled—bearing of the bishop himself, who, throughout the whole controversy, never yielded a jot of the claims which he felt bound to make, and never wrote or uttered a harsh or uncharitable word. On May 1 an attempt was made in the House of Commons, on the motion of the Wesleyan Alderman McArthur, to discontinue the payment of the Bishop's stipend; and the C.M.S. has suggested that as a State Bishop cannot be a missionary, therefore it should be allowed to maintain a bishop of its own for its missions in Ceylon. Bishop Copleston has shown the worth of both of these movements; for in a recent letter to the *Guardian* from the Warden of Keble, we hear of his ministering to four congregations in succession in English, Portuguese, Tamul, and Cinghalese—a Mezzofanti-like gift which promises to make him a second Pattenon.

INDIA.—If we have left India to the last it is only because of our sense of its stupendous importance. When 1877 began it had three bishops; at its close seven, between Peshawur and Moulmein. On March 11, Dr. Caldwell and Dr. Sargent were consecrated in Calcutta Cathedral, and became coadjutors to the Bishop of Madras during his pleasure. They are essentially curate bishops, liable at any moment to be reduced to the ranks of simple missionaries, and to be limited to priestly functions, even to entire suspension from the exercise of all ministerial duties, at his mere will. That such autocratic treatment will never be experienced we are sure, but this does not alter their position. They have of right no seat nor vote in the Synod of the Indian Bishops, and on the avoidance of the See of Madras their episcopal functions would *ipso facto* cease. It will not do to repeat this arrangement. Tolerated in the case of Tinnevely, in view of the urgency of the particular missions, an episcopate of this sort, on an extended scale, would be a portentous solecism. But, unfortunately, we are not in India free to do as we would and as we ought. If it were a *tabula rasa*, no one would desire to see a Church and Episcopate in Hindustan such as now exists. In 1814 it was a great thing to get a bishop sent to India at all, and those who promoted the plan were prepared to swallow all the incredible Erastianism which we described at length in our April number of 1877. But things are now altered; the Establishment remains; 160 chaplains are

maintained at an average cost of some 900*l.* a year apiece to the Indian Revenue—of these three are bishops, and two more bishops have been recently added. But by the Royal Proclamation of 1858, all persons in authority under the Crown have been strictly enjoined to abstain from interference with the religious belief or worship of any of Her Majesty's subjects; so that a strict interpretation of this proclamation removes the Indian bishops and chaplains from all contact with missionary work, and limits them to the spiritual care of those servants of the Crown, military and civil, who hold India for the Crown. Of course, this obviates charges of injustice in taxing a heathen people for the support of those who shall try to convert them against their will; but while legislation stands still, India moves, and that rapidly. The 160 chaplains are now only a fraction of the clergy of India, and the people to whom they nominally minister probably do not exceed 80,000, civil and military. The missionary clergy now number more than 300, of whom just one-half are of pure native blood, and their congregations number 120,000. There are also about 60 other clergymen who minister to Europeans either in towns or on plantations and railways. All this is the more important, since, owing to causes we need not specify, hardly anything can be of less certain duration than the Indian Establishment; so that in the Native Church we have the only Christian body of whose continuance we can be assured. Bishop Cotton, in his famous charge, declared that he looked forward to the time 'when we, the foreign Theodores and Augustines, shall be succeeded by Indian Stigands and Lanfrancs.' All this points to an extension of the Episcopate, not on the lines of an increased number of military chaplains, but on those of a rapidly developing Native Church; and at the time of Bishop Milman's death plans were formed in England, of which the Bishop was cognizant, for a large increase of the Episcopate in those portions of British India which lie outside the territory touched by the parliamentary settlement of the Indian Church. These plans contemplated the Missionary development as the *ergon*, and the Establishment functions as the *parergon*, of the new bishops, who, it was intended, should live with no sort of pomp on the income of a junior chaplain; but the liberty of the Episcopate in India is strangely circumscribed. It is almost incredible that the Indian Bishops could not consecrate Drs. Caldwell and Sargent without a Royal Mandate and a Commission from the Archbishop of Canterbury; and consequently the consent of the civil authorities is necessary before any independent bishops could be consecrated. This consent was sought and was refused. At the same time, India started, as a memorial to Bishop Milman, an endowment for a new see of Lahore, and the diocese of Winchester commenced the task of raising an endowment for a new see of Rangoon. About 10,000*l.* was raised by Winchester for Rangoon, and a like sum by India, by the Diocese of Oxford (in which Bishop Milman was for many years beneficed) and by friends, for Lahore, and to each of these funds the three Church Societies—Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Society for Propagation of the Gospel, and Colonial Bishopsrics Fund

—contributed 10,000*l.* To each of the bishops are added the status and emoluments of a Government Chaplain, *and only on this condition could the necessary permission be obtained for the founding of the new sees*, so that the Bishops of Lahore and Rangoon are servants of the Crown, and amenable to all the rules which bind such servants. Moreover, eminent lawyers rule that the boundaries of the original diocese of Calcutta are not fixed things, but that of their own nature they expand with the Indian Empire, so that no new diocese can be formed without the consent of Parliament, which was a co-founder of the original diocese—a theory equally ingenious and amazing, but which may be consistent with the ideas on which the abnormal establishment of the Indian Episcopate took place sixty years ago. The see of Rangoon is wholly, and that of Lahore almost entirely, composed of territory which was no part of the original see, so that but for this theory there was no legal hindrance to the establishment of bishoprics wholly unconnected with the Government in those two areas. But the old jealousy of any ecclesiastical organisation in India not under secular control, and even liable to suppression, is shown by the provision made in the Letters Patent for the appointment and maintenance of archdeacons of Lahore and Rangoon, who, like the bishops, must be Government chaplains. Happily, both the prelates who were consecrated on S. Thomas' Day are men of genuine missionary zeal, the Bishop of Lahore having given many years of his life to the work in connexion with the Church Missionary Society; and Bishop Titcomb, in a metropolitan parish, having always aided missions heartily. Meanwhile, this noblest field of work is attracting from our seats of learning those men of unusual ability who have hitherto been the great want of India. The Cambridge University Mission to Delhi, in connexion with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, is a most cheering fact. In thus sending out worthy representatives of her highest culture, the University is rendering most material service to the Church, both at home and abroad. The two first members of this missionary brotherhood left in October; others are studying in Cambridge, with the view of joining them next year, and it is hoped that in 1880 at least ten Cambridge graduates will be carrying on missionary work over a portion of North India, of which Delhi will be the centre. The spot is well chosen; it was the scene of the murder of the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at the time of the Mutiny, and was one of the first places to be reoccupied when peace was restored. It is, therefore, consecrated by the memory of faithful martyrs, and has been well cared for by those who succeeded to their labours. A mission has been carried on in this historic city for the last twenty years; and so good a judge as Sir Bartle Frere declared that Delhi, when he visited it with the Prince of Wales, promised in a very few years to become a second Tinnevely.

The mission of Chota Nagpore was visited by the Bishop of Calcutta in November, and 2,000 Kohls were confirmed by him. Chota Nagpore was one of the last places visited by Bishop Milman, who then confirmed 1,500 persons.

Bishop Mylne has been sent to Europe to recover from the effects of a very severe fever, brought on by excessive work when conducting a mission among British soldiers. He is much better now, and will come to England in the summer to attend the Lambeth Conference, which is fixed for July 1. The importance of this gathering will far exceed that of its predecessor in 1867. Both the Colonial and the Missionary Churches have grown enormously in the last eleven years, and in that growth questions have arisen which can only be settled by the inherent authority of the Episcopate gathered from all parts of the world. Let us hope that when we come to sketch our Church history of 1878, this second Lambeth Conference may fill a page worthy of itself and of the great Anglican Communion which now, in spite of all hindrances, is exhibiting such a marvellous vitality, and which seems, under God's blessing, to be going forth to do its share in obeying the great command to replenish the earth and to subdue it, in the name of Him who is the second Adam.

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